

PUBLIC RELATIONS, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, AND IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN THE  
EUROPEAN UNION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH DIASPORA IN THE CAPITAL  
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

By

EMEL I. ÜNSAL

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This dissertation is dedicated to my family and to those who have provided guidance and endless support.

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By

Emel I. Unsal

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This research focuses on the European Union's (EU) public relations and public diplomacy efforts for immigrant integration. It uncovers the relationship between the European Union and leaders of Turkish associations in Brussels, Belgium. In-depth, semi-structured interviews with leaders of Turkish associations reveal their understanding of EU public diplomacy and public relations strategies, the communication channels these associations use to gather information regarding immigrant integration, and document their opinions on EU communication strategies. In addition, the research investigates whether two-way communication exists between the Turkish associations and the European Union. This study also unveils the strategic communication and public relations strategies these immigrant associations use to influence public policy and whether they have any lobbying opportunities to influence these strategies. This research opens a window into the relationship of the European Union with the civil society. It also signifies, once more, the importance of public diplomacy and public relations in today's world.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) is worth studying because it has more than 450 million inhabitants and it contributes 25% to the global GDP (De Gouveia & Plumridge, 2005). However, although the European Union is such a large supranational organization, due to its complex nature, the European Union and the way it functions is a mystery for many people across the world, even many Europeans. Communication with EU citizens and residents is a challenge as the European public is a heterogeneous group, made up of people who come from different nationalities and different cultures, “a plethora, spread across an enormous land mass” (Brooks, 2006, p. 18).

The EU Commission has made communication with EU citizens and residents a priority for EU public diplomacy and public relations.<sup>1</sup> Public relations and public diplomacy can be used to build, manage, and enhance relationships with EU publics. For instance, some policy initiatives have explicit strategies of public diplomacy, such as the 1973 Declaration on European Identity, the 1984 Television Without Borders Directive, the 1984 EU Committee for a People’s Europe, the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, the 1993 De Clercq Report, and the 2001 Communications Strategy which focused on improving communication with European publics (De Gouveia & Plumridge, 2005).

As Valentini (2007) mentioned, the European Union has to talk *with* Europeans, not just talk *to* them. EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts have a societal function and they are especially important for community building within the union “to establish good relationships, proximity and mutual understanding” in addition to “a good level of involvement

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<sup>1</sup> The two terms public diplomacy and public relations will be used together in the study as these practices follow similar processes and inform each other; however, maintaining their own identities and bodies of knowledge. Definitions and more information about public diplomacy and public relations can be found in the literature review chapter.

and activeness on the part of those publics” (Valentini, 2007, p. 124). However, a simple singular, global, one-size-fits-all public relations strategy will not be effective for the European Union to reach all of its publics who come from different cultural national contexts.

Unfortunately, the European Union appears to incur in this type of mistake when it tries to communicate with EU citizens and residents through one single, standardized message.

Valentini (2007) has criticized the public relations efforts of the European Union for not being designed according to the publics’ needs. “The EU approach to publics has been a global approach in which communication targeted at different EU publics has not been tailored to the specific needs of those publics,” Valentini wrote (p. 127). The author recommended that EU officials should regard different member states as different publics and tailor their public relations efforts accordingly.

This study focuses on the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts towards immigrants, specifically third-country nationals (TCNs), who are not citizens of an EU member state but reside and work within the boundaries of the European Union. In order to examine how the EU public relations and public diplomacy practices regarding immigrant integration affect TCNs, an analysis of the Turkish Diaspora will be conducted in Brussels, Belgium, which is the heart of the European Union. The aim of this qualitative analysis is to understand how these public relations and public diplomacy efforts are perceived by this specific immigrant community who make up the largest group of TCNs currently residing within the European Union (Commission, 2007; EUROSTAT, 2006).

There are many similarities between the practices of public relations and public diplomacy (L’Etang, 1998; Signitzer & Coombs, 1992). This study hopes to expand the literature by

presenting another area where similarities between public relations and public diplomacy are evident: The European Union immigrant integration efforts.

As Signitzer and Wamser (2006) suggested, both public relations and public diplomacy are “strategic communicative functions of either organizations or nation states, and typically deal with the reciprocal consequences a sponsor and its publics have upon each other” (p. 441). Both practices aim to manage the mutual relationships between an entity and its publics. While organizations use public relations, states engage in public diplomacy to establish a relationship with their publics. The focus is on establishing relationships. The relationship management theory is important for public relations scholarship as it is a major paradigm shift as it moves the focus from communication to relationships, “with communication acting as a tool in the initiation, nurturing, and maintenance of organization-public relationships” (Ledingham, 2006, p. 466).

One of the goals of this study is to extend the linkages between public relations and public diplomacy, through revealing how some public relations theories and concepts can be applied to public diplomacy. Thus, public relations can enhance public diplomacy techniques, especially through introducing a research based, two-way symmetrical model that focuses on managing relationships. “Public relations can help public diplomacy in developing its scope and in advancing – not only in theory, but also in practice – from one way information models to more two-way communication models” (Signitzer & Wamser, 2006, p. 454). I hope that the results from the interviews will reveal important information about how Turkish immigrants feel about the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts. Some of the findings may be instrumental in providing some strategies and techniques for the European Union to use for its public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding immigrant integration.

J. Grunig (2000) also emphasized the role of public relations and collaboration between an organization and its publics for a democratic society. Although J. Grunig specifically wrote about public relations, I believe that the same can be said for public diplomacy, where public diplomatic efforts could be used for the development of a more active and stronger civil society, integrating different minority group and immigrants and enhancing democracy through open communication and debate. I hope that this study will be able to provide valuable information on how public relations and public diplomacy can be used for immigrant integration and expand the civil society within the European Union.

Two other public relations approaches this study applies to public diplomacy are communitarianism, or community building and nation building. These approaches and how they can be applied to public diplomacy will be discussed in detail in the literature review in Chapter 2. I believe that by revealing how these two public relations approaches can be used to explain certain public diplomatic efforts of the European Union, the study will expand the linkages between public relations and public diplomacy and reveal similarities between these two fields.

### **Immigration, TCNs, and the European Union**

According to a European Commission (EC) report published in November 2007, the population of TCNs, immigrants who were not born in one of the 27 EU member states but still live in the European Union, were 18.5 million in January 2006, making up 3.8% of the total EU population of approximately 493 million. In addition, immigration is still seen as the main cause of EU demographic growth (Commission, 2007). According to the same report, with an EU-wide population over three million, Turkish immigrants make up the most numerous group of TCNs residing in the European Union (Commission, 2007; EUROSTAT, 2006). The EUROSTAT report estimates that there are 25 million non-nationals living within the EU, making up 5.5% of the EU total population. As of 2007, the European Union consists of 27

member states, and the number of EU citizens who want to move within the borders of the European Union and also people from other countries who want to migrate to an EU member state are increasing. Therefore, immigrant integration becomes a challenge in an increasingly diverse Europe.

Fuchs and Klingemann (2002) stated that the European Union, previously called the European Community, was merely an economic community before the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1991. The authors claimed that it was Maastricht where the European Community became more than just an economic entity and gained more power to affect the lives of EU citizens. In fact, some national decision-making powers were taken to the EU level.

Maastricht, however, initiated the transformation of the Community into a European Union (EU), which continued with the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). These treaties vest greater powers in EU institutions. The EU is thus increasingly a supranational regime, substantially restricting member states' scope for action, and whose decisions directly affect citizens' lives. These decisions also affect politically sensitive areas that had hitherto been dealt with at the nation-state level (including social and moral issues). (Fuchs & Klingemann, 2002, p. 19)

Some of these social issues included immigration and immigrant integration, which the member states believed need to be discussed at the EU level. However, member states did not want to cede total control over their populations and borders, and thus the immigration and integration issue became a topic of political debate, sort of a power game between the supranational EU level and the national member state level. Today, while some decisions are taken at the EU level, the implementation of those decisions is left at the discretion of the EU member states due to the structure of the European Union. This will be explained in detail in Chapter 2 where the structure of the European Union and its decision making mechanism are being discussed.

Immigrant integration has many definitions. The European Union uses an integration definition adopted by the Commission. The Commission defined integration in a communication

(COM (2003) 336) as a two-way process which depends on reciprocity of rights and obligations of TCNs and host societies with a goal of encouraging the full participation of immigrants into the host society.

However, immigrant integration and the problems that arise when integration is not successful are issues that affect all of Europe. EU institutions cannot do much about immigrant integration either because member states do not want to give up their policy implementation power with regard to immigration. As Geddes (2000) suggested, “threats posed by immigration and by immigrants and their children fuel the racist and xenophobic extreme right” at the national level (p. 1). Member states do not want to cede control over immigration and hand all the power to the EU institutions. On the other hand, the main concerns at the EU level are further liberalization and the free movement within the single market, which raise security and control issues for all EU member states.

Although Turkish immigrants make up the most numerous group of TCNs having lived in Europe for over three generations, they have not been accepted as part of Europe and the European Union. Erzan and Kirisci (2006) stated that Turkish immigrants face severe integration problems because of many different factors. Firstly, there is a lack of proficiency in local languages, which lead to poor performance in school, lower education levels, and thus to unemployment later in life. Lack of proficiency in the local language negatively affects participation in social and political life, leading to further alienation, causing immigrant families to move to “ghetto-like societies” resulting in a withdrawal from the local culture and community.

In addition, these conditions influence locals in the receiving community negatively, fueling “anti-immigrant feelings and prejudice in host societies, often provoking intolerance and

discrimination against Turkish immigrants. This in turn is translated into fears about Turkey and Turks in general,” causing a strong resistance against Turkey’s membership to the European Union (Erzan & Kirisci, 2006, p. 165).

Secondly, Europeans do not regard themselves as an immigrant society like the United States. European countries tend to be more homogenous and take pride in being nation states. As Turmann (2004) stated, many of the EU member states have denied that they are destination of immigration since the 1970s. As Cicekli (1998) stated immigrants often suffer from double-standards as

the common perception and treatment of immigrants as guests who would eventually return home also remains a significant factor for the lack of interest in protecting the human rights of, particularly, long-settled immigrants and their families. Nevertheless, in reality, they have become permanent settlers who demand their new status not as aliens but as a permanent component of receiving societies. (p. 371)

he common perception and treatment of immigrants as guests who would eventually return home also remains a significant factor for the lack of interest in protecting the human rights of, particularly, long-settled immigrants and their families. Nevertheless, in reality, they have become permanent settlers who demand their new status not as aliens but as a permanent component of receiving societies. (p. 371)

Being an immigrant in Europe is not easy and there are many studies revealing that Turkish immigrants face racism and discrimination. First of all, there are societal acceptance issues. If we were to take the case of Germany as an example, public opinion in Germany regarding immigration is not positive. “Immigration tends to be associated with ‘social-welfare tourism’ rather than much needed contribution to the labour market, economy, and ultimately society at large,” (Ette, 2003, p. 5). As Cicekli (1998) emphasized, the self interests of the receiving EU member states have been more important than the human rights of immigrants. Also, due to the issues mentioned previously, there are concerns about possible problems that may be triggered as a result of trying to establish social cohesion and integration in increasingly heterogeneous societies of the European Union (Krieger & Maitre, 2006).

A study by Smith, Wistrich, and Aybak (1999) argued that different groups of immigrants in Europe, with Turks making up the most populous immigrant group, suffer from racism and discrimination (Smith et al., 1999). Their survey results showed that immigrants suffered from racism and discrimination in many areas of social and economic life in their host societies, including: Interactions with the police, courts, education services, training, health, social life, employers, trade unions, work mates, shops and offices, banks, neighbors, and landlords. As the results of this research revealed, Turkish immigrants suffer from racism and discrimination in all aspects of their public and private lives. Consequently, immigrant integration and harmonization, as well as eliminating racism and discrimination have become a major challenge and an ultimate goal for the European Union.

Being the other, the immigrant, has never been easy. Schuetz (1944) wrote about the experience of being a “stranger”, the immigrant, after he moved to the United States from Germany fleeing the Nazis. He argued that people who are born and raised within a culture accept “the ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern handed down to them by ancestors, teachers, and authorities as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all the situations which normally occur within the social world” (p. 501). On the contrary, the immigrant, defined as the stranger, cannot use this guide because he/she has been raised in a different cultural pattern that is provided by their own home culture. The life of the immigrant is hard because all the core cultural values and knowledge of the immigrant is different from those of the host society (Schuetz, 1944). This explanation of the immigrant and what makes the immigrant experience hard is similar to the experiences of Turkish immigrants who live in Europe.

Schuetz (1944) also introduced a term, “the doubtful loyalty of the stranger,” where the immigrant is “unwilling or unable to substitute the new cultural pattern entirely for that of the home group” and the members of the host society do not understand why the immigrant is not accepting their cultural pattern, which they believe is the “appropriate way of life” (p. 507). There are also parallels between Schuetz’s description of the host society and why it is hard for the members of the host culture to understand the inability of the immigrant to adapt to the new culture and its patterns and the Turkish immigrant experience in Europe. This frustration may have connections with issues of racism and discrimination.

Because Turkish immigrants make up the most numerous TCNs in Europe, I believe that it is important to study their experiences and perceptions about the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding immigrant integration. This research focuses solely on the experiences of Turkish immigrants. The study utilizes a generic qualitative approach through qualitative interviewing. The purpose is to examine the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding the immigrant integration decisions and initiatives, and also study how the Turkish immigrants in Brussels, Belgium perceive these efforts through qualitative semi-structured, in-depth interviews.

### **Structure of the Study**

Chapter 2, the literature review, begins with an analysis of public relations and public diplomacy. The parallels between public relations and public diplomacy have been laid out in detail. In addition, nation building and communitarianism are also explained as important applications of public relations in diverse social environments. I hope that this section reveals why the European Union needs to use these practices towards immigrants to maintain and nurture mutually beneficial relationships with various stakeholders, to integrate immigrants, and

create understanding among different groups and nationalities living within the borders of the European Union.

In addition, because the study focuses on the Turkish immigrants in Belgium, history of immigration to Belgium is explained to provide a context for the study. Furthermore, the federal structure of Belgium and the national immigration and immigrant integration legislation of the country is also explained in detail. Information on the Turkish associations in Belgium and in Brussels will also be provided in Chapter 2 to inform the readers about these associations and their properties. I also think that the interviews with the leaders of Turkish associations will also provide a detailed profile on the associational background of Turkish immigrants in Brussels.

Qualitative interviews were conducted with Turkish immigrants living in Brussels, the capital of the European Union and where I believe EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts would be most visible. Detailed information regarding qualitative interviewing and participant selection can be found in the Chapter 3 when the methodology is being discussed. A list of interview questions is also provided in Chapter 3.

The following chapter, Chapter 4, is about the historical overview of the available literature on the relationship between Turkey and Europe. The analysis then goes into examination of the EU - Turkey relationship. Chapter 4 also includes a comprehensive analysis of the background and history of Turkish immigration to Europe, the challenges Turkish immigrants face in terms of integration, and an evaluation of racism and immigrant discrimination. My goal is to provide the historical and social background of this relationship so that the readers have adequate information about the factors that affect EU - Turkey relationship and a historical analysis of Turks' "otherness" in Europe.

In addition, Chapter 4 includes information regarding the structure of the European Union, its history, institutions, and policies. There is also a discussion on immigration and immigration control issues in the European Union. Official EU publications have been researched and immigrant integration decisions and initiatives have been examined to provide a background of European legislation regarding immigrants and immigrant integration. Chapter 4 also contains information on immigration to Europe and third-country nationals (TCNs) who migrate to Europe from non-EU member states.

Chapter 5 focuses on the public relations, public diplomacy, and communication efforts of the European Union. Initiatives for including EU citizens in the debate on EU issues and expanding the EU public sphere are examined. The communication strategies of the European Union are also evaluated in Chapter 5. EU efforts for communicating issues on immigrant integration are also analyzed in detail. Finally, Chapter 6 includes the interview results and Chapter 7 presents the conclusions and theoretical implications of this study.

### **Significance of the Study**

One of the major targets of EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts for integration are the TCNs. As the European Union develops new initiatives and improves integration strategies, these changes need to be communicated to its citizens and immigrants. Scott-Smith (2005) emphasized that one of the European Union's goal is to establish transnational agreement among its member states, citizens, and immigrant populations.

Public diplomacy manifests itself at this stage in the form of communication of the European Union towards immigrants. The study's main objective is to show that public diplomacy can be used by large international or supranational organizations, like the European Union, as well as national governments. This study also aims to underline the connections between public relations and public diplomacy by revealing that both practices can be used for

the integration of a specific target public, in this case immigrants, to manage and enhance relationships. It must be emphasized here that this study solely focuses on legal immigrants and EU initiatives on integrating legal immigrants. Illegal immigrants and their problems are not discussed in this study.

This study complements the existing literature on the relationship between public relations and public diplomacy. In particular, this study shows that public diplomacy is not only utilized by states and governments, but also used by a large supranational organization such as the European Union. Public diplomacy can help to manage relationships with EU citizens and immigrants from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and also between different EU institutions to communicate with national and regional governments in its member states (Miller & Schlesinger, 2001).

As a Turkish national who will be living in the European Union, the issues of immigrant integration, public relations, and public diplomacy efforts towards further integration are topics of personal interest to me. I believe that a deeper understanding of the experiences of immigrants can be useful for the EU institutions in designing immigrant integration strategies. In addition, this deeper understanding may enhance public relations and public diplomacy strategies, helping EU institutions communicate effectively with immigrants and other EU publics.

Due to my background as a Turkish national living in Europe, I have personal proximity to the issue being studied. In the end, I was also a Turkish immigrant living in Europe throughout the data collection and analysis process. However, I believe that my personal background is valuable for this research and adds to the research process. Being Turkish has helped me gain access and establish rapport with the study participants, which helped the

participants trust me and share their experiences with me more openly. I believe that the study results would have been significantly different if I had been of another nationality who conducted the interviews with the help of a Turkish-English interpreter.

Nevertheless, my background as a researcher raises the issue of reflexivity. Reflexivity is an important concept in qualitative research. Reflexivity means that the researcher is aware that his or her characteristics and background may influence the research. Reflexivity reminds the qualitative inquirer to be attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices of those one interviews and those to whom one reports (Patton, 2001, p. 65). Even the questions a researcher decides to ask are reflective of his or her own personality, background, and personal dispositions. In addition, the relationship with the study participants, the research setting and many other factors may influence the nature of the research and the outcomes.

Babbie (2007) argued that the assumption that the researcher is superior and knowledgeable and the subjects are inferior is not applicable to qualitative research. Especially when the goal is to understand the participants' point of view. I believe that my background as a researcher helps shape the research and helps it take its current shape.

The issue of reflexivity may also draw questions on objectivity and subjectivity. The objective-subjective dialectic is an important issue related to qualitative research. Babbie (2007) argued that this objective-subjective debate has been going on because it is assumed that people need to be objective to reflect what is real. However, objectivity is not always an applicable principle or the end goal of every social research. Although researchers try to be objective, they come from a certain background, have their own beliefs and thoughts, and take a specific

perspective while going into the field to conduct research. Babbie (2007) suggested that subjectivity is inevitable as all our experiences are subjective in nature.

## CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature starts with an analysis of public relations and public diplomacy and how these two practices have become tools for states and large international/supranational organizations to build and maintain relationships with their internal and external publics. The analysis goes into the discussion about how public relations and public diplomacy share similar aims and practices. The need for the EU institutions to utilize public relations and public diplomacy to reach out to its various publics and establish relationships is also explained. In addition, communitarianism, community building, and nation building are introduced as approaches to public relations which I believe can be used by the European Union as part of its immigrant integration efforts. The literature review section ends with a list of research questions this study aims to answer in the end of this study.

### **Public Relations**

One of the most cited definitions of public relations comes from Cutlip, Center, and Broom (2000), who suggested that public relations is a “management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends” (p. 6). It can be quickly understood that the main focus here is on establishing and maintaining mutually beneficial relationships with an organization and its publics. Heath (2001) also saw public relations as a management function that “rhetorically adapts organizations to people’s interest and people’s interests to organizations by co-creating meaning and co-managing cultures to achieve mutually beneficial relationships” (p. 36). Smith (2005) also defined public relations as a management function, which focuses on “long-term patterns of interaction between an organization and all of its publics, both supportive and nonsupportive, seeking to enhance those relationships and thus generate mutual understanding,

goodwill and support” (p. 347). The emphasis on relationships is emphasized in all definitions cited above.

Ledingham (2003) argued that the “appropriate domain of public relations is, in fact, relationships. The building and sustaining of organization – public relationships requires not only communication, but organizational and public behaviors, a concept central to the relationship management perspective” (p. 194). I also believe that in addition to informing publics, another major role of public relations is to establish and enhance relationships with an organization’s publics. This relationship management aspect of public relations is also crucial for the European Union, whose publics have become increasingly skeptical and unaware of the role and goals of this supranational organization.

### **Public Diplomacy**

The need for public diplomacy and reaching out to the foreign publics, in addition to traditional diplomacy practiced by diplomats, became evident in this century. “Public diplomacy, attempting to communicate directly with peoples in other countries, came into its own as an indispensable component of international relations” (Tuch, 1990, p. 4). Davison (1976) argued that public diplomacy combines the roles of a traditional diplomat, specialist in mass communication and a social researcher. “The diplomat formulates the ideas that he or she would like to have communicated to a foreign public, the social researcher studies the intended audience, and the communications specialist chooses the most appropriate media and composes messages” (Davison, 1976, p. 399). First understanding, then informing and influencing foreign publics through effective messages is the goal of public diplomacy. How the communication will be perceived by different publics and how messages can be formulated and explained so that they are understood by the foreign publics are important questions public diplomacy strategists have to consider.

Sharp (2007) defined public diplomacy as “the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented” (p. 106). Tuch (1990) also emphasized that publicity and appealing to the public is the purpose of public diplomacy. Zhang (2006) regarded public diplomacy as a process of meaning construction, where states engage in “exchanging symbols, forming and negotiating meanings, and performing acts based on their respective meanings” (p. 27). All of these definitions emphasize that the goal of public diplomacy is trying to explain yourself to foreign publics. Tuch (1990) suggested that public diplomacy, whose goal is to influence attitudes and opinions of foreign publics, requires the use of “modern communications technology as well as such other methods of intercultural communications cultural and educational exchanges, libraries, publications, and people” (p. 10).

The main target audience of public diplomacy is private individuals instead of governments or state officials. In fact, Melissen (2007) stated that the main difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy is the target of the communication efforts. While traditional diplomacy focuses on “relationships between the representatives of states, or other international actors;” public diplomacy “targets the general public in foreign societies,” specifically “non-official groups, organizations and individuals” (Melissen, 2007, p. 5). But some believe the role of the publics needs to be redefined. Hocking (2007) argued that publics should be seen as active participants in meaning creation, rather than passive objects.

Tuch (1990) also believed that understanding the publics is crucial for the practice of public diplomacy. He believed that this can be achieved through “addressing and communicating with foreign audiences whose history, culture, social processes, and language we must study so that we can project our policies to them in understandable and acceptable ways”

(Tuch, 1990, p. 8). Therefore, it is important to see publics as active receivers and to formulate messages and communication strategies according to their needs. This emphasis on publics may be new to the practice of public diplomacy, but it is well accepted among public relations scholars.

Wang (2006) stated that public diplomacy's main goal is to cultivate and manage "a favorable international/world opinion toward a nation-state" (p. 91). However, in today's world, international organizations also need to engage in public diplomacy towards their internal as much as external stakeholders. Stakeholders of an organization are same as its publics; these two terms can be used interchangeably. Stakeholders or publics can be defined as people who might share a common interest with the organization (Smith, 2005). Using public relations and public diplomacy towards its internal stakeholders, internal publics, is important for the European Union because of its structure that enables it to decide and act as a single unit. The European Union is a major international organization which enables member states to "protect and negotiate their interests, but at the same time, it has the capacity to act in international affairs as a unit" (Dediu, 2007, p. 113).

As states become dependent on each other, human beings become increasingly mobile, and publics gain a say in international decision making, using public diplomacy to communicate about a country to internal and external publics becomes important. As Anholt and Hildreth (2005) argued, public diplomacy has a very important role in communicating a state's culture and policies to international audiences around the world.

Public diplomacy has become an important part of a government's international relations and communication efforts for image building, and it consists of a state's communication with international publics to create understanding for its "ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture,

as well as its national goals and current policies” (Tuch, 1990 quoted in Wang & Chang, 2004, p. 13). Main instruments of public diplomacy are considered to be: TV, radio broadcasts, films, books, magazines, cultural and educational exchanges, etc. (Wang, 2006, p. 92). The study will include an analysis of which of these media are being used by the European Union for enhancing immigrant integration and to reach out to the European community.

### **Parallels between Public Diplomacy and Public Relations**

A review of the literature reveals that practices of public relations and public diplomacy share many characteristics. Novoselsky (2007) argued that public diplomacy is more than an interaction between governments. The author argued that the main function of public diplomacy is to build and cultivate relationships, understand “other national and communal needs, and identifying areas of shared values and interests” (p. 153). No longer is public diplomacy confined merely to the realm of government relations, but it has evolved to include many different groups of publics.

Leonard (2002) also suggested that public diplomacy’s focus should be on building connections between different publics. “Public diplomacy should be about building relationships, starting from understanding other countries’ needs, cultures, and peoples and then looking for areas to make common cause” (p. 50). Wang (2007) suggested that public diplomacy’s main goal should be to discover commonalities and establish understanding among publics. According to the author, public diplomacy’s goal “is not only to promote the policies and values of a particular nation but also to engineer consensus and facilitate understanding among overseas publics” (p. 27). This building connections and establishing understanding between different groups of people is a very important aspect of public diplomacy, something the EU institutions need to utilize to bring together their internal publics. This aspect of public diplomacy reveals its close association with the profession of public relations.

Signitzer and Coombs (1992) claimed that public relations and public diplomacy are becoming similar through a “natural process of convergence” (146). J. Grunig (1993) agreed, emphasizing that public diplomacy is actually no more than the “application of public relations to strategic relationship of organizations with international publics” (p. 143). According to J. Grunig (1993), modern governments and international organizations use public relations strategies as part of their public diplomacy strategies; they communicate with foreign publics and with other governments about their culture, policies, ideals, and institutions.

Zhang and Cameron (2003) also argued that public relations and public diplomacy are similar as both practices strive to influence public opinion to benefit their own client or organization. As the authors suggested, public diplomacy, like public relations, tries to influence how others regard a state or an international organization, for example the European Union. Today international or supranational organizations also need to use public relations and public diplomacy to influence publics and increase support their policies, decisions, and actions.

Deibel and Roberts (1976) differentiated between tough-minded and tender-minded schools in public diplomacy. The tough-minded diplomacy school holds that “the purpose of diplomacy is to exert and influence on attitudes of foreign audiences using persuasion and propaganda. Hard political information is considered more important than cultural programs” (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992, p. 140). Whereas the tender-minded school sees public diplomacy as a cultural function instead of just a method to convey “hard” political information. The authors suggested that “slow media such as films, exhibitions, language instruction, academic and artistic exchanges with a view toward transmitting messages about lifestyles, political and economic systems, and artistic achievements” can be listed as uses of public diplomacy (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992, p. 140).

While states use public diplomacy, they also make use of public relations strategies. Kunczik (1997) wrote that states use public relations as an image building and reputation management strategy, arguing that “[f]or the nation state, PR [public relations] means the planned and continuous distribution of interest-bound information by a state aimed (mostly) at improving the country’s image abroad” (Kunczik, 1997, p. 12). The author approached public relations efforts of states as persuasive acts of communication produced by a state and directed at foreign audiences, which include the general world public, other governments and international organizations. As Kunczik (1997) argued, states use public relations to build a positive reputation in the international arena to project to other states, and this is not much different than public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy and public relations are very similar in the goals they are trying to accomplish. Melissen (2007) suggested that “a lesson that public diplomacy can take on board from the sometimes misunderstood field of PR [public relations] is that the strength of firm relationships largely determines the receipt and success of individual messages and overall attitudes” (p. 21). Importance of cultivating and establishing relationships with the target public is an important area where public diplomacy could learn from the strategies and practices of public relations. In fact, Melissen (2007) even argued that the “US experiences with public diplomacy demonstrate that skills and practices from the corporate sector, in particular from the disciplines of public relations and marketing, can be particularly useful in public diplomacy campaigns” (Melissen, 2007, p. 8)

Public relations is getting integrated into the foreign policies of states as they get heavily dependent on how they are perceived and their reputations in the international arena. Wang and Chang (2004) also emphasized the importance of public relations activities of states for creating

and maintaining a positive public opinion. “With the revolution in modern communication technologies and the rapid globalization of international politics and economy, governments increasingly come to appreciate the important role such public relations events play in cultivating and mobilizing international public opinion support” (Wang & Chang, 2004, p. 11).

### **Communitarianism, Community Relations, and Nation Building**

Communitarianism is a public relations approach that is also closely related to the topic of this study. Communitarianism supports the idea that individuals and organizations are responsible to others and the community and it should be used for guiding public relations practices. Because in the end, “what is best for the community is ultimately in the best interest of the organization” (Leeper, 1996, p. 173). Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) supported a communitarian approach to public relations. In an extensively quoted statement, the authors expressed that “public relations is better defined and practiced as the active attempt to restore and maintain a sense of community” (p. xi). Leeper (1996) also argued that communitarianism is important for public relations practice and regarded communitarianism as an ethical base for public relations, where the main goal of public relations becomes establishing and supporting a sense of community.

A community-building approach to public relations aims to bring together people around common interests and values. Community building is also related to the goal of the European Union, which is to inform people and unite them around a common European identity. Immigrant integration also falls under community building. As Hallahan (2004) suggested, community building aims to integrate people and organizations around “a functional collectivity that strives toward common or compatible goals” (p. 259). European Union public relations and public diplomacy efforts for immigrant integration may be seen as part of this community-building approach. Hallahan (2004) listed the three community-building activities as community

involvement, community nurturing, and community organizing. Community involvement starts with managing and enhancing an organization's reputation among the members of the community. Community nurturing involves improving the political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of communities through support systems, special events, and distributing information. Immigrant integration also falls under community nurturing. The last aspect, community organizing, happens when public relations strategies are utilized to improve economic and social conditions, especially for specific groups, i.e. immigrant groups (Hallahan, 2004).

Another approach used in public relations, which is very similar to what public diplomacy tries to accomplish is nation building. A nation-building approach to public relations and communication is concerned with how to create a national identity and unity. The EU efforts to create a common European identity across EU member states can fall under nation building even though the identity being created is not a national, but a regional (European) one.

Is this possible? Could there be a common, EU-wide, transnational European identity accepted by all EU citizens despite the national differences between the member states? Even though this is a strongly debated issue, Jolly (2005) argued that having an ethno-cultural dimension is not a prerequisite for creating a common identity and transnational solidarity. Thus having shared civic values might be enough to bring the European population, including the immigrant, together through commitment to "democracy, liberty, tolerance, to social models of political economy, including the respect of, and even, appreciation of diversity" (Green, 1999, p. 33, quoted in Jolly, 2005, p. 16). Communication, through public relations and public diplomacy efforts, may help foster integration and the creation of a collective European identity. This is one

of the goals of the European Union as it promotes the formation of a common European identity around shared interests, a common consciousness, and unity.

Nation building is another approach to public relations which may be helpful in explaining the EU efforts to establish a common identity. Although this European identity is not exactly national but an EU-wide one, the nation building scholarship can still be applied to this situation. Nation building can be referred to as an application of relationship building, where, as Taylor and Kent (2006) suggested, “conditions under which people of various ethnic groups can be mobilized to cooperate with each other” is the goal (p. 356).

Taylor and Kent (2006) suggested that communication and public relations is a major part of nation building as it enhances relationships among individuals. A public relations approach to nation building uses “a more elaborate model of communication that focuses on how meanings are socially constructed” (Taylor & Kent, 2006, p. 346). The European Union tries to do the same through EU-wide strategies to create a common European identity. This study hopes to explain how the nation-building approach to public relations is being used in EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts to enhance community building and to establish a common European identity through nation building.

### **European Union, Public Diplomacy, and Public Relations**

In the past, public diplomacy was seen as a tool for communicating with foreign publics and it was used solely by diplomats. The world was a different place then. The increased interconnectedness of people and the shifting relationship between foreign versus domestic publics due to globalization and developed communication technologies changed the world. Today, the definition of public diplomacy, which had been traditionally seen as communication and other activities targeted at foreign publics, needs to be reconsidered due to the interconnectedness of foreign and domestic audiences. As Melissen (2007) argued, the

relationship between public relations and public diplomacy has become intricate, “separating public affairs (aimed at domestic audiences) from public diplomacy (dealing with overseas target groups) is increasingly at odds with the ‘interconnected’ realities of global relationships” (p. 13).

The rise of public diplomacy as a soft power targeted at communicating with ordinary people rather than diplomats is a necessity of the globalized world with its vast information and communication technologies. Ordinary citizens become the new receivers of public diplomacy messages rather than diplomats. The new public diplomacy is seen as a “two-way street,” where there is “persuasion by means of dialogue” and it is important to “listen to what people have to say” (Melissen, 2007, p. 18).

Gilboa (2008) stated that research on public diplomacy has been mostly limited to the study of countries, mostly the United States, while public diplomacy efforts of NGOs, civil society groups, and individuals have mostly been ignored. Therefore, Gilboa (2008) suggested that three areas should be given special attention in public diplomacy research including: The Internet, NGOs, and evaluation of public diplomacy. The study of how large international organizations use public diplomacy is important to develop new ways of looking at public diplomacy and to increase the areas where it can be used to communicate with people and establish relationships.

The European Union is gaining power in the international arena as a large decision maker consisting of 27 member states. Brown and Studemeister (2003) suggested that there is a global trend toward powerful nongovernmental organizations, international social movements, and transnational networks that have growing international decision making power. The growing European Union is also influenced by this trend. Melissen (2007) also argued that public diplomacy is not limited to states or governments and provided the European Commission as an

example of giving priority to developing communication strategies for the European Union and trying to develop an EU public diplomacy strategy. “Large and small non-state actors, and supranational and subnational players develop public diplomacy policies of their own.” (Melissen, 2007, p. 12).

Although public diplomacy is mostly used by states, the European Union also needs to use public diplomacy and public relations. The European Union is a powerful international organization or a supranational organization as some would suggest, some policies get “produced within the institutions of the EU and are transmitted to the international agenda independently of the will of the states that created the organization” (Dediu, 2007, p. 113). However, although the European Union has the capacity to act as a unit, due to its structure the implementation of some EU level decisions and initiatives are left at the discretion of the member states, since national implementation of EU policies are controlled by the member states. The structure of the EU and the decision making system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

As countries get more interconnected, the need for public diplomacy increases. As Melissen (2007) argued, public diplomacy has become an essential tool for highly interdependent areas and between countries that have become interconnected due to transnational economic or political relationships. This interdependence and interconnectedness of countries has also resulted in the interconnectedness of the civil societies, of the people living in these countries, which is a characteristic of the European Union. In fact, EU citizenship has created a common civil society among the peoples of different European countries. Michalski (2007) stressed that a unique quality of EU’s public diplomacy is that it is practiced at two levels, first addressing European domestic audiences, meaning citizens and residents, and also targeting audiences who live outside of EU borders. As a large supranational entity, the EU public

diplomatic efforts, its communication with EU citizens and residents and also with the rest of the world should be studied in order to understand the importance of public diplomacy for such a large international organization and to develop ways of improving its communication with its publics.

Michalski (2007) argued that developing EU public diplomacy strategies for EU citizens and residents is especially important for the EU institutions. In fact, “(f)aced with an increasingly skeptical public, the Commission has realized that it needs to justify its actions and policies in the area of external relations with the populations of the member states, as well as with publics in third countries, in order to build a positive public image, promote European values and ultimately enhance the EU’s legitimacy” (p. 143). On the other hand, Michalski (2007) also highlighted the fact that the research he conducted with EU officials revealed that the concept of public diplomacy is not employed, not even recognized, among the majority of officials. In addition this term was not used in any Commission or Council Secretariat policy papers or other types of EU communication (Michalski, 2007).

However, although the term is not used exclusively, EU actions and strategies to inform external and internal publics fit within the framework of public diplomacy. The Commission acknowledges the importance of explaining policies and actions to the internal and external EU publics. “The Commission recognizes that it has only weak instruments to influence national public opinion and is therefore dependent on existing national channels and opinion formers” (Michalski, 2007, p. 130). In order to do so, the EU Commission emphasizes encouraging “dialogue with civil society within as well as outside the EU through a variety of different kinds of links and networks. They can take the shape of interest based networks with groups that have a direct stake in a policy (such as the environment, social rights, trade, or humanitarian aid), with

which the Commission interacts in a two-way communication process” (Michalski, 2007, p. 139). The goal is to encourage support and inform publics about the European Union, in addition to developing relationships with civil society organizations and non governmental bodies in addition to individuals.

The European Union needs to use public relations and public diplomacy to establish a positive public opinion among all of its publics, including internal publics. These internal EU publics include EU citizens and permanent residents of EU member states, who are very important as these populations make-up the public opinion and may influence EU decision making or influence policy implementation in their respective states. As the European Union gains more power, the need to keep EU citizens informed increases and the need to integrate citizens and residents, especially immigrants, becomes important for community building within the enlarging European Union.

Therefore, public diplomacy is needed by the EU institutions to influence decision making, policy adoption, and implementation by member states. In addition, public relations and public diplomacy are needed to influence the perception of these EU member state citizens. Miller and Schlesinger (2001) emphasized the importance of lobbying and public relations activities for the EU member states, arguing that these activities need to be diversified since they do not only target “the EU institutions (although that is their primary arena) but also national and regional governments in the member states” (p. 682).

The European Union utilizes public relations and public diplomacy because it needs to manage relationships between its member states and with its publics. As Scott-Smith (2005) suggested, “the EU is fundamentally committed to achieving trans-national consensus based upon the mutual acceptance of rules and procedures” by the member states and their citizens. (p.

749). The European Union needs to utilize public relations and public diplomacy strategies not just abroad, but also within its own borders to increase support among EU citizens and residents about the union and to enhance the integration of EU citizens and residents, especially the immigrants. This is also crucial for community building at the European Union level, which is crucial for the creation of a common European identity.

Community building is another important function of public diplomacy. Ledingham (2001) explored how public relations, as part of public diplomacy efforts, can contribute to community building by nurturing relationships and bringing together diverse populations through reducing conflict, and by resolving differences and conflicting perceptions (Ledingham, 2001). For the European Union, utilizing public diplomacy for its diverse publics is important to create a common ground to negotiate meanings, improve EU reputation, and nurture relationships between different communities within its borders. Utilizing public relations and public diplomacy to integrate its increasingly diverse population, especially immigrants living in Europe, should be a major goal for the European Union to reduce conflict and enhance community building.

The European Union also needs to use public relations and public diplomacy to promote its founding principles, which include: Democracy, human rights, and the rule of law among its internal and external publics (Petiteville, 2003). The European Union tries to express these values in most of its internal and external communication activities. Petiteville (2003) referred to the communication of these values and principles as soft diplomacy, which he defined as “diplomacy resorting to economic, financial, legal, and institutional means to export values, norms and rules and achieve long-term cultural influence” (Petiteville, 2003, p. 134).

Although it is complicated to design and implement, a common EU public diplomacy strategy is needed. As Lynch (2005) suggested, a common EU public diplomacy strategy needs to combine member state and EU efforts. “It is difficult enough for a single state to design effective public diplomacy; the challenge for a union of 25 [as of the publication’s date] states is daunting” (Lynch, 2005, p. 22). European Union is seen as “distant, impersonal, and operates in twenty [as of the publication’s date] official languages; there is no European ‘people,’ only European ‘peoples’; there is no common language or media” (Dinan, 2005, p. 7). All of these make communicating to the EU publics, including the European civil society, a major challenge for the EU institutions.

An important point about European Union’s public diplomatic efforts Michalski (2007) made is that although the term public diplomacy is not used in official Commission or Council documents, public diplomacy is utilized during external and internal communication when trying to persuade audiences about policies and actions and communicate with different groups in civil society. Communication of policy initiatives is taken seriously by the European Union. As Michalski (2007) stated, the European Commission focuses on “the communication dimension at an early stage of the elaboration of policy initiatives” (p. 134). The European Union, specifically the European Commission, recognizes that communicating with European citizens and residents living in the member states “is the weak element of the Commission’s strategy and realizes that the ‘fact-and-figures’ approach that prevailed in the past is not the appropriate way to carry out public communication” (p. 135). Instead, the Commission’s goal is to communicate “people-focused ‘success stories’ to the European public,” and explain EU legislation, policies and action in all areas (Michalski, 2007, p. 135).

In fact, Valentini (2007) stated that the European Union now opts for a new approach in its public diplomatic efforts and communicates “‘with’ and not ‘to’ Europeans” (p. 119). Thus, developing understanding and forming relationships becomes the main goal. Public relations and public diplomacy intertwine as the focus becomes the establishment of firm relationships that determine “the receipt and success of individual messages and overall attitudes” (Melissen, 2007, p. 21).

Managing relationship with different people who come from different national and cultural backgrounds is the challenge the European Union faces today. Community building is an important part of what the European Union needs to do through its public relations and public diplomacy efforts in order to create a common European identity. Incorporating public relations strategies and trying to establish two-way communication is an important step that the EU needs to take to reach its goal. “Public relationship management in different national cultural contexts, like those within the European Union, should be culturally oriented and based on a two-way symmetrical flow of communication and on community-building relationships” (Valentini, 2007, p. 127). However, this is easier said than done as the European Union rarely communicates with its citizens and residents directly.

A major hindrance the European Union faces when trying to communicate with its publics is that EU messages are communicated through national media, where the messages become “nationalized” by the member states “to fit the domestic arena” (Michalski, 2007, p. 129). EU messages get to be reproduced through a domestic perspective, which causes the reinforcement of “sentiment of competition or conflict rather than cooperation and longer-term commitment” (Michalski, 2007, p. 129). Therefore, EU-level communication, without the interference of

national media and perspectives, is really important because it will ensure that the messages will be clear of national prejudices and be able to reach European citizens and residents as intended.

A way to ensure open communication with the European public is to engage in dialogue with civil society. Michalski (2007) suggested that this can be done by establishing networks and engaging in two-way communication with interest groups, such as citizens' or civil rights, that can be influenced by a policy. Interacting with interest groups may be helpful for the European Union while developing new policies and also trying to inform the public about them during their implementation.

This is where the research question of this study becomes relevant. Does the European Union engage in this kind of two-way relationship, in a dialogue with special interest or civil rights groups when developing and communicating a new action or a policy? More specifically, how does the European Union communicate its immigrant integration decisions and initiatives to EU citizens and residents? Is there any direct relationship with immigrant or ethnic minority groups and their associations? Can these immigrant organizations have any influence or say in EU-level immigrant integration decisions and initiatives; is there any active lobbying or other type of persuasive strategies among immigrant groups?

Valentini (2007) argued that EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts should be tailored for "community's needs and for a cooperative approach with their publics" (p. 124). This study tries to find out whether the European Union tailors its communication efforts and cooperates with its various publics, specifically focusing on Turkish immigrant associations living in the heart of the European Union, in Brussels. Valentini (2007) stressed that international organizations, such as the European Union, "know that in order to induce specific

behavioral changes in situations of high involvement, they need to communicate with the language, the values and norms of their publics” (p. 123).

### **Turkish Immigrants in Europe**

In 2002, over three million Turkish immigrants were residing in the European Union, which was made up of only 15 member states back then. Turkish immigrants constituted the largest group of TCNs in Europe, making up 25% of all TCNs legally residing in the European Union. “The main recipient countries were Germany (77.8% of those migrant workers, or 2.3 million persons), France (7.9%, or 230,000), Austria (4.7%, or 135,000), and the Netherlands (4.4%, or 128, 000)” (Commission, 2004, p. 18).

Sacshsenmaier (2003) suggested that the Turkish community in Europe dates back to the “guest worker (Gastarbeiter) program of the 1950s and 1960s” (p. 2). Although most Europeans initially believed that these guest workers would eventually go back to their home countries, more than half of the workers ended up staying in Europe, mostly in Germany, and even brought their families from Turkey, changing “the social fabric of a country that continues to view itself as a non-immigrant society” (p. 2).

Cicekli (1998) proposed that “the common perception and treatment of immigrants as guests who would eventually return home” is a major factor for the lack of protection of the rights of long-settled immigrants and their families (p. 371). Although EU decisions and initiatives protect the rights of immigrants, there is “an alarming gulf between the position of the so-called Third Country Nationals and the situation of migrants from the EU” (Cicekli, 1998, p. 372). While immigrants from the 27 EU member states are granted certain rights and privileges, immigrants from Turkey, not a member of the European Union, are not granted the same rights and privileges because they are from a country that is not a member of the European Union.

According to Geddes (2000), the biggest mistake the Europeans made was to regard immigrant workers as temporary. People believed that rotation of workers would disable immigrant workers from settling down in Europe as permanent residents. It was assumed that “rotation would militate against permanent settlement and circumvent difficult questions about migrant integration into host societies, or so it was thought” (Geddes, 2000, p. 19). However, rotation of workers did not solve any immigrant problems; it just caused workers to work at different jobs and gain more experience and encouraged more immigrants to come to work in Europe.

### **Belgium, Immigration, and Integration**

The capital of Belgium, Brussels was selected as the venue for this research as it is the headquarters of the European Union as I assumed that it is where the public relations and public diplomacy efforts of the European Union will be the most visible. In addition, as Torrenkens (2007) reported, Muslim cultural associations tend to be concentrated in the municipal districts where Muslim populations live which include Schaerbeek, Molenbeek, and Brussels-Centre. Thus the study specifically focuses on the Turkish immigrant associations in the Brussels capital region.

Although Brussels is the focus of this research, it is important to include some information about Belgium and Brussels to provide a socio-cultural background for the study. Belgium has a federal structure which is composed of three linguistic/cultural communities; French, Flemish, and German, and with three Belgian administrative regions consisting of Flemish speaking Flanders and French speaking Wallonia and Brussels Capital. The Brussels Capital has a population around one million and it is a bilingual area with Flemish and French speaking communities (Kaya & Kentel, 2007).

While authority on legal matters concerning migration rests with the federal government of Belgium, the social, cultural, education, and economic policy with regard to ethno-cultural minorities is in the hands of the regions and communities in the country. This implies that the policy vis-à-vis ethnic organisations is different in Flanders and Wallonia. There is no co-ordination between the two regions (Hooghe, 2005, p. 976).

Jacobs, et Al. (2006) underlined the major difference between the Francophone and Flemish authorities towards immigrants as tolerance for self-organization. While the Francophones support a French-assimilationist approach and want the complete integration of immigrants and their organizations into the existing social structures, the Flemish tend to tolerate collective mobilization of ethnic minority groups. This major difference in the approach towards immigrants and immigrant organizations may affect immigrant organizations and the lives of immigrants living in Francophone versus Flemish areas in Belgium and Brussels.

Belgium started accepting immigrant workers after 1920s, especially from Central and Southern Europe, Poland and Italy. However, the economic recession of the 1930s brought legal restrictions on immigration and workers were laid off. Belgium continued admitting immigrant workers according to its labor needs throughout the 1950s. After the 1960s, Belgium had an increased need of cheap migrant workers which meant a “large and steady intake of foreign labour” (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003, p. 2). Yet this time the immigrant portfolio of Belgium was more diverse as immigrants came from Turkey and Morocco, in addition to Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. Furthermore, the new immigrant communities were more organized. In the late 1960s, many ethno-cultural associations were founded within the Moroccan and Turkish community focusing on Islamic or national identities (Hooghe, 2005).

Although Belgium stopped accepting immigrant workers in the 1970s, immigration continued through family reunification and family formation during the 1970s onward, becoming the main source of migration and leading to the formation of the current South-European, Moroccan and Turkish immigrant communities in Belgium (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003). The

make-up of the immigrant communities was changing as well. While the first immigrants were mostly male, the immigrant communities started including women and children as family reunification and formation increased (Hooghe, 2005).

After Belgium officially stopped accepting immigrant workers in 1974, immigrant integration issues were transferred to the regions. However, there were differences in the ways these regions and linguistic communities approached immigrant integration. As Kaya and Kentel (2007) reported, the Flemish government tends to ignore the differences between the various ethno-cultural minority groups, taking an assimilationist approach toward immigrants similar to that of the Netherlands. Today, immigrants who want to gain citizenship are offered Flemish language and social orientation courses which are compulsory in Flanders and optional in Brussels since April 2004. On the other hand, the Walloons have a less strict approach towards immigrants, and expect them to adapt to the Belgian-Francophone culture individually.

The Flemish Community subsidizes ethnic organizations in Flanders and Brussels, funding organizations that focus on culture, education, and integration and that function as a meeting point for that ethnic minority group (Kaya & Kentel, 2007). However, while ethnic associations receive funding for activities like “education, sports or citizenship, there is refusal at discursive level to subsidize any activities with a dimension of ethno-cultural identity” (Kaya & Kentel, 2007, p. 22).

Although Belgium has a large immigrant community, issues of immigrant integration started to appear on the political and research agenda as late as the 1990s. The definition of immigrant integration in Belgium includes “protection from discrimination, social exclusion and cultural adaptation in the public domain of the host country, while allowing for (and often actively supporting) diverse ethnic cultures and identities in the private domain of family and

community life” (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003, p. 5). However, some argue that integration is more than just ensuring the continuation of diversity in the private life. Kaya and Kentel (2007) argued that integration should be “more than granting immigrants linguistic or cultural competence: it is also about generating inclusionary political and economic policies for migrants in the public space and labour markets” (p. 88). Thus the importance of political and economic inclusionary policies for immigrant integration is once more underlined.

The legal framework for immigrant integration is well developed in Belgium. Belgium was the first country to trigger a debate about the residency status of immigrants and to grant immigrants political rights in 1969, including the right to vote and to stand for political elections (Kaya & Kentel, 2007). The Gol Law was enacted on June 28, 1984 to limit illegal immigration, to repatriate some immigrants, and to integrate other immigrants through naturalization. Belgium used naturalizations for immigrant integration. The Gol Law was amended on September 3, 1991 to further relieve naturalization requirements so that the third generation children of immigrants are automatically naturalized. The current Belgian immigration law enacted in March 1, 2000, made naturalization even easier, abolishing the requirement to prove allegiance to Belgium to be naturalized (Kaya & Kentel, 2007). Furthermore, a new law enacted in February 19, 2004 granted immigrants the “right to participate in local elections on condition that they could furnish proof of five-year residency in Belgium, registration to vote and that they engaged, in writing, to respect the Belgian constitution” and Belgian laws (Kaya & Kentel, 2007, p. 19).

### **Turkish Immigrants in Belgium**

Kaya and Kentel (2007) complained about the false belief in Western European countries that Turkish immigrants are not successful at integrating into the social, political, economic, and cultural life of their host countries. In fact, the authors disagree with this assumption as a result

of the research they conducted with Turkish immigrants in Germany, France, and Belgium. According to the research conducted by Kaya and Kentel (2007), “55% of Belgian-Turks are ‘not’ or ‘not really’ interested in politics in Turkey” (p. 42). This seems to contradict the generally held stereotype that Turkish immigrants are not interested in the domestic politics of their host countries.

Kaya and Kentel (2007) referred to Turkish immigrants living in Belgium as Belgian-Turks, emphasizing their hyphenated identities and reported that an “overwhelming majority (74%) of all Belgian-Turks primarily identify themselves with hyphenated European identities, as in Europe-Turkish or Turkish-European” (p. 72). However, Kaya and Kentel (2007) also differentiated between Turkish immigrants of different social standing, Belgian-Turks with higher social status underline the European side of their identities while those from lower social classes tend to emphasize their Turkishness more.

Kaya and Kentel (2007) reported that the Turkish population in Belgium is around 200,000, including Turkish immigrants from all ethnic backgrounds. According to the Brussels Minorities Survey (BMS) conducted by Swyngedouw, Phalet, and Deschouwer in 1999, 80% of the Turkish immigrants confirmed that “they see themselves as a genuine community,” especially since most of these immigrants came from the same Anatolian villages and towns due to chain migration over the years (Jacobs, Phalet, & Swyngedouw, 2004, p. 546). More than half of these Belgian-Turks, 58%, were born in Turkey and most, 37%, migrated from Central Anatolia and 39% have a rural background according to research conducted by Kaya and Kentel (2007). Furthermore, 66% of Belgian-Turks reported that they immigrated to Belgium following someone in their family, which reveals the chain migration trend among Belgian-Turks through family reunification and arranged marriages by importing brides and bridegrooms from Turkey

(Kaya & Kentel, 2007). Kaya and Kentel (2007) estimated that around 1,300 brides and bridegrooms come from Turkey to Belgium every year. This is a really high number compared to other immigrant communities in Europe.

Jacobs, Phalet, and Swyngedouw (2006) reported that Turks make up the second largest group of non-EU immigrants living in Brussels with a population of approximately 35,000 residents following Moroccans, who have an approximate population of 90,000 residents. However, these figures do not reflect the exact amount of ethnic minorities in Belgium as these figures are based on nationality, not ethnicity. Hooghe (2005) estimated that the total number of ethnic minorities in Belgium, including those who have acquired Belgian citizenship, is over 300,000. However, an exact count cannot be known as “no statistics are kept of members of the Turkish or Moroccan community who have acquired Belgian nationality” (Hooghe, 2005, p. 979). Therefore, the numbers of Turkish nationals who have been nationalized and became Belgian citizens are not included in these figures. In fact, there are many Turkish immigrants who have acquired Belgian nationality. Kaya and Kentel (2007) reported that 90% of their respondents either have Belgian citizenship or planning to apply for citizenship soon. The decline of foreign populations in Belgium can be linked to the relative ease of the legal acquisition of Belgian nationality.

Belgian-Turks are involved with Turkish print media and TV broadcasting from Turkey, Belgium, and Europe as almost all major Turkish TV channels have European units that provide programming “suitable to the ‘habitats of meaning’ of the diasporic subject” (Kaya & Kentel, 2007, p. 64). Turkish immigrants are also concerned with news involving Turkey, especially after the 1999 Helsinki Summit and Turkey’s accelerated EU integration process. “Turkish politicians, community leaders, businessmen, NGOs, representatives of religious associations,

university professors, students and public officers” visit Brussels frequently, which has further connected Belgian-Turks with Turkey (Kaya & Kentel, 2007, p. 30).

### **Turkish Immigrant Associations in Belgium**

Non-profit organizations, including ethno-cultural associations, need to register to be recognized in Belgium. Registration is done by reporting the organization’s mission statement and organizational structure to the Ministry of Justice, which then gets published in the official state publication *Belgisch Staatsblad/Moniteur Belge* (Jacobs et al., 2006). Turkish immigrants in Belgium have a strong associational life (Kaya & Kentel, 2007; Jacobs et al., 2006). Jacobs et al. (2006) traced 159 registered Turkish associations in Belgium through the Ministry of Justice’s online database of non-profit organizations. Most of these associations were registered in Brussels Capital, in Schaerbeek, Saint-Josse areas, and Anderlecht.

Kaya and Kentel (2007) reported that only 31% of their sample did not belong to an association. In fact, Belgian-Turks are involved in various networks which include associations with an ethno-cultural emphasis, such as hometown fellowship associations, religious associations, and business associations. Especially in Brussels, there is a more equal distribution of associational affiliation including: Labor union, political party, Turkish/Belgian friendship associations, cultural center, sport club, and religious associations (Kaya & Kentel, 2007). Jacobs et al. (2006) mentioned the residential concentration, the ghettoization, of these low-skilled Turkish and Moroccan immigrant communities in “disadvantaged neighborhoods with derelict housing, high unemployment and little hope for short term socio-economic revival” (p. 147). The authors provided 2001 Census data, which also state that Turkish non-nationals tend to live together in neighborhoods in Schaerbeek and Saint-Josse, which are municipalities within Brussels. Manco (n.d.) also reported that around “one-fourth of the country’s Turkish

immigrants live in five of the Brussels-Capital Region's 19 boroughs, namely, Schaerbeek, Saint-Josse, City of Brussels, Anderlecht, and Molenbeek" (p. 4).

The Turkish associations are important because they play a crucial role in the social lives of these immigrants. As Manco (n.d.) emphasized, for some of these "peasant-turned-immigrants," it is the first time they become social actors and participate in community life (p. 10). Turkish immigrant associations influence the lives of Turkish immigrants by helping form "identities and opinions, as well as in setting up the more or less stringent social control that reigns in this community" (Manco, n.d., p. 6). However, being in Europe did not change much in the lives of many of these Turkish immigrants. "This population has recreated in Europe all of the social, political, religious, and ethnic cleavages of Turkey by setting up a true web of immigrant associations, from local associations and local mosques to Europe-wide federations" (Manco, n.d., p. 6).

Kaya and Kentel (2007) complained about the Turkish government's attempts to form a lobby in Europe which causes these immigrant organizations to compete with each other to represent the Turkish population in Europe. The authors claimed that this causes immigrant organizations to focus more on Turkey and Turkish politics. "These ethnic organizations and/or persons searching for recognition by both the countries of destination and origin, tend to heighten their orientation to the homeland and to work for the political and economic interests of the homeland" (Kaya & Kentel, 2007, p. 40).

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts towards immigrant integration through an analysis of the Turkish immigrant community in Brussels. Based on critical case sampling, qualitative interviews with the leaders of Turkish associations in Brussels will be conducted to understand how they receive, evaluate, and

respond to EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts about immigrant integration and their relationship with the European Union. The qualitative interviews will also provide a detailed profile of Turkish associations based in Brussels.

The following research questions have been proposed:

**R.Q. 1** What are the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts to communicate its immigrant integration decisions and initiatives?

**R. Q. 2** How do Turkish association leaders view themselves and the Turkish Diaspora from a Belgian perspective, which may impact the EU integration efforts with this community?

**R. Q. 3** How do leaders of Turkish associations in Brussels receive, evaluate, and respond to EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts about immigrant integration?

**R. Q. 4** Could the Turkish immigrant associations have an influence on the European Union on issues of immigrant integration; are they engaged in a two-way communication, and what are their strategies to influence EU decisions and initiatives?

**R. Q. 5** What are the implications of this research for EU public relations and public diplomacy related to immigrant integration in the European Union?

### CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

In-depth, semi structured qualitative interviews are conducted with Turkish association leaders in Brussels to gauge their understanding of EU public relations and public diplomacy strategies regarding immigrant integration, to identify communication channels the associations use to gather information regarding immigrant integration, and to document their opinions on EU communication strategies. In addition, this study investigates whether two-way communication exists between the Turkish associations and the European Union. Similarly, this study aims to unveil the strategic communication and public relations strategies these immigrant associations use to influence public policy and whether they have the opportunity to influence these strategies through lobbying. This research also opens a window into the relationship of the EU with the civil society and reveals whether a dialogue exists between social interest groups and the European Union.

This research is developed from a qualitative perspective with the goal of understanding the experiences of Turkish immigrants living in Brussels on the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts towards immigrant integration. A qualitative approach provides a researcher more flexibility and freedom, allowing the readers to gain a deeper understanding of how Turkish immigrants, specifically the leaders of Turkish associations, in Brussels feel about the phenomena under study and, particularly, how the EU decisions and initiatives regarding immigrant integration affect the lives of these immigrants. Additionally, the review of the literature revealed that there are no empirical studies on this subject with a qualitative approach. As Kemming and Sandikci (2006) mentioned in their research on Turkey's EU accession efforts, using qualitative research methods enables researchers to "gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon at hand" (p. 34).

## **Qualitative Research and the Role of the Researcher**

As Patton (2002) argued, qualitative research focuses on relatively small samples “selected purposefully to permit inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon in-depth” (p. 46). Thus the focus is to find out a great deal about the selected sample rather than come up with empirical generalizations applicable to other cases. Purposive sampling focuses on in-depth understanding, leading to the selection of information-rich cases for in-depth study. Qualitative researchers are committed to understanding “the world as it unfolds, be true to complexities and multiple perspectives as they emerge, and be balanced in reporting both confirmatory and disconfirming evidence with regard to any conclusions offered” (Patton, 2002, p. 51).

The researcher becomes a critical element in qualitative research. As the researcher is the instrument of data collection and analysis in qualitative research, he or she needs to “carefully reflect on, deal with, and report potential sources of bias and error” (Patton, 2002, p. 51). The qualitative researcher has an inductive approach and works with the data as it emerges rather than taking a deductive approach. The goal of the qualitative researcher is to uncover “the multiple interrelationships among dimensions that emerge from the data without making prior assumptions or specifying hypotheses about the linear or correlative relationships among narrowly defined, operationalized variables” (Patton, 2002, p. 56). The qualitative researcher seeks to comprehend deeper meanings and understand interrelationships in the data.

### **Method**

In-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews are conducted with the leaders of Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels, Belgium to understand how the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding immigrant integration affect the Turkish Diaspora. Brussels is selected as the area for this research for two major reasons. The first reason is that it is the capital of Europe; EU institutions such as the European Commission and the European Council

are headquartered in Brussels. Thus, I assume that if there were one place where the public relations and public diplomacy efforts of the European Union are most visible, this would have to be Brussels because of its diplomatic importance. In addition, as Torrenkens (2007) reported, Muslim cultural associations tend to be concentrated in the municipal districts where Muslim populations live, which include Schaerbeek, Molenbeek, and Brussels-Center. Since the majority of Turkish immigrants are from the Islamic faith, this finding is applicable to Turkish immigrant associations as well. Thus the study specifically focuses on the Turkish immigrant associations in the Brussels capital region.

Selecting the most appropriate method for a particular study is a challenging task. However, the nature of the topic should guide the research design and the data collection methods. Because an in-depth understanding of how Turkish immigrants feel about the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding integration is the goal of the study, in-depth semi-structured interviewing is selected as the qualitative data collection method. Data for this study is collected through in-depth semi-structured interviewing to learn more about how the leaders of Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels experience the public relations and public diplomatic efforts of the European Union for immigrant integration and how these efforts influence the Turkish immigrant community. In addition, the relationship of these associations with the EU institutions is also discussed to further highlight the role of these immigrant associations for the Turkish Diaspora in Brussels.

### **Qualitative Research and Interview Design**

In-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviewing is selected as the method of data collection as it allows for more interaction between a researcher and participants since the participants can provide elaborate responses and have a dialogue with the researcher. As Kvale (1996) suggested, in-depth qualitative interviews allow researchers to understand the

participant's point of view. In-depth qualitative interviews are preferred also because they allow participants to tell their stories and express themselves freely. I believe that in-depth, semi structured interviews are also useful to establish rapport between the study participants and the researcher.

According to Kvale (1996), in-depth qualitative interviews have some basic characteristics. They deal with the participants' "life-world"; focus on understanding a deeper meaning; concerned with quality of experiences; directed at finding out about experiences rather than general opinions; descriptive, not explanatory; open to "new and unexpected phenomena"; concentrated on "particular themes"; can be ambiguous; has the potential to change the researcher or the participant; the sensitivity to the phenomena are affected by the sensitivity of the researcher and the participant; have a highly interpersonal nature; and they can end up being a positive and healing experience (p. 29-36).

I understand that results from in-depth qualitative interviews cannot be generalized to a larger population as in the case of quantitative studies; however, it is an ideal method of inquiry to get a deeper understanding of the issue at hand and to understand the experiences of the participants. While quantitative studies can be generalized due to the large and randomly selected datasets involved, their findings tend to be impersonal and remote from reflecting the real experiences of real people. As Apap (2002) stated, individuals get replaced by general motives or simplistic and generalized behaviors in quantitative studies. "Although such work does provide valuable information, and can clearly demonstrate patterns on inter-regional and intergenerational migration (which is what it sets out to do), the macro-scale analysis of migration tells us little or nothing about the causes and effect of migration," Apap (2002) said (p. 46). To gain a deeper perspective on how Turkish immigrants are affected by European

integration decisions and initiatives and the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts, the voices of the leaders of Turkish immigrant associations need to be heard. In-depth, semi-structured interviews are used because they give participants the opportunity to voice their opinions and reflect on their experiences, which is the goal of this study.

Within in-depth, semi-structured interviews, open-ended questions are used because it allows the participants to express themselves freely and give long descriptions with an emphasis on aspects of the participants' interests, as well as follow up with questions and clarifications. In-depth, semi-structured interviews are also preferred because not having a strict list of questions allows a researcher to be flexible and more exposed to the experiences and opinions of the participants (Clegg, 2006). However, an interview guide is used during the interviews to make sure that the same important questions are answered by each participant and to allow for comparisons between their answers. The interview guide is discussed below.

### **Interview Guide**

The interview guide is an important part of a qualitative study as it lists the issues to be discussed throughout the study and ensures that same issues are followed in interviews with different people. The interview guide helps make "interviewing a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting in advance the issues to be explored" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). With the interview guide that lists the issues to be discussed at hand, "the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). Patton (2002) also recommended a mixed approach to interviewing. A researcher may combine a guide approach with a standardized interview format by asking certain key questions exactly as pre-determined, while being more explorative with other issues mentioned on the interview guide. This is the approach used in the interviewing process for this study. The most important role of the interview guide is to organize the

information gathered. If an interview guide has been planned strategically, it may even constitute “a descriptive analytical framework for analysis” (Patton, 2002, p. 440). This allows a researcher to organize the data analysis section based on the structure and order of the interview guide.

Because the interviews conducted for this research are semi-structured, it is challenging to control the exact direction of the interviews since the participants are encouraged to speak freely of their experiences during the interviews. Therefore, the interview guide includes some predetermined questions. The guide includes seven predetermined questions about participant demographics to get background information on the participants. These questions mainly focus on their life and how they came to Brussels, where they work, what occupation they have and their education level. The guide also includes eight questions about the mission and the activities of the Turkish immigrant associations. These questions go into detail about the mission of the organizations, their membership and what kinds of activities the organization has for its members and how the associations communicate with their members. Later, I ask the participants questions related to the European Union and immigrant integration. There are fifteen questions that focus on the immigrant integration efforts of the European Union and public relations and public diplomacy efforts. The interview questions were prepared to address the research questions regarding the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts for immigrant integration. I had 30 predetermined questions in the interview guide, which were covered in all interviews. Although there were 30 predetermined questions to guide the flow of the interviews, I also used other questions or probes to follow-up on an issue a participant introduces or to get a deeper understanding of issues (see informed consents and interview questions in English and Turkish in Appendices A, B, C, and D).

In the first part of the interviews, I began by asking demographic questions to get basic information about the participants to gain an understanding on their backgrounds and also to establish rapport between myself and participants. After covering the basic demographic questions and getting a personal history and detailed information about the organizations they represent, I moved to questions about the EU integration efforts. I tried to learn about how these Turkish associations are influenced by the EU public relations and public diplomatic efforts about immigrant integration.

Another goal was to understand how much the participants are aware of the EU immigrant integration strategies, how they are affected by them, how they learn about them, and how they feel about how the European Union communicates these integration strategies to them through public diplomacy and public relations. This part of the interview specifically focused on the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts regarding immigrant integration and what the participants think about these efforts. I also tried to learn participants' opinions about how they think the European Union should use public relations and public diplomacy to communicate with them about issues regarding immigrants and integration. Finally, I asked questions about two-way communication and the role of the associations in influencing public policy, whether they have any direct contact or relationship with the EU institutions, and whether they can engage in two-way communication or in lobbying activities to influence policy or raise their voices regarding issues of immigrant integration.

Some of the questions that were asked during the interviews are listed below:

- Please tell me a little bit about yourself and how you started your life in Belgium.
- How long have you been working for the organization and briefly what are your roles and responsibilities?
- How would you define the function of your organization?

- How many members does your organization currently have?
- How do you communicate and interact with your members?
- What are the goals of your organization?
- How does your organization help Turkish immigrants living in Brussels?
- How much do you know about EU immigrant integrations efforts?
- How do you follow the most recent developments and decisions and initiatives?
- How do you learn about EU immigrant integration efforts?
- What are some of the information sources you use or events you have attended regarding EU integration?
- What do you think about these integration decisions and initiatives and EU's public relations/public diplomatic efforts for communicating them with the immigrant communities?
- Do the EU institutions communicate with the Turkish community about immigrant integration and EU decisions and initiatives?
- Do you receive any direct (personal or mediated) communication from the EU?
- How do you think should the EU institutions inform people about immigrant integration efforts?
- What does the ordinary Turkish TCN living in Brussels know about the EU immigrant integration efforts and decisions and initiatives?
- How do they learn about them?
- What's the role of your association in informing Turkish immigrants about EU immigrant integration efforts?
- Is there any room for two-way communication with the EU?
- Do you have any direct contact with EU officials?
- Is there any potential for lobbying for your organization to influence EU policy in Brussels?
- Could you explain your organization's own strategic communication strategies to proactively influence public policy regarding immigrant integration?

- What strategies do you think the European Union institutions should use to communicate with the public and inform them about EU level immigrant integration efforts and new developments?

### **Interviewing Process**

All participants were interviewed individually using an in-depth, semi-structured interview approach, which gives the participants an opportunity to express themselves freely. This allows researchers to stay open to the experiences of the participants and learn more about their knowledge regarding the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts about immigrant integration. All interviews were audio recorded using a digital audio recorder with the permission of the participants. To protect the confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants, they were assigned numbers immediately after the interviews and any personal information, name, address, and any other information linking their name to a specific organization were removed from files. In the Chapters 6 and 7 when the results and conclusions are being discussed, only the association types are used to differentiate the data and the participants are referred to as “the leader of a business association”, or “the leader of a political association” and so on depending on the type of association the participant represents.

I took field notes before, during, and after the interviews to describe the nature of the interview, the environment it took place in, the psychological state of the participants and other significant factors I found interesting to note. I first explained the informed consent process to the participants and asked them to read and sign the consent form approved by the University of Florida Institutional Review Board (IRB). Because the original informed consent document is in English, a Turkish version of the form was also produced and both the English and Turkish versions were signed by respondents if they wish to be a part of the study.

Interviews were conducted in the native language of the participants, which is Turkish. Interviews were digitally recorded, and then transcribed verbatim in Turkish. After the initial

analysis in Turkish, selected quotes and themes were translated into English, and then back translated to Turkish to prevent meaning loss and ensure a correct interpretation. I translated the transcripts with help from a professional Turkish-English translator, who was consulted for the translation and back translation. The results of the interviews are analyzed in the results section.

### **Web Site Analysis**

Online research has been gaining popularity in the academic world. Tingling, Parent, and Wade (2003) reported that the “ubiquity of the Internet and e-mail has resulted in a burgeoning interest in their potential for academic research” (p. 223). Brügger (2009) also suggested that the Internet has also become an “important part of our communicative infrastructure for some years” (p. 115). Stanton and Rogelberg (2001) argued that new methods for conducting organizational research through the analysis of organizational Web sites is possible.

As a research tool, the Internet allows “wider, faster and easier access to much information that already exists” (Fielden, 2001, p. 31). Fielden (2001) suggested that the Internet can be used for both primary and secondary research as it permits researchers to access organizational and governmental data as many post information and documents on their Web sites. In addition, computer technologies allow researchers to download and save documents to analyze them in a later time. I decided to analyze the EU Web site to find information regarding EU immigrant integration public relations, public diplomacy, and communication strategies. The idea was to capture the most recent information regarding these strategic communication practices. I believe that the examination of the EU Web site through textual analysis of documents and reports found on the EU Web site was an effective method to reach this information. As Ó Dochartaigh (2002) mentioned, today, most businesses, governments and organizations, including the European Union, utilize their Web sites to share organizational information on the Internet as a way of reducing their printing and distribution costs.

Brügger (2009) argued that Web site research needs to be precise about the object of study. What is crucial is to determine the concrete Web material to be examined. Later the analysis of text found on the Web site is executed. It is important to realize that researchers do not approach Web sites “as an entity experienced by a concrete visitor, but as an object of analysis in its own right” (Brügger, 2009, p. 118). This study also utilizes secondary research through the analysis of the documents and information found on the EU Web site. I focused specifically on EU documents and reports involving immigrant integration public relations, public diplomacy, and communication strategies.

The EU Web site was searched to examine the immigrant integration strategies of the European Union and its public relations and public diplomacy efforts in trying to inform the public about these immigrant integration strategies. The advanced search option on the EU Web site was used to search the keywords: *Public relations; public diplomacy; and communication*. Later, I used textual analysis to examine the documents and the twelve Web pages identified. I specifically looked for EU actions for communicating to the public, and the strategies proposed to inform the public about immigrant integration issues.

The result of this textual analysis of the EU documents and Web pages on the EU Web site answers research question number one, what are the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts to communicate its immigrant integration decisions and initiatives? The answer to this research question is provided in Chapter 5.

### **Critical Case Sampling**

The sampling strategy used in this research study is critical case sampling which is a purposive sampling strategy. Purposive sampling is common to qualitative studies where participants are selected to answer the research questions proposed by a study. Maxwell (1997) argued that purposive sampling can be used to recruit specific “settings, persons, or events”

because of the “information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (p. 87). Critical case sampling focuses on identifying and using participants who can make a point quite dramatically or are particularly important in the scheme of things for trying to understand what’s happening in that critical case.

The main criterion for critical case sampling is the that assumption that “if something doesn’t happen here, it won’t happen anywhere,” or “if this group is having problems, we can be sure that all groups are having problems” (Patton, 2002, p. 236). Patton (2002) suggested that critical cases can be used to come up with logical generalizations regarding a situation, “[c]ertain kinds of small samples, a critical case, are selected and studied precisely because they have broader relevance” (p. 581). The main goal of critical case sampling is to understand an issue based on the sample under study due to that sample’s unique situation. Patton (2002) provided a scenario for the potential use of critical case sampling: To evaluate whether regulations in a community are properly understood, one can study the well-educated citizens; because if these well-educated people are having issues with understanding the regulations, then we can almost be sure that less-educated people will have more problems with understanding the regulations.

This scenario is similar to the question this study focuses on. If the leaders of Turkish associations in Brussels are having issues accessing information about immigrant integration in the European Union, then it is highly unlikely that ordinary Turkish immigrants will be knowledgeable about immigrant integration issues in the European Union. Thus, Turkish association leaders will be a target public or stakeholder to receive information regarding the EU immigrant integration efforts since it can be assumed that they are more informed than ordinary immigrants due to their leadership roles within the Turkish community in Brussels. Finding out about how much these leaders know about EU public relations and public diplomatic efforts

about immigrant integration provides clues about whether the European Union is successful in its public relations and public diplomatic efforts at reaching out to Turkish immigrant community in Brussels.

### **Population and Participant Selection**

The population for this research includes the leaders of Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels. Turkish associations registered in the Brussels-capital region were identified through a keyword search in the database of nonprofit associations (ASBL) in the Belgian Official Journal on February 23, 2009 (“Belgian Official Journal,” n.d.). The keywords “Turk,” “Turc,” “Turkse,” and “Turkish” were entered in English, French, and Flemish and searched to identify the names and addresses of these Turkish associations. However, one needs to be aware of the fact that this search in the online database only provides the list of registered nonprofit associations that are included in the Belgian Official Journal. However, there may be other associations that function on an informal basis. In this research, only registered Turkish associations are included for analysis.

Later, the list compiled from the Belgian Official Journal Web site was compared with three other lists identified on the same day, February 23, 2009. The three other lists were identified through the Web site of the Turkish Consulate in Brussels (“Turkish Consulate,” n.d.); Gudem.be, which is a news and information Web site for Turkish nationals living in Brussels (“Gudem.be,” n.d.), and finally from the Karakocas Village Web site, which is a fellowship Web site that connects Belgian-Turks who are from the same village and provides important information about living in Belgium, in addition to news and information about the village (“Karakocas,” n.d.). The total number of Turkish immigrant associations in Belgium is 82 according to the lists found on these Web sites. A total of 28 of these associations are based in Brussels.

Before starting the interviews, I realized that this will not be an easy process due to the closed nature of the Turkish community in Brussels and I had no connections. However, I was fortunate to meet the editor, Serpil Aygun, and a writer, Erdinc Utku, of the monthly Turkish newspaper, *Binfikir*, who helped me to contact these associations and their leaders. The two *Binfikir* writers were extremely helpful in identifying the largest, most active, and well-known associations from the lists and helping me to distinguish between the different types of associations and to categorize them. In addition, they were also instrumental in helping me contact these associations by providing the most recent contact information for the associations. Having such a reference has been beneficial in terms of gaining access to and acceptance from these leaders.

For the categorization and analysis of different types of Turkish immigrant associations, I decided to use the categorization system used by Kaya and Kentel (2007), who argued that immigrant associations can be grouped as: Labor union, political party, Turkish/Belgian friendship associations, cultural center, sport club, and religious associations. My goal was to interview association leaders from diverse backgrounds to reach varying opinions and to be able to make comparisons between different types of associations. However, it must be noted that sports clubs are not included in the analysis as I assumed that they do not have much contact with the European Union or deal with integration issues as these associations tend to be formed by the fans and followers of different sports clubs in Turkey to support their teams. Excluding the sports clubs, I tried to solicit equal participation from the different types of immigrant associations to provide rich data and diverse opinions.

The two Turkish politicians in Brussels and the diplomat from the Turkish embassy were also interviewed to provide diversity of opinions about the Turkish community in Brussels and

EU immigrant integration efforts. Some association leaders suggested that I interview these politicians because they believed that the interviews would be informative and enrich data gathering. I contacted the Turkish diplomat because she believed that it would also provide a different point of view as he would be able to address some of the issues raised by the participants during the interviews.

Sampling and sample size are complex issues for qualitative research. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), two principles guide the selection of the participants. The first is completeness, or saturation point as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967), where the interviewer's goal is to understand the phenomena and the narratives become the same. If no new data is provided by new participants, then the information is regarded as complete. The second principle is the ability of researchers to test the information gained through the interviews in other sites for similarities or differences. So if new participants provide similar information, then it means that the data collected reflect the nature of the phenomenon being studied.

As Patton (2002) suggested, if the goal of the research is to maximize information about a specific phenomenon, then sampling is complete at a point where new sampled units cannot provide any new or different information. However, being aware of the sensitivity of the academia regarding sample sizes, Patton (2002) recommended that "qualitative sampling designs specify minimum samples based on expected reasonable convergence of the phenomenon given the purpose of the study and stakeholder interests. One may add to the sample as fieldwork unfolds" (p. 246). This means that a researcher can start from an estimated sample size, but he or she needs to be flexible and be willing to increase the sample size if new information keeps of emerging throughout the research. This research also used this strategy for sampling. Six different categories of immigrant associations are included in the study: Labor union, political

party, Turkish/Belgian friendship associations, cultural center, and religious associations as suggested by Kaya and Kentel (2007). In addition, the leader of a fellowship association is also interviewed to add to the associational mosaic. I tried to solicit participants from each of these different types of associations. In addition, informative interviews with the two Turkish politicians and one diplomat from the Turkish embassy in Brussels were also conducted to provide a different point of view than those of the association leaders. A total of 23 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted between April and May 2009 in Brussels for this research.

For inclusion in this study, participants had to be Turkish immigrants living in Brussels who live there and are currently in a leadership position in a Turkish association officially registered in Brussels. Participants had to be 18 years or older and all of them signed the consent form to participate in the study. The informed consent forms, both in English and Turkish, are available in Appendices A and B.

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis enables researchers to organize the interviews and to present a narrative to explain “what happened or to provide a description of the norms and values that underline cultural behavior” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 229). Some argue that data analysis begins with transcription. Patton (2002) recommended researchers to write transcripts themselves, rather than using a third party for transcribing as the author believes that the transcription process helps researchers to “get immersed in the data, an experience that usually generates emergent insights” (p. 441). I also transcribed the interviews myself to establish a relationship with the data from the beginning. I transcribed the interviews the evening the interviews were conducted to make sure that the information is fresh and also so that I can add the field notes I took about the interviews the day they happened.

After the transcription process is over, the first step is coding through textual analysis. Rubin and Rubin (1995) stated that coding begins with identifying small categories, followed by themes and arguments to identify the theoretical implications of the data. Coding is done by rereading the interviews to identify themes, concepts, and ideas. This can be done through picking out commonly used words or strange words, paying attention to nouns or phrases repeated frequently in the interviews, and even analyzing stories told by participants.

Textual analysis allows researchers to identify, code, categorize, classify, and label major patterns (Patton, 2002). The goal of textual analysis is to understand what is significant and to identify core meanings which are referred to as themes or patterns. Researchers then combine information from different interviews, creating “descriptive themes that no individual interviewee mentioned” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 235). Identification of themes or patterns makes up the descriptive phase of analysis.

Later comes the interpretive phase, where researchers extract meanings from the data, make comparisons, construct frameworks for interpretation, draw conclusions, and determine what is significant and in some cases, even generate theories (Patton, 2002). In the interpretive phrase, in-depth description and direct quotations help the reader “to enter into the situation and thoughts of the people represented in the report” (Patton, 2002, p. 503). Patton (2002) recommended that during data analysis, researchers need to be aware of personal predispositions and identify biases. One way to do this is to look for alternative themes, different patterns, and other explanations. One also needs to think about “other possibilities and then seeing if those possibilities can be supported by the data” (p. 553). This adds to the overall credibility of the research and the researcher (Patton, 2002, p. 560).

After the interviews were transcribed, I made some notes about the interviews and filed them together with the field notes from each interview. The digital copies of all documents are stored on two different hard drives and these will be saved for up to five years for future references or made available to any interested party.

A textual analysis of the transcripts is conducted in Turkish to identify ideas, concepts, certain words, important statements, repetitions, and approaches to determine themes. Ryan and Bernard (2003) proposed four steps for analyzing text: “(1) discovering themes and subthemes, (2) winnowing themes to a manageable few, (3) building hierarchies of themes, and (4) linking themes into theoretical models” (p. 85). After transcribing the interviews, I immersed myself in the transcripts and field notes to identify themes. Once keywords, repetitions, significant sentences, concepts, and the themes were identified, they are translated into English, and then back to Turkish to make sure that meaning is not lost in translation.

I used an inductive approach in the data analysis, where themes are explicated from the data collected. The themes, patterns and significant statements are organized to answer the research questions proposed by the study. I used the field notes from the interviews to enhance the data analysis and to interpret the themes that emerged from the textual analysis. These findings are discussed and analyzed in the results section.

The results section also includes information on how I gained access to the study participants, what prior knowledge I brought to the research including presuppositions, and what kind of personal relationships I developed with the participants and the issues examined. My personal experiences as a researcher are also included in the results section to reflect on the interviewing process.

Member checking is recommended for qualitative research. Member checking is generally used to improve the validity, accuracy and credibility of the research results. Creswell (2007) suggested that a researcher solicits participants' views of the credibility of the finding and interpretations by taking “data, analyses, interpretation, and conclusion back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the account” (p. 209). There are many types of member checking techniques, but the main idea is to share a part or all of the research findings with the study participants for them to check whether these are an accurate reflection of the discussion that took place during the data collection process. The responses of the participants are used as a measure to determine whether the results, the analyses, and the interpretations reflect the actual thoughts, feelings or suggestions of the participants.

Member checking was used in this research as well. I emailed the participants a list of the themes I identified and asked them if these themes reflect and cover the issues we discussed during the interviews. A total of 16 participants were emailed and seven of those 16 responded to my email. These participants agreed that the themes covered the main issues we discussed. Some participants made some additions, which are also covered within these main themes. After I have received the emails from the participants, I felt confident that the results section covers most of issues we discussed and no participant disagrees with the themes I identified.

### **Reporting and Interpreting the Results**

After the interviews are analyzed, the main themes, patterns, and meanings are identified and discussed in the results section. The results section is structured to answer the research questions proposed at the end of the literature review section. Major themes identified in the participants' responses are discussed in the results section. The conclusions section includes a discussion and interpretation of these themes to answer the research questions one by one.

The research question number one, which focuses on the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts to communicate immigrant integration decisions and initiatives, is discussed through secondary research by reviewing the literature and an analysis of documents and European Union Web site. The research question number two focuses on the views of the Turkish association leaders on the Turkish community and Brussels and the main issues affecting them. The themes identified will be analyzed in the results section.

The third research question is about how Turkish immigrant associations receive, evaluate, and respond to EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts about immigrant integration. This question is answered by how the Turkish association leaders learn about EU immigrant integrations strategies and what they think about the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts, specifically focusing on immigrant integration issues. Then the research answers the fourth research question, whether these association leaders have an influence on the European Union regarding issues of immigrant integration, if two-way communication with EU officials is possible, and what strategies they might use to influence EU decisions and initiatives.

The final research question, what we learn from the interplay of public relations and public diplomacy in terms of nongovernmental and social interest groups' participation in influencing policy, is also answered in the conclusions section. This is accomplished firstly by examining how Turkish associations are influenced by the public diplomatic and the public relations efforts of the European Union. In addition, the role of these Turkish immigrant associations in influencing policy and how they use public relations and public diplomacy to disseminate information to their stakeholders is analyzed.

Patton (2002) recommended that researchers should report how the design decisions and sampling strategies may have influenced the results of the study. The conclusions section

includes a discussion about the sampling strategies used and its strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, my personal predispositions are also reported, including “any personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation” (Patton, 2002, p. 566).

## CHAPTER 4 TURKEY, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

### **Turkey and the European Union – A Long History**

The historical background of Turkey-European Union relations is important for understanding the relationship between Turkish immigrants, the European society, and the European Union as Kaya and Kentel (2007) also highlighted. Turkey and Europe have been involved in some sort of a relationship for a very long time. They have been neighbors, enemies, allies, and influencers to each other. In the very beginning of this relationship, when Turks first arrived to Anatolia from middle Asia, Europeans “fought the Turks and tried to drive them away from Europe for about 16 centuries beginning in 425 C.E., when Atilla, the emperor of the Huns, besieged Rome” (Hakki, 2005, p. 395). The Europeans almost achieved their goal in the 1912-1913 Balkan War. However, 90 years later, circumstances brought Turks to Europe, to the gates of Brussels as a candidate for EU membership.

But the image of the Turk has always been the image of the other for Europeans, an image that often contradicted itself. The ‘Turk’ was a part of the East, “the decadent, effete, depraved, and weak societies of the ‘East,’ dominated by the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, the ‘Turk’ was also portrayed as a powerful Mediterranean seafarer or a Barbary pirate: A shrewd and cruel warrior and a potent enemy to be feared and respected” (Teitelbaum & Martin, 2003, p. 98). As the authors argued, although contradictory, both of these images, the warrior and the weak Eastern, even though they were created in the eighteenth century, have continued to exist and influence European perceptions of Turks and even define Turkey for Europeans as the outsider of Europe and alien to the European culture.

The diplomatic relationship between Europe and Turkey is based on a discourse dating back 500 years, where Turkey, then the Ottoman Empire, along with Russia, has been Europe’s

“principal other” (Hülse, 2006, p. 312). According to Hülse (2006), “Turkey did not belong to the European/Christian club, had to wait outside the European house, and instead of being part of Europe, was but the bridge between Europe and Islam” (p. 312). This historical discourse makes it hard for Europeans to push aside their historical stereotypes and start seeing Turkey as a part of the West, as one of them and regard Turkish immigrants as an integral part of their societies.

After the Second World War, Turkey was an active player in the establishment of the “new Europe.” Turkey became a member of OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) in 1948, the Council of Europe in 1949, and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1952. Turkey also applied for associate membership to the EEC (European Economic Community) in 1959 and signed the Ankara Agreement in 1963, which stated that when both the EEC and Turkey agree that Turkey has fulfilled the necessary obligations, then Turkey could be a full EEC member (McLaren & Muftuler-Bac, 2003).

As McLaren and Muftuler-Bac (2003) asserted, on December 31, 1995, Turkey signed the Customs Union for industrial products with the European Union, making it the first country to sign the customs union without achieving full membership. Despite high hopes, the December 1997 Luxembourg Summit which included all the other candidate countries to start accession negotiations but Turkey, discouraged the Turkish public and created hostility towards the European Union. However, the feeling of pessimism changed after the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, during which even the most opposing countries to Turkey’s EU membership, Greece and Germany, agreed to grant Turkey candidacy.

On March 8, 2001 the EU Accession Partnership (AP) program was established with Turkey, which consisted of short- and medium-term measures to help Turkey meet the criteria for membership. Shortly after this, on March 19, 2001 the Turkish government’s adoption of the

National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis (NPAA) was announced. As Avci (2003) stated, the NPAA consisted of short- and medium-term reforms, including “89 new laws, and amendments to 94 existing laws” (p. 155). On October 3, 2001, the government of the time passed an additional legislative package of 34 amendments to the 1982 Constitution (Avci, 2003, p. 155).

Although elections for the new Turkish government were to be held on November 3, 2002, the existing government passed a package of human rights reforms in an overnight marathon session on August 3, 2002. The reforms included: The abolition of the death penalty in peacetime, legalized broadcasting and education in languages other than Turkish (mainly Kurdish), removed the penalties for criticizing state institutions (including the military), eased restrictions on associations and demonstrations, and finally gave permission to allow non-Muslim religious foundations to buy and sell real estate (Avci, 2003, p. 163). These changes and reforms were regarded as a positive development for Turkey’s EU membership since it meant that there was the prospect of the opening of the accession negotiations with Turkey. A definite date to formal accession negotiations would be a positive light for the Turkish public since it would help to “allay doubts regarding European Union’s intentions and would further motivate and speed-up the reform process” (Avci, 2003, p. 151).

On November 3, 2002 the new government was elected. AKP (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi – Justice and Development Party) won the elections, and established a single party government (which was a contrast to the previous coalition government made up of three political parties). The new AKP government, “keen on gaining credibility and establishing confidence with the voter, lobbied intensively in many European capitals and even in the United States” (Avci, 2003, p. 151). However, the results were not as positive as they hoped because the European Union

stated that negotiations can only start in 2005 with 25 EU members including the 10 new member states. This was an important decision because it meant that Turkey's EU membership had to be approved by 25 states instead of 15. Yet, the AKP government did not lose hope and committed itself to accomplish the necessary EU reforms (Avci, 2003). The AKP government was eager to do the necessary reforms and gain at least official candidacy status for Turkey.

Rubin (2003) argued that “the question of Turkish membership in the European Union is proportionately the most important issue of this type for any state in history” (Rubin, 2003, p. 1), since it has become so much more than a membership issue to a supranational organization. Turks see the EU membership as an image and an identity issue. Turkey wants to be a member of the European Union, thus be a member of Europe, of the Western-developed world, and complete the important legacy of the founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who wanted Turkey to be among the developed Western nations. The question of EU membership for Turkey “has become no less than a symbol for the successful completion of the long-term Ataturk revolution, involving the most basic and vital points of identity and orientation for Turkey” (Rubin, 2003, p. 1).

Thus, the EU membership is regarded as the completion of a long dream for many Turkish citizens; it has a deep symbolic meaning of being successful, being developed, being modern, being Western, and finally achieving the goal that was set in the beginning of the republic by its founder, Ataturk. “To be a full ‘member’ of Europe would mean Turkey’s total, irrevocable acceptance as a Western state. It would mark the fulfillment of 80 years of labor and transformation for the Turkish people and the state” (Rubin, 2003, p. 1).

Turkish people who support the EU membership regard countries that are against Turkey's integration into the European Union as an insult towards the country and its efforts, since it is

implied that Turkey is not developed or modern enough to be a member of the European Union. Turkish people who support the EU membership would argue that Turkey is not accepted because of the religion of most of its citizens – Islam, or the pre-existing Orientalist approaches in the West currently towards Turkey. “For if Turks see membership as such a vital proof of Turkey’s European and civilized nature, opposition to Turkey’s entrance is constructed as a rejection of those principles by those who hate, look down on, or discriminate against Turkey” (Rubin, 2003, p. 1).

The European Union’s reasons for obstructing Turkey’s membership are listed by Rubin (2003) as: The country’s population, and the issues of political weight it will have in the Union after membership, and the immigration issue that might increase unemployment; poverty relative to EU member states, and the economic aid EU would have to provide to Turkey to improve standards; the economic structure (dependency on IMF); its Muslim population; some anti-Turkish movements in Europe; human rights and democracy issues; the Armenian issue; the Kurdish question, the Cyprus question (which the European Union wants Turkey to solve before starting the negotiation process); and direct conflicts with Greece. Turkey is still waiting to be a member of the European Union, passing laws and changing rights and regulations to comply with the EU standards. No one knows yet if Turkey’s dream of being a part of Europe, finally being European, will ever come true.

### **History of the European Union**

The most important fact that needs to be noted here about the European Union is its everchanging and constantly evolving structure. The European Union and its institutions are under constant change and construction. This makes the study of the European Union quite a challenging task due to its everchanging structure. However, this research focuses on the information available until this time and studies the European Union at its current state.

The European Union is a supranational organization which consists of 27 member states today. EU member states are independent sovereign nations that came together to pool their sovereignty through delegating some of their decision-making powers to EU institutions, thus becoming stronger and increasing their influence in the international arena.

The European Union is unique in the world due to its supranational structure which makes it more than an international organization. In fact, no other international organization has seen such a high degree of sharing of sovereignty in all areas of political, economic, and cultural life. “No other combination of states has arrangements even remotely like those that apply in the European Union, where cooperation and integration are consciously practised across such a wide range of policy sectors and where so many policy responsibilities have been referred from individual states to collective institutions” (Nugent, 2006, p. 56).

The European Union has emerged because governments agreed to share sovereignty to protect their national interest, as a “response to national governments’ efforts to increase their countries’ security and economic well-being in an increasingly independent and competitive global environment” (Dinan, 2005, pp. 1-2). The beginning of the European Union can be pointed to the Schumann Declaration in May 1950 which called for a united Europe, a supranational unity that is not just economic but also political. Another goal of the Schumann declaration was to start Franco-German reconciliation.

In April 1951, the Treaty of Paris brought France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands together to start negotiations for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The ECSC was established a year later, in July 1952, through the signing of the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty. The treaty laid the foundations of a common market, which had a supranational characteristic and urged the member states to share decision-

making in coal and steel related matters, which were crucial resources for the reconstruction of Europe after World War I and II. These six states aimed to guarantee peace by sharing decision-making powers and controlling the energy resources together.

However, a challenge that has united Europe was the need for further integration. This issue was addressed at the Messina meeting in June 1955, resulting in the Messina Resolution which pushed for further economic integration. The Treaties of Rome were signed on March 25, 1957 by the six founding states. Two organizations were created as a result of the treaties which came into effect in 1958. The European Economic Community (EEC) was founded to establish closer economic relationships between the member states through the establishment of a liberal, non-interventionist free market; and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), which was especially requested by France for fear of German reconciliation. France wanted to have control over atomic energy, the newest energy source of the time.

The Treaty of Paris (1951) and the Treaties of Rome (1958) may be regarded as the founding treaties of the European Union. These treaties resulted in the integration of economic activities and the coming together of the member states through supranational decision making. The four institutions of the European Union, the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Assembly (later called the European Parliament after 1962), and the Court of Justice were all established when the European Economic Community was established.

In addition to focusing on further integration, the European Union was also growing. Enlargement started in 1973 with the joining of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark to the European Economic Community. This first wave of enlargement was followed by the joining of Greece in 1981 and the joining of Spain and Portugal in 1986. In fact, 1986 was an important year for the history of the European Union, and not just because of the doubling of the

member size of the European Economic Community with the joining of Spain and Portugal. The Single European Act (SEA) was signed which created a free market between member states allowing for the free movement of goods, services, and capital, and which created a common front for economic and trade relations with third countries. SEA also gave the European Economic Community broader policy and decision making power, in addition to increasing the influence of the Parliament and trying to solve the issue of the democratic deficit in decision making. Another function of SEA was to increase the pace of European integration.

The wave of integration continued with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, where the “European Union” was established and was accepted as the new name of the European Economic Community. The European Union had a three pillar structure where the first pillar was the European communities, the second pillar was the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the third pillar contained the Justice and Home Affairs. The Maastricht Treaty also resulted in the establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

In 1995, the European Union saw another enlargement through the memberships of Austria, Sweden, and Finland, which is also referred to as the EFTA expansion because European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries became members. Norway also was one of the membership aspiring countries; however the membership of Norway to the European Union was rejected in a national referendum.

The Amsterdam Treaty, signed in 1997, caused further policy and institutional deepening through strengthening the EU decision making structure. The co-decision procedure, which was first initiated in the Maastricht Treaty, where the European Parliament gained veto power was extended in the Amsterdam Treaty to more policy spheres. The single currency, EURO, started to be used in January 1, 1999, which was an important step for monetary union in the European

Union. The Nice Treaty of 2001 tried to make the EU decision making more efficient and brought changes to the voting system.

One of the most significant treaties of the European Union is the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe signed in 2004, which is also referred to as Constitutional Treaty. The significance of this treaty was that its ambitious goal, which was to establish a constitution for the European Union, making the treaty similar to a constitutional convention. Unfortunately, the integration enthusiasm was not equally shared by all of the EU member states. Ratification issues surfaced when the constitution was rejected in national referendums in France and Netherlands in 2005.

However, 2004 was not only significant due to the Constitutional Treaty, but also due to the enlargement of the European Union to an organization with 25 member states with the addition of 10 new member states including: The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Mediterranean islands of Malta and Cyprus, on May 1, 2004. Romania and Bulgaria joined the European Union on January 1, 2007 which increased the number of EU member states to 27 (“Romania and Bulgaria,” 2007).

With the 2004 enlargement, the European Union gained importance in the international stage by becoming a large commercial power with a population over 450 million people. In this large union of 25 member states, the Franco-German axis is not as strong of an influence as it was before and the European Union has more openness and accountability in its decision making structure (Nugent, 2006). As the author stated, further deepening and widening of the European Union was established. Deepening was created through the “development of institutional and policy integration in numerous and far-reaching respects,” and widening was achieved by the expansions in the “1970s, 1980s, and 1990s to embrace virtually the whole of Western Europe,

and then – dramatically and momentarily – expanding further in 2004 to incorporate much of Central and Eastern Europe” (Nugent, 2006, p. 56).

### **Institutions and Policies of the European Union**

The European Union is made up of three main institutions: The European Parliament, which is directly elected by EU citizens and represents them; the Council of the European Union, representing the member states in taking policy and legislative decisions; and the European Commission, whose goal is to uphold the interests of the European Union and implement EU policies and laws. To summarize the roles of the EU institutions, the Commission proposes new laws, the Council decides and the Parliament advises. Later, the laws get adopted by the Council and the Parliament. After these laws are adopted, the Commission and member states implement these laws, and the Commission ensures that the laws are properly implemented. The fourth EU institution, the Court of Justice’s role is to uphold European law (“EU Institution,” 2008; Nugent, 2006).

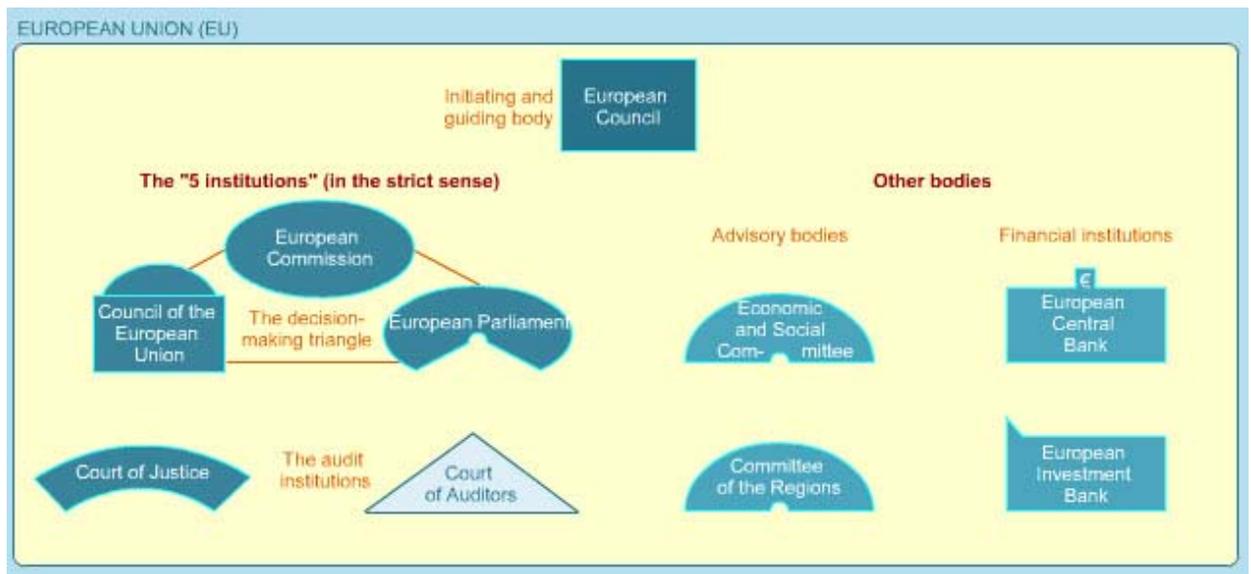


Figure 4-1 Institutions of the European Union (Source: [http://www.ena.lu/institutions\\_european\\_union\\_simplified\\_diagram-021000025.html](http://www.ena.lu/institutions_european_union_simplified_diagram-021000025.html) Last accessed July, 2009).

The roles and responsibilities of these EU institutions are defined in the various Treaties, which lay down the foundations of the European Union. The treaties also define the rules and procedures of the EU institutions. The Treaties are agreed by the presidents and/or prime ministers of all the EU countries, and are later ratified by their respective national parliaments to go into effect.

The European Union also has a number of other bodies that function in different areas: The European Economic and Social Committee represents civil society, employers and employees; the Committee of the Regions represents regional and local authorities; the European Investment Bank's role is to finance EU investment projects, and it helps small businesses through the European Investment Fund; the European Central Bank is responsible for the European monetary policy; the European Ombudsman investigates maladministration complaints by the EU institutions and bodies; the European Data Protection Supervisor safeguards personal data's privacy; the Office for Official Publications of the European Communities publishes information regarding the European Union; the European Personnel Selection Office recruits staff for the EU institutions and other bodies; the European Administrative School's role is to provide training to the EU staff members in specific areas ("EU Institutions," 2008).

The EU policies have generally been determined through the various treaties, where issues in treaties influenced European policy making. Major EU policies could be listed as: Single European Market (SEM); Macroeconomic and Financial policies; Functional policies; Sectoral policies; and External policies.

The Single European Market policy focuses on establishing a common market to promote the free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital. In addition to establishing a common market, the policy also entails the establishment of common external tariffs, protecting

competition and the harmonization of national laws and regulations to protect the common market. Other macroeconomic policies focus on the management of the common currency, which is important for European integration. Functional policies include policies with a functional purpose which can be listed as: Justice and Home Affairs policies, controlling terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime; cohesion policy, which aims at the balanced distribution of resources across EU member states; Social, Employment and Economic Growth policies which interest the workers within the borders of the European Union; Energy policy; Research and Technological Development policy; and Environmental policy.

Structural policies refer to policies that are focused on certain economic sector such as shipbuilding and fishing. External policies make up an important part of the EU agenda and these include policies directed at the control of external trade; foreign, security and defense policy; development policy; and policies regarding the external implications of internal policies.

### **European Union and Immigration**

Europe has been an area of immigration and emigration. People have migrated to and from Europe for various reasons. Europe has attracted people from around the world due to its financial and work opportunities it provides to immigrants. Immigration to Europe can be examined in two perspectives: Intra-European and extra-European which include former colonies and other countries. Intra-European immigration was from “southern European countries, particularly Portugal, Italy, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia, to north-west European countries including Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and Switzerland” (Geddes, 2000, p. 18).

Migration is an important issue for the enlarging European Union. Migration includes migration from the new member states to older member states after the enlargement, and also includes migrants from “third’ countries outside of the European Union. However, although the European Union provides employment opportunities, immigration is not really encouraged due

to the social and economic issues it creates in the receiving countries. Especially “concerns with regard to social and cultural integration of immigrants, and the reduced social cohesion of receiving countries due to the lack of civic and political participation of even second and third generation migrants” has created an anti-immigration sentiment across EU member states, which is even prevalent among the citizens of the new EU member states (Krieger & Maitre, 2006, p. 45).

A major concern among Europeans regarding immigration is economic and social issues including: “[T]he increase of already high internal unemployment rates as a result of a crowding out of local blue-collar workers in manufacturing and unqualified white-workers in the service sector by better qualified but also cheaper employees from new member states,” and also by TCNs (third country nationals) who are defined as immigrants from out of the 27 EU member states and who do not even have EU member state citizenship (Krieger & Maitre, 2006, p. 46). These TCNs make up the majority of the immigrants coming to Europe. According to a report prepared by Hern (2008) for Eurostat, there were relatively more non-EU nationals than EU citizens among immigrants in 2006. In fact, of the 3.5 million immigrants to the 27 EU member states, more than 1.8 million were not citizens of any EU member state.

Many fear this influx of TCNs. According to Fassmann and Münz (1994), for many Europeans, immigration has started to mean social problems and is seen as a threat to the welfare state. However, the authors argued that “many problems related to migration are not caused by the migrants themselves,” but are mostly caused because “most European societies are not ready to cope with the necessity to integrate immigrants” and in most cases, “foreigners have to serve as scapegoats” (Fassmann & Münz, 1994, p. ix).

### **Third Country Nationals (TCNs)**

As mentioned previously, immigration to Europe and immigrant integration is shaped by two opposing forces. The first is to move immigration regulation to the EU level. The other is to keep immigration regulation at the discretion of the member states. According to Givens and Luedtke (2003), European integration is shaped by two factors: Pressure from EU institutions, namely the Commission and the Parliament and by some member states, to harmonize European Union integration decisions and initiatives, especially in regard to TCNs; but at the same time resistance by some member states against this harmonization of immigration initiatives. The main challenge for the EU governments is the rising numbers of immigrants, both legal and illegal, in an area without internal frontiers. However, despite the level of existing cooperation between national governments, a true EU asylum and immigration policy still has to be put in place (“Twelve Lessons,” n.d.).

Harmonization of immigrants into their host societies is a priority for the EU institutions, thus extensive liberties have been provided for immigrants who are EU nationals. In fact, never before have the EU member states surrendered so much of their sovereignty over their citizens and their borders. As emphasized by Givens and Luedtke (2003), “member states are now unable to prevent each other’s citizens from living in their territory, holding jobs, and even voting in local elections” (p. 6).

However, the situation changes when it comes to TCNs. In areas regarding TCNs, especially citizenship and asylum, most member states prefer security focused and restrictive policies in terms of immigration and immigrant integration (Givens & Luedtke, 2003). Geddes (2000) also focused on the issue of differences between TCNs and EU citizens and argued that although the “free movement of its citizens is a core component of the building of an economically integrated ‘people’s Europe,” the ‘people’ does not include some people who have

been legally resident in EU member states, but do not possess the nationality of a member state because they are TCNs (Geddes, 2000, p. 1).

It can be argued that this difference in the approach towards intra-EU vs. extra-EU immigrants is natural due to citizenship issues; however, the readers should be aware that some extra-EU immigrants might be EU residents for three generations but do not have EU citizenship. The readers must be reminded that most EU countries have stringent nationality requirements which discourage immigrants from seeking to become citizens of the host countries.

While immigrants from the now 27 EU member states are granted certain rights and privileges as they are EU citizens, TCNs are not granted the same privileges or evaluated with the same criteria because they are from a country that is not a member of the European Union. Being a long-term resident of an EU member state does not grant them any privileges. TCNs and their family members only have the basic rights and freedoms which are provided by the European Convention on Human Rights and its Protocols, these instruments, however, “do not regulate the entry, the length of residence or the working conditions of aliens” (Arap, 2002, p. 25).

Yet having limited rights and freedoms could not stop these TCNs from migrating to Europe in the past and immigration still continues today. Immigrants, their relatives and their descendents continued to live in an EU member state, became legal residents, paid their taxes, and benefited from the social benefits of the host country. Although they were denied participation in the political process in the host country as they do not have citizenship, and despite other social, economic, and political disadvantages they faced, many immigrants were satisfied with the standards of living, economic, and political stability of the host countries,

which did not usually exist in their countries of origin (Geddes, 2000). Having limited rights and freedoms did not stop these immigrants from coming to Europe.

An example of the differences in treatment among the EU member states towards TCNs can be shown with a small example. Although the EU *Directive on Family Unification of Third-Country Nationals*, which was adopted by the Council of Ministers in September 2003, aims to create standard implementation in all EU member states, it allows for “derogations,” and this demonstrates that member states do not have to reach consensus on all immigration issues, leading to weaker harmonization of immigration laws and regulations (Oliynik, 2004). TCN integration is managed by the EU member states and the European Union only provides common principles, suggests directions, and highlights best practices as recommendations. The EU efforts for the integration of TCNs will be discussed later in Chapter 4.

There may be differences in the treatment of intra-EU immigrants versus TCNs. TCNs do not have EU citizenship; however, it is important to note that there are no standards for the treatment of TCNs in the EU member states. Each EU member state has its own policies and approach towards immigrant integration. Therefore, the treatment of TCNs is different in each EU member state. The EU should be influential in providing common standards and principles for the treatment of TCNs across the 27 EU member states to ensure equality of treatment for TCNs across the European Union.

Apap (2002) also criticized these differences and argued that the different rules regarding TCNs in each member state give rise to inequalities among TCNs living in the European Union. Each country’s experience with its own immigrants is reflected in its immigration laws and policies, causing substantial differences between one receiving member state and another. These different national laws and regulations within EU member states create a non-uniform policy for

TCNs residing within the European Union causing differences in treatment in different countries (Apap, 2002, p.134).

However, one thing is common to all TCNs living in the European Union and that is the EU member state nationality requirement for free movement and other social entitlements. As TCNs may not have citizenship in their host countries, they cannot benefit from these entitlements. To provide a solution to this issue, some argue that residency, not nationality should be taken into account for these EU benefits. As Geddes (2000) rightly questioned, “(if) possession of the nationality of a member state does not serve as the qualification for access to social entitlements at national level – legal residence does – then why should nationality continue to be so important at EU level?” (p. 164). This question seems to be hanging in the air as nationality continues to be taken as the sole criteria to benefit from EU privileges.

In fact, Apap (2002) argued that the legal status of long-term TCNs should be equal to EU member states’ citizens. A person who holds long-term residence permit in a EU member state should be granted rights and freedoms as similar as those granted to EU citizens; e.g., “the right to reside, receive education, and work as an employee or self-employed person, as well as the principle of non-discrimination vis-à-vis the citizens of the state of residence” (Apap, 2002, p. 30). Nonetheless, the long-term residency issue seems to be out of the member states’ current agenda.

### **Issues of Immigrant Integration and Discrimination**

Although immigrants are often regarded as the other, migration is a part of the history and structure of Europe. When we look at the recent developments in the European Union, it is clear that free movement of its citizens is a major component of the “building of an economically integrated ‘people’s Europe’” (Geddes, 2000, p. 1). However, the ‘people’ in this definition does not include everybody living in Europe. Geddes (2000) suggested that ‘the people’ does not

include all the people, as being a legal resident in a member state is not enough to be a part of Europe. This means that people who do not possess the nationality of a member state, people who were born in a non-EU member state, TCNs, are not included in “the people” and thus do not have the same rights and freedoms as Europeans – who were born in a EU member state or whose country became a EU member state.

Fassmann and Münz (1994) suggested that for most of the Western Europe, immigration has become “a synonym for social problems, and is seen as a threat to the welfare state” (p. ix). However, most of the problems related to migration are not caused by the immigrants themselves, but by the fact that Europe is not ready to integrate its immigrants. Geddes (2000) also stated that difference is hard for Europe to swallow. Having a different cultural or national identity is enough to create discrimination and even racism against migrant-origin communities in Western Europe. Geddes (2000) suggested that ‘Islamophobia’, whereby Muslim communities have been stigmatized as a subversive group that needs to be feared is also evident in the EU member states. Being different and belonging to a different culture can cause a lot of problems for TCNs, most of whom are Muslims.

Erzan and Kirisci (2006) argued that there exists a strong ghetto-effect regarding Turkish immigrants living in the European Union. Turkish immigrants face severe integration problems because of many different factors. Firstly, there is a lack of proficiency in local languages, which leads to poor performance in school, lower education levels, and thus to unemployment. Lack of proficiency in the local languages limits participation in social and political life, leading to further alienation, causing Turkish immigrant families to move to “ghetto-like societies” resulting in a withdrawal from the local culture and community as a whole, even to the point of rejecting it. On the other hand, these conditions also influence locals in the receiving community

negatively. All these fuel “anti-immigrant feelings and prejudice in host societies, often provoking intolerance and discrimination against Turkish immigrants. This in turn is translated into fears about Turkey and Turks in general,” causing a strong resistance against Turkey’s membership to the European Union (Erzan & Kirisci, 2006, p. 165).

Avci (2006) stated that legislation and policies regarding the TCNs are becoming more and more restrictive. Becoming naturalized and a citizen of the host country is a challenge for immigrants due to the difficulty of obtaining the legal requirements. Mandatory language and cultural orientation courses are enforced on immigrants. Marriage with partners from the country of origin is discouraged by enforcing strict entry requirements; long bureaucratic wait periods and language criteria, and requiring brides to take language exams before entering the host country. Political activism tied to Turkey is not approached positively. The host countries want immigrants to integrate into the host country’s society and live like the members of the host country.

Another concern is that the immigrant youth does not have a proper education. Having a lower education level actually has a big influence on the lives of the immigrant youth. It means discrimination, it means unemployment, it means having less chance to succeed in life. As Söhn and Özcan (2006) suggested Turkish immigrants in Germany and other European countries have a lower level of schooling compared to the native population on average. Although the education level attained by the younger generations has increased, especially compared to the early labor migrants, they still do worse than German students with similar socio-economic backgrounds. There are many factors that explain why the Turkish immigrant children do poorly at school. Immigrant parents’ socio-economic status and grasp of the local languages and ethnic composition of the school class influence the success of the immigrant children during career

planning and later in life. Children of immigrants tend to go to lower level schools because they cannot perform well. Most immigrant children are only able to go to just *Hauptschule* (lowest education track) in Germany because language education training is only provided there, or vocational schools in other parts of Europe due to institutional discrimination, all play a part in the unequal education of immigrant children.

Tiryakiyan (2004) wrote that immigration has created a major dilemma for the European identity. While Western Europe has regarded and represented itself “as homogenous societies in the framework of their respective nation states,” they have realized in the last decades that they are actually a “territory of immigration, with marked ethnic and racial diversity” (p. 223). Although it was assumed that these immigrant workers would go back home one day, they “have become permanent settlers who demand their new status not as aliens but as a permanent component of receiving societies” (Cicekli, 1998, p. 371). There are others who wrote about this difference in perceptions towards immigrants. Koenig, Mihelj, Downey, and Bek (2006) argued that Europeans still continue their old exclusivist perceptions, only acknowledging Turks as “being *in* Europe, but as long as they are Muslims they are not accepted as being *of* Europe” (p. 150, italics in original). This “otherization” of immigrants puts them under a heavy social pressure.

There are currently 27 member states in the European Union, and most of these states share the same history, same cultural heritage, similar language families, most are Christians, and they define themselves as European. Laitin (2002) argued that despite the existence of many different national cultures within the European Union, there is a strong cultural configuration a common cultural zone in Europe. “Although there is significant cultural diversity between nations and between states within Europe, that diversity is contained within a coherent cultural system, such

that most Europeans have a set of cultural repertoires which enables them to act appropriately (that is, according to local standards) throughout the EU,” Laitin stated (p. 77). Turks, on the other hand, fall outside this common cultural heritage, a common religious background, a common cultural zone. The idea of a common culture is also an obstacle for the integration of Turkish immigrants in the European Union because they will always be perceived as the other, the different group who believe in a different God and are outside of this common cultural zone.

### **European Union and Immigration – EU Decision-Making Structure**

The main question regarding the power of the European Union is whether it is an intergovernmental or a supranational organization. It is a simple question: Does the European Union have the power to act and decide as a single unit? An examination of the EU decision-making structures reveals that the European Union “has a structure in which individual states protect and negotiate their interests, but at the same time, it has the capacity to act in international affairs as a unit” depending on the nature of the issue (Dediu, 2007, p. 113). This means that the European Union of 27 member states has the capacity to act as a single unit if necessary and it can make decisions that affect the lives of all EU citizens and residents. Although diplomacy is usually used by nation states, because the European Union is an international structure, some policies get “produced within the institutions of the European Union and are transmitted to the international agenda independently of the will of the states that created the organization” (Dediu, 2007, p. 113).

How is the European Union organized? Dediu (2007) tried to explain the structure of the European Union by differentiating between a supranational and an intergovernmental-international organization structure. According to the view that the European Union is an intergovernmental organization, the European Union is just uniting of member states to have an intergovernmental decision making mechanism. However, member states still contain their

sovereignty and control a strong negotiation power within the European Union. This view does not differentiate between the European Union and the United Nations. However, there are many people who would reject this view as they believe that the European Union is much more than an intergovernmental organization and that the EU member states have lost some of their national sovereignties due to the pooled sovereignty at the EU level. Certain decisions may be adopted despite the opposition of some member states, and these EU level decisions may directly affect the lives of all EU citizens and residents. However, the implementation of some EU level initiatives are left at the discretions of the member states.

If we were to regard the European Union as a supranational organization, it would mean that migration policy should be governed at the European level and the European Union institutions would be able to shape policy outcomes (Geddes, 2000). However, the European Union does not always act as a supranational unit. Although the European Union has policy creation and implementation powers in many social, political, and economic areas, the implementation of immigration and immigrant integration initiatives are left at the discretion of the EU member states. Avci (2006) also argued that although some policy initiatives are controlled at the EU level, “country-level differentiations remain meaningful since European governments have maintained their own integration policies so far” (p. 67).

Although the member states regard the European Union as the decision maker in the areas of free movement, immigration, and asylum, the European Union relies on the member states for implementation of all decisions and initiatives due to the EU decision-making structure. Even though the European Union creates elaborate immigration and integration decisions and initiatives, the implementation of these initiatives are left at the discretion of the EU member

states at the national level. A quick look at the structure of the European Union will reveal the different pillars and their powers.

### European Union and the Three Pillars

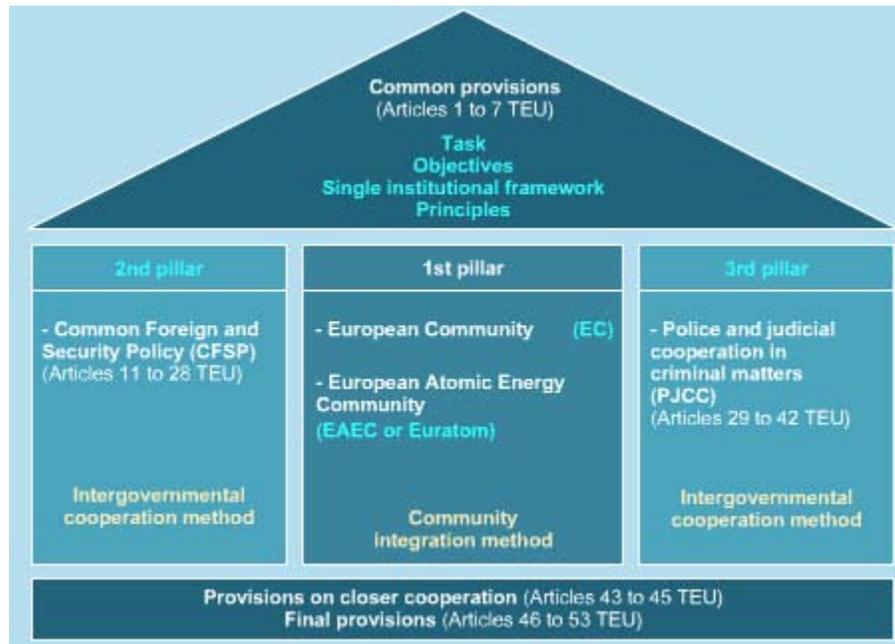


Figure 4-2 The three pillars of the European Union (Source: <http://www.ena.lu/?doc=21809&lang=02> Last accessed July, 2009).

The European Union decision making structure has been organized in three different pillars that contain different areas of legislation. Pillar one, the European Communities, is considered the most important pillar as most of the EU policies have been incorporated within this pillar. Pillar one is also the most supranational pillar as decisions that fall under this pillar need to be incorporated by the EU member states. The second pillar of the European Union is the Common Foreign and Security Policy. This pillar can be either supranational or intergovernmental depending on the issues being discussed, especially in regard to issues that concern security and borders.

The third pillar of the European Union, Justice and Home Affairs tends to be the most intergovernmental (Nugent, 2006). Issues discussed in this pillar concern immigration and

asylum, and the national sovereignty of the EU member states are still what determines decisions in these areas. Although the EU institutions are pushing for a common immigration policy, this area is still under the legislation of the individual member states. Nevertheless, issues regarding immigration and immigrant integration are slowly becoming supranational decisions and moving to the first pillar.

### **Justice and Home Affairs Council – The Third Pillar**

The Council of the European Union is made up of the ministers of the member states and meets in different configurations based on different issues. An example can be the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council, which is made up of the national justice and home affairs ministers of the member states. In addition to the general Council meetings, the Council meets in nine different configurations: General Affairs and External Relations; Economic and Financial Affairs; Cooperation in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), Employment, Social Policy, Health, and Consumer Affairs; Competitiveness; Transport, Telecommunications, and Energy; Agriculture and Fisheries; Environment; and Education, Youth, and Culture (“The Council,” n.d.).

The JHA Council meets every two months to discuss the development and implementation of common legislation and cooperation in creating an “Area of Freedom, Security and Justice” in Europe. The Schengen Agreement can be considered one of the most important achievements of the JHA Council as it established the freedom of movement of persons within EU internal borders. This area is now under the first pillar of the European Union, within the pillar of the European Communities, and has become a supranational issue (Nugent, 2006).

As Nugent (2006) stated, “the significance of the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) pillar lies not only in the substantive content of its provisions but also in the broader contribution it would make to the integration process in Europe” (p. 91). Today, the JHA Council focuses on

issues of external border control, asylum, immigration, establishment of a common visa policy, and judicial and police cooperation in criminal matters (Nugent, 2006; “Justice and Home,” n.d.). However, the intergovernmental decision-making structure makes it hard for the European Union to develop and implement policies that influence the lives of immigrants living within EU borders. As Nugent (2006) discussed, the EU member states have been slow in coming to agreements in the JHA areas due to the sensitive nature of the issues concerned and the unwillingness of member states to share sovereignty on these matters. “A major reason for this was that many JHA policies are of the highly sensitive kind, raising deep cultural issues – on, for example, the exchange of sensitive information and individual rights – and touching directly on national sovereignty issues” (Nugent, 2006, p. 368).

### **Justice, Freedom, and Security**

It is not only the JHA Council that focuses on the issues of immigrants. The European Commission has focused on bringing freedom, security and justice issues to the attention of the European Union. Thus a task force was set up for Justice and Home Affairs in 1992 when the Maastricht Treaty was signed. However, this small task force was expanded into a directorate-general (DG) in October 1999. An area of freedom, security and justice was established through amendments to the original treaties under the Single European Act, the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty), and the Amsterdam Treaty (“Justice Freedom,” n.d.).

Freedom, security, and justice issues fall under the European Community, within the supranational first pillar, and the intergovernmental third pillar, the JHA. The Schengen agreement which guarantees the freedom of movement within the EU internal borders is also under the supranational first pillar. Other areas including the management of external borders, judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters, police, asylum, immigration, rights of non-EU member country nationals and fight against crime fall under the JHA pillar (third pillar). Most

decisions are taken on an intergovernmental basis. The DG for Freedom, Security, and Justice's goal is to improve cooperation and common policy development in these areas ("Justice Freedom," n.d.).

### **Supranational vs. Intergovernmental Approaches to Immigration**

EU policy for immigration creates a paradox due to two different approaches towards immigrants. The EU member states have an inclination to take immigration issues to the Union level for managing and controlling extra-EU immigration more effectively. As Oliynik (2004) suggested "powers given to the EU institutions in the sphere of immigration by the Treaty of Amsterdam and the shift of immigration issues to the first supranational pillar" is a proof of this shift (p. 1).

However, not everybody would agree that this shift of immigration issues to the first supranational level is a promising development. Geddes (2000) was also not very optimistic about this shift and he suggested that this shift failed as supranationalization of immigration and asylum policy because "even though the new Title IV has brought immigration and asylum into the European Union pillar, there remains significant constraints on action by EU institutions" (p. 129).

In fact, extra-EU migration and asylum policy (regarding TCNs) has not been a priority of supranational legal and political developments as these areas are still under the third JHA pillar. EU institutions have allowed member states to have control over the fate of TCNs. As it was mentioned above, most member states are reluctant to cede power in immigration issues and hold on to their national sovereignty in regard to immigration and asylum issues. Although immigration was placed under the supranational pillar in the Treaty of Amsterdam, not much changed because of the unanimous decision-making rule.

Member states “often refuse to compromise and defend their own interests instead of working towards the Tampere goals” and European Union’s control of immigration and integration is not yet achieved (Oliynik, 2004, p. 2).

### **European Union Legislation on Immigration**

Although all EU member states have been a destination of international immigration, immigrants and their rights have not been a priority for the EU member states. As Cicekli (1998) stated, immigrants were initially perceived and treated as guest workers who would return home by most of the EU member states. However, these immigrants have become “permanent settlers who demand their new status not as aliens but as a permanent component of receiving societies” (Cicekli, 1998, p. 371).

The main objective of the European Commission has been to effectively manage migration by taking into consideration the economic and social background of the EU member states (Immigration, 2007). Most EU member states are faced with migration and immigrant integration challenges. In the European Council meeting in Tampere in October 1999, EU leaders emphasized the need for a common, EU wide immigration policy to promote the integration of TCNs. Ever since, EU institutions are developing common integration decisions and initiatives to be adopted by all member states and encouraging the exchange of best practices.

Cooperation among EU member states for a common immigration policy date back to 1975, but further cooperation was initiated in 1992 with the Treaty of Maastricht. The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1999, granted the European Community legislative authority regarding immigration and asylum laws. The Tampere goals, agreed by the European Council in Tampere, Finland in October 1999, required the following:

There should be a comprehensive approach to the management of immigration to balance humanitarian and economic aspects of immigration, TCNs should be treated fairly and given comparable rights with EU citizens, which is the end goal of EU immigration decisions and initiatives, EU member states must cooperate with countries of origin for further integration and harmonization efforts in the host societies (“Immigration,” 2007).

A report presented to the European Council and the European Parliament by the Commission in November 2000 stated that a common approach to immigration management at the EU level should take into consideration the economic and demographic development in the Union; the reception capacity of member states in addition to their relationships with the countries of origin; the conditions in the countries of origin and the impact of the European Union migration decisions and initiatives on these countries; and developing integration policies based on the fair treatment of TCNs and prevention of social exclusion, racism and xenophobia, and promoting diversity within the EU member states (“Immigration,” 2007).

On November 2000, the Commission argued for “civic citizenship,” which guarantees core rights and freedoms to TCNs to be achieved gradually. The goal of civic citizenship was to grant TCNs similar rights and freedoms similar to those of EU citizens without being naturalized (“A common framework,” 2007, p. 3). Shortly after, the Council of Ministers adopted an anti-discrimination package which included a directive on racial discrimination (2000/43/EC) and a directive on discrimination in employment (2000/78/EC), both of which reveal the European Union’s commitment to protecting TCNs against racism and discrimination (“A common framework,” 2007).

In addition, a network of contact points on integration was established after the Thessaloniki European Council in 2003 to improve cooperation and information exchange in

regard to policy coordination at the national and EU level for the integration of immigrants (“A common framework,” 2007). A Commission communication in 2003 emphasized a major need to encourage immigrant integration into the labor market, employment, as well as social, cultural and civic life at the EU level (“A common framework,” 2007).

Following the request by the JHA Council in 2002 to establish *National Contact Points* on integration, the European Council meeting in Thessaloniki in June 2003 invited the Commission to present annual reports on migration and integration. In November 2004, the first edition of a *Handbook on Integration for Policy Makers and Practitioners* was published (“Common programme,” 2007). The handbook was planned as a resource to be used by EU member states for sharing integration related information and developing new policies. The handbook was written by an independent consultant, the Migration Policy Group, with the assistance of the National Contact Points. It was published in November 2004 and presented at the Groningen Integration Policy Conference (“A common framework,” 2007).

Although this handbook focuses solely on legal immigrants and their integration, it should be noted that illegal immigration is a major concern for the EU institutions and the member states. On November 28, 2002, the Council adopted a return action program for the return of illegal immigrants. Years later, on December 16, 2008, the European Parliament and the Council adopted a directive (2008/115/EC) to lay down common standards and procedures in member states for the return of illegal TCNs to their home countries (“Towards a common,” n.d.). In addition, establishing relations with third countries is also an area the European Union focuses on. On March 10, 2004, the European Parliament and the Council adopted a directive to establish a program that provides financial and technical assistance to third countries for migration and asylum (“Towards a common,” n.d.).

*The First Annual Report on Migration and Integration* was published in July 2004 (COM (2004) 508) as a result of the 2003 Commission communication and the 2003 Thessaloniki European Council to improve coordination of integration policies at the national and European level. The report summarized current EU migration data, and integration policies and practices especially regarding TCNs (“A common framework,” 2007). In 2005, the Commission launched a debate on the need for common rules for the admission of economic immigrants with a Green Paper and on an EU approach to managing economic migration more effectively. Based on this debate, the ‘Policy Plan on Legal Migration’ (COM (2005) 669) was adopted in December 2005, which lists legislative initiatives that needs to be adopted for a comprehensive EU migration policy (“Towards a common,” n.d.).

The goal of establishing a common EU immigration policy was further emphasized in 2004 with the adoption of *The Hague Programme* on November 4-5, 2004. The European Council adopted the five-year *Hague Programme* which sets the objectives for strengthening freedom, security and justice in the EU for the period of 2005-2010. The goal of this program was to administer comprehensive control over migration and asylum policies in all different areas including policies on: Entry, admission to the labor markets, integration, and returns (“European Harmonization,” 2007). However, the Commission believes that the common European policy on legal immigration, which was first discussed in detail in Tampere still remains incomplete today (“Towards a common,” 2008).

### **Common Basic Principles**

Shortly after the adoption of the Hague Programme, the JHA Council adopted the *Common Basic Principles* on November 19, 2004. The goal of the principles was to enhance the coordination of national integration policies for integration and to establish an EU framework for the integration of TCNs (“A common framework,” 2007). In the *Common Basic Principles*, the

JHA Council and the Commission encouraged EU member states to be involved in the employment, social affairs and equality and gender rights to TCNs (“Commission of the European Communities,” 2007). The main goal of the *Common Basic Principles* was to strengthen national integration strategies and create consistency between national and EU strategies. Since policies and laws regarding immigration and immigrant integration are implemented by the individual member states, the document can only be regarded as a list of suggestions to be followed by the member states.

The following nine *Common Basic Principles* were proposed to create unity in EU member states regarding immigrant integration legislation and to guide member states in regard to their immigrant integration policies.

1. *Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member states.*

The first principle is about information and education, encouraging the communication of accurate and relevant information and asking member states to take into account the culture and religious beliefs of immigrants. The social and economic contributions of the immigrants should also be acknowledged within the host countries by citizens to understand the value of immigrants. Cooperation between member states is further encouraged in terms of sharing information regarding immigrants and integration procedures.

2. *Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union.*

Educating EU citizens and residents, especially TCNs, about the basic values of the EU and to promote the application of these principles about equality, democracy, liberty and respect for diversity among the citizens and residents living in the EU member states is the goal of this principle.

3. *Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible.*

This principle encourages EU member states to develop labor market integration policies for immigrants to benefit from their contributions to the society and the economy, and also to monitor whether there is any discrimination in the workplace towards immigrants, particularly towards TCNs.

4. *Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration.*

With this principle, the European Union supports innovative integration, language and orientation courses. The goal is to promote the education of immigrants about the language, history and the cultural, political and social background on the host country. This will help immigrants to understand the host society and promote their integration. A grasp of the local language is especially crucial in this regard.

5. *Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society.*

This principle is supported by the EU's *Education and Training 2010 Work Program* which promotes education and training programs specifically designed for TCNs. An emphasis is given to diversity in the school curriculum and special focus on the problems of the immigrant youth.

6. *Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration.*

This principle promotes monitoring national practices and making sure TCNs receive equal treatment in all the EU member states irrespective of their national or racial origin, or religious beliefs. This principle is also emphasizes the need for similar treatment for national citizens and TCNs to ensure a successful immigrant integration strategy.

7. *Frequent interaction between immigrants and member state citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and member state citizens.*

According to this principle, interaction between TCNs and citizens of the EU member states should be encouraged and circumstances for such interaction should be created by the member states. This principle promotes the strengthening of the EU *Social Inclusion* and *Social Protection* policies and the creation of an understanding of intercultural dialogue among different groups in the society.

8. *The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European laws or with national law.*

This principle focuses on the development of intercultural and inter-religious dialogue between the EU institutions and other cultural and religious organizations to cooperate for the improvement of understanding towards TCNs. It also promotes safeguarding and respect for

religious freedom within the EU member states. This principle is especially important in today's environment where there is a strong fear of Islam and a need for deeper understanding of this religion.

9. *The participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.*

The last principle encourages immigrants to get involved in immigrant organizations and get also participate in the political and social life of the countries they live in ("Commission of the European Communities," 2005). The participation of immigrant communities and immigrant organizations in decision making will enhance mutual understanding and include the perspective of the immigrants.

### **A Common Agenda for Integration**

On September 1, 2005 the Commission sent a communication (COM(2005) 389) to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions called *A Common Agenda for Integration - Framework for the Integration of Third Country Nationals in the European Union*. This was a response by the Commission to the Council's request for a general framework for European immigrant integration ("A Common Framework," 2007). In this document, the Commission defines integration as a "dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States" ("Common programme," 2007, par. 3). The communication also supports transnational cooperation and projects at the EU level. The main goal of this report was to ensure that the Common Basic Principles are put into practice by the EU member states through such initiatives as the establishment of National Contact Points on Integration; the

Handbook on Integration; an Integration Web site; European Integration Forum; and the Annual Reports on Migration and Integration (“A Common Framework,” 2007, p. 2).

The report also contains some principles and important areas that need to be taken into account in the EU integration policy. The Commission recommends EU member states to invite private bodies, the civil society, and the mass media to promote diversity. The Commission believes that it is crucial for member states to organize activities where immigrants can interact with the citizens of the host society. Also, at the European level, integration can be enhanced through the strengthening of social inclusion and social protection policies. Cooperation at national, regional, local and even municipal level between public authorities, private enterprises and civil society, including migrants' associations is also seen as a way to enhance integration by the Commission. The Commission also suggests that “the practice of diverse cultures and religions must be safeguarded” (“Common programme,” 2007, par. 10). Thus, intercultural, inter- and intra-faith dialogue platforms should be created and dialogue with religious and humanist organizations developed at the national level.

The Commission also stated that “the participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies supports their integration” (“Common programme, 2007,” par. 11). To enhance this process, the Commission recommends a study/mapping exercise of the various rights and obligations of non-EU member country nationals in the EU member states. In addition, the creation of a platform of immigrant organizations at the EU level is proposed in the same communication. The Commission also plans to launch a Web portal for European experiences on immigrant integration which will include a *European Integration Forum* to encourage EU level participation by all stakeholders (“Common programme,” 2007).

According to the Commission, a "basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions is indispensable to integration" ("Common programme," 2007, par. 6). The Commission recommends member states to prepare introduction programs offering different courses for different levels and transnational projects and innovative integration models at the EU level. Education is another area the Commission pinpoints. The Commission advises that specific problems of young immigrants such as participation in higher education should be taken into account at the national level as education is an important part of integration ("Common programme," 2007).

The Commission considers employment as "a key part of the integration process" ("Common programme," 2007, par. 5). Thus the commission recommends that member states aim to prevent labour-market discrimination, encourage the recruitment of migrants, and support migrant entrepreneurship. Also, the Commission suggests that the application of directives on immigrant discrimination in employment and on long-term TCNs should be monitored ("Common programme," 2007).

### **Immigrant Integration**

The National Contact Points on Integration was set up by the Commission after the suggestion of the 2002 JHA Council as a network to exchange information and share best immigrants integration practices across EU member states ("A common framework," 2007). The Commission has also allocated significant financial resources for further immigrant integration through the INTI programme, with a total of five million Euros for 25 member states in 2005. This program is geared towards promoting dialogue among the members of the civil society, design integration models, conduct research to find out about best integration practices and share these through a European Union wide open network ("A common framework," 2007).

Setting up a separate *Integration Fund* was proposed by the Commission in 2005 through the Solidarity and Management Migration Flows programme for the years 2007-2013 (COM (2005) 0123 final). This fund is allocated to support EU member states to develop national integration strategies that will help TCNs with different cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds to participate in the European community through better integration. The financial support allocated to this effort is significant, with a proposed fund of 1771 million Euros for 2007-2013 (“A common framework,” 2007). The large amount of this financial allocation should be taken as a signifier of how seriously the EU institutions are taking the issue of immigrant integration.

*The Second Annual Report on Migration and Integration* (SEC (2006) 892), published in June 2006, emphasizes the results of the *Hague Programme* focusing on freedom, security and justice (“A common framework,” 2007). The second report begins with an overview of the changes from 2004, and summarizes migration trends and policies regarding immigrant admission and integration. The goal of the report is to promote further integration policy development and encourage the effective management of migration and integration (“A common framework,” 2007).

In May 2007, the second edition of the *Handbook on Integration for Policy-makers and Practitioners* was published. The handbook, prepared by the National Contact Points on Integration, local authorities and non-governmental stakeholders, lists lessons learned and emphasizes best practices in terms of immigrant integration. A new edition of the handbook is planned to come out in 2009 to list the changes from the previous years and to provide more information on best practices (“A common framework,” 2007).

European Union Ministers Responsible for Integration met in May 2007 in Postdam and adopted conclusions in June 2007 to strengthen the European Union integration decisions and initiatives. They also agreed on the need for further research to identify integration priorities while taking into account immigrant diversity (“A common framework,” 2007). In September 2007, the Commission published the *Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration* (COM (2007) 512) which begins with an overview of immigrant integration policies across EU countries in 2005 and 2006 and focuses on the mainstreaming of integration policies across EU countries and their implementation (“A common framework,” 2007).

### **Third-Country Nationals and Long-Term Residency**

The rights of TCNs have been a hot issue that has been debated extensively in the EU community and a problematic issue in terms of human rights and freedoms (“A common framework,” 2007). Although some TCNs are long term EU residents, living in an EU member state for up to three generations, they still suffer from limited rights and freedoms due to not having EU citizenship. The main reason for not having EU citizenship is because these TCNs are discouraged by the stringent nationality requirements of the host countries. This causes them to suffer from having limited rights and freedoms while they live and work in an EU member state. This issue caught the attention of European Union heads of state and governments, who declared in the European Council in Tampere in October 1999 that TCNs who have been legally residing in the European Union for a certain period of time should be granted a set of rights similar to those of EU citizens (“Directive on EU Long-term,” 2006). However, it took four years for that directive to be put into action. A Council directive passed in November 25, 2003, which granted an EU long-term residency status to TCNs who have been legally residing in the European Union for an uninterrupted period of five years, have stable and regular resources, are

covered by a health insurance, comply with the integration conditions of the member state they live in, and do not pose a threat to public order (“Directive on EU Long-term,” 2006).

The directive means that these long-term resident TCNs will have permanent status in the EU and receive an automatically renewable ten-year residency permit. This long-term residency status will allow TCNs to benefit from rights that are comparable to EU citizens, including access to employment and self-employment; education and vocational training; social protection and assistance; access to goods and services, and the freedom of union and association membership and the freedom to represent a union or an association. Long-term TCNs will also be allowed, under specific conditions, to settle, work and study in all EU member states, just like all the EU citizens (“Directive on EU Long-term,” 2006). This is a very important development for Turkish immigrants because now they will be able to benefit from a set of extended rights and freedoms which they had been rejected in the past.

As it can be understood from the previous section, the European Union has been promoting the integration of immigrants in the European community through various strategies and initiatives. These developments are important for the immigrants because it shows that the EU institutions and member states are taking the issue of immigrant integration seriously, allocating time and resources, and striving to create a better living environment for immigrants through extended rights and freedoms. However, creating initiatives is not enough. After they are established, the main challenge becomes how to communicate these new initiatives and rights and freedoms to immigrants.

The importance of public relations and public diplomacy for communicating these efforts should be emphasized at this point. These new and improved rights and freedoms do not mean much for the immigrants unless they know about, comprehend and act upon them. So the main

challenge for the EU institutions becomes how to communicate all of these immigrant integration initiatives and extended rights to the immigrant communities. The significance of public relations and public diplomacy for the European Union and the member states is enormous, and if used effectively, it can really improve immigrant integration and further social harmonization within the EU community. The next section will include an analysis of EU communication strategies.

CHAPTER 5  
EU PUBLIC RELATION, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, AND COMMUNICATION

The advanced search option on the *Europa* Web site was used to search the keywords: *Public relations; public diplomacy; and communication*. The search for *public relations* only provided the Web site for the *External Relations*. However, when the content of this Web page was examined, it was found that this is only an informative Web page that almost functions like an index for the *Europa* Web site, pointing visitors to important links about the European Union such as EU institutions, history, treaties, etc. (“External relations,” n.d.).

Then the keywords *public diplomacy* and *diplomacy* were entered into the search box, but this search also provided the Web site of *External Relations*. However, I came across with the term public diplomacy while reading another document. The “*Communicating Europe in Partnership*” document, which will be discussed in detail below, contains a brief reference to public diplomacy in the European Union addressing the public of the third countries. “The Commission’s communication activities in third countries aim to strengthen the image of the EU as a global actor and to build good relationships through pro-active public diplomacy, thereby helping the Commission achieve its external policy goals” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 5). This statement reveals that the European Union sees public diplomacy as a strategy to be used in establishing and maintaining relationships with third countries and does not regard its communication with the public of the EU member states as public diplomacy. This information is worth noting.

Later, the word communication was also searched and this search revealed important results. I believe that the communication strategies of the European Union are same as public relations strategies, but just named as communication. Below are the results for the search for the word communication.

## Directorate General Communication

European Commission Directorate General (DG) Communication was established to inform the EU citizens, the world public, the mass media, and other organizations about the European Union. The objectives of DG Communication are in parallel with the Commission's objectives for the years 2005-2009, which emphasizes that the citizens should be informed about and involved in the challenges facing the European Union, and these efforts should exceed Brussels-based political settings and reach the European public space ("Annual work programme," 2008).

DG Communication stresses the need for *interinstitutional coordination* through partnerships between the EU institutions and the member states. Thus, four objectives have been put forward, which include developing communication strategies that address the concerns of EU citizens; initiating partnerships between the major players in communication in Europe; creating an EU public sphere and initiating debate on the European Union; and increasing the availability of services in order to improve the Commission's communication quality and abilities ("Annual work programme," 2008).

The communication priorities set by the DG Communication are: The European Parliament elections in 2009; energy and climate change; 20th anniversary of democratic change in Central and Eastern Europe; and sustainable growth, jobs, and solidarity. In addition, the Commission has two of its own communication priorities, which include the issues of future of Europe for citizens and Europe in the world ("Annual work programme," 2008).

The DG Communication Web site includes the EU Press Room, a section called *SCADplus*, which includes summaries of legislation, and *General Publications*, which can be reached online or requested. The *Easy Reading Corner* provides access to EU documents. Those interested can also reach EU-based news releases through the *Press Release Rapid* service

on the Web site. *Europe Direct*, which is an information service for EU citizens, provides a direct contact to the EU via a toll-free phone number, email, or online help to provide information about the EU upon request (“DG Communication,” n.d.).

DG Communication announces a large number of public procurement contracts for services, works, and supplies every year, based on demand. These service contracts may be for services needed in headquarters and departments in Brussels or the Commission's representations in the member states (“Procurements,” n.d.).

*Multimedia Actions*, is one of the procurements of the 2009, focusing on the co-production and/or dissemination of audiovisual information to publicize Commission policies and decisions, and their assessment through surveying target groups. *Media Information*, another procurement for the year 2009, aims to provide the mass media with tools for better understanding and reporting of current affairs. Strategies include increasing and diversifying audiovisual production and dissemination on technological platforms; participating in audiovisual trade shows and festivals open to the general public; and organize seminars and training events for journalists to maximize the coverage of the European Parliament elections (“Annual work programme,” 2008).

*Local Communication Activities* procurement concerns the implementation of a decentralized communication strategy via the Commission representations in member states, thus using communication tools tailored to local audiences. These communication activities are to address the communication objectives of DG Communication. *Organization of seminars and conferences* is also one of the procurements of the DG communication for 2009. These are to interest the general public and bring together parliamentarians, national, regional, and local authorities, Commissioners, mass media professionals, non-profit organizations and opinion

leaders to debate EU issues (“Annual work programme,” 2008). Some other procurement projects focus on public opinion analysis, operation of the Europe Direct online information and communication tools, targeted written publications aimed at the design of local publications produced by the Representations, and written publications of general interest (“Annual work programme,” 2008).

In addition to the procurements, DG Communication awards grants to organizations or individuals that provide information about the European Union. The objectives of these EU funded communication projects are to inform EU citizens about the European Union and the main issues facing it. Awards for organizations in different EU member states are distributed by the Commission's representations (“Grants,” n.d.).

Public opinion analysis also falls under the functions of DG Communication. Public opinion in the member states is monitored to evaluate public opinion, use in the EU documents, and assist in decision-making. *Eurobarometer* surveys and other studies that focus on EU citizenship, enlargement, social situation, health, culture, information technology, environment, etc., can be reached from the DG Communication Web site (“Public opinion,” n.d.).

Another component of the DG Communication is *Audiovisual Services*, which contains videos, audio files, and photos about the European Union. *EbS*, the European Union's TV information service, provides audiovisual material about the European Union via satellite to media professionals. The programming includes live events, news items, and other audiovisual material on EU policies and issues (“EU TV Information Service,” n.d.).

In fact, in a section on the Web site called *Get Your Facts Straight* contains an important statement about the EU's weaknesses in terms of communicating to the public. This weakness is due to the fact that news about the European Union reaches the EU public through national mass

media and communication channels of the member states. DG Communication points to this issue and tries to address the false or misleading news stories from its Web site:

Most of us rely on our national newspapers, television and radio news to find out about what is going on in the EU. Unfortunately, amongst the clear and informative reports lie a large number of stories based on twisted facts or even lies. The stories can make entertaining reading, but many people believe them and often come away with a picture of the EU as a bunch of mad 'eurocrats'. These pages take some of those stories and set the record straight – sadly, we cannot keep track of them all. (“Facts,” n.d., par. 1)

### **Communicating Europe in Partnership**

The “*Communicating Europe in Partnership*” document, consolidated by the signature of the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission on Oct. 22, 2008, provides an overview of the Commission’s communication strategy and forms the basis for DG Communication’s actions and strategies. In this document, the Commission suggests that the debate on Europe needs to involve not just the EU institutions but the citizens. Accordingly, EU communication initiatives must focus on listening, two-way communication through the active participation of citizens and “going local” (“Communicating Europe,” 2007, p. 3).

The main component of this document is to include those involved in the decision-making process in the communication of the EU issues. The Communication lays down the conditions for an EU communication policy on two fronts: A communication policy based on consulting the public and a partnership with political, economic and social players in the member states (“Annual work programme,” 2008).

### **Coherent and Integrated Communication**

The objective of building communication partnerships between different EU institutions and member states is to enable EU citizens to understand the impact of EU policies at European, national, and local level. Thus the Commission proposes an inter-institutional framework to improve cooperation on the EU communication process and nurturing exchanges and

understanding between EU institutions, the general public, and the civil society (“Commission of the European,” 2007).

This need is a result of the fact that the EU issues are mostly presented from a national perspective through the mass media of the member states. Consequently, the European Union policies, actions, and issues that affect the lives of EU citizens directly are not presented from a transnational perspective. This is an important challenge for the EU institutions. The Commission intends to improve its communication strategies engaging in two-way communication with EU citizens in national, regional, and local contexts in addition to communicating with national and European level political parties, contributing to the development of a “European public sphere” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 4).

### **Empowering Citizens**

The Commission underlines the need for open debate at the EU level enabling citizens to express their opinions on EU issues and policies. The European Union may benefit from the communication resources and experiences of NGOs, associations, and other entities to reach the European public and initiate public debate (“Commission of the European,” 2007).

### **Going local**

One way of reaching out to EU citizens is communicating through channels at the regional and local levels. The Commission used a pilot project in representations in the eleven member states where additional communication staff were hired to reach out to more citizens, the mass media and improve public debate on the European Union in their respective countries. The project was successful and the Commission plans to increase the communication staff in additional representations.

Another pilot project was also launched in 2007-2008 to create European public spaces, called the *Houses of Europe* in Tallinn, Dublin, and Madrid. The goal was to attract the public,

create a new image for the European Union, and create a meeting point for citizens, NGOs, political actors, and the mass media. The spaces were to be used for “exhibitions, films, meetings, visits, discussions, forums and lectures focusing mainly on civil society, politics, education, academia, think tanks and the cultural world” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 8).

Another strategy proposed by the Commission was to present EU policy initiatives by policy specialists to “interested parties and the general public on the day of their adoption, simultaneously in Brussels and in Member States, depending on the resources available to the Representations and policy departments” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 8). The commission believes that this will raise awareness and boost public debate on EU legislations at the local level.

### **Active European citizenship**

In this document, the Commission states that the education for active citizenship falls under the responsibility of the EU member states. Peoples’ rights and duties as European citizens are taught as part of the school curriculum in less than half of the EU member states and the history of European integration is taught in 20 member states. However, the Commission proposes a *Lifelong Learning* program, which includes education for active citizenship and promote civic competences through programs organized by civil society organizations. Thus the Commission plans to increase civil society organizations’ access to the Commission by “naming a specific civil society contact point in each of its departments” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 9)

### **Developing a European Public Sphere**

The Commission asserts that there are many political decisions taken at the EU level which affect everyday lives of Europeans. Conversely, this “relevance of the European Union to its

citizens” needs to be better communicated to the public (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 9). What’s more, the EU decisions are usually taken after heated debates. These debates are important and they can only emerge if the proposed issues and policies influence the policies of member states (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 10). The Commission suggests that the public also needs to be involved in these debates through not just national, but transnational communication channels. The Commission also proposes that the Commission representations in member states should organize meetings with relevant stakeholders to receive their input on EU policies as part of developing the EU public sphere.

### **Partnership Approach**

The Inter-institutional Group on Information (IGI), chaired jointly by the European Parliament, the Commission, and the Presidency, determines communication strategies and priorities for the EU institutions and member states. The proposed collaboration with the EU member states for enhanced communication is crucial because “polling results show that citizens expect their national government to inform them about what the EU is doing for them and how this affects their daily lives” (“Commission of the European,” 2007, p. 13). Member states should be better informed to provide relevant and up-to-date information to their citizens. However, partnerships with EU member states are not the only way to organize joint communication initiatives. Strategic partnerships with regional and local authorities and associations, through special projects, can also play a crucial role in initiating debate on the Europe Union and be instrumental in explaining the local relevance of EU decisions and policies (“Commission of the European,” 2007).

## **Communication of Immigrant Integration**

### **The European Migration Network (EMN)**

The Commission proposed on August 10, 2007 the Council to establish a European Migration Network (EMN) composed of the Commission and the National Contact Points. The goal of EMN is to provide European institutions and member states up-to-date and objective information on migration and asylum, and thus support policy development and decision making. The EMN will also be responsible for collaborating with other European and international bodies; publishing reports on migration and asylum in the European Union; the development and maintenance of an online information system for relevant documents and publications; and the preparation of the annual program of activities (“The European migration,” 2008).

### **Mutual information procedure concerning national measures**

The Council passed a decision on October 5, 2006, asking for the establishment of a Web-based mutual information network run by the Commission. The goal is to allow the exchange of views on member states' national measures in the areas of asylum and immigration. In addition, the Commission will prepare a report each year summarizing information transmitted by the member states each year, which will be presented to the Parliament and the Council to promote further discussion on national asylum and immigration policies (“Mutual information,” 2007).

### **Community statistics on asylum and migration**

The European Parliament and of the Council passed a decision in July 11, 2007 for the compilation of statistics on migration and foreign workers. This decision was also an extension of the Commission's 2003 action plan for developing Community statistics on migration. According to this decision, member states are required to provide Eurostat with statistics on the numbers of immigrants who moved to and emigrants who moved from the territory of the

member state; current residents; residence permits and long-term residence permits issued; and persons who acquired citizenship (“Community statistics,” 2007).

## CHAPTER 6 RESULTS

As it was stated in Chapter 3, the participants were reached through the list of associations compiled from four different resources. The intention was to interview as many participants as possible from each of these different association types. The association types were selected based on the distinction made by Kaya and Kentel (2007), which include: Labor union, political party, Turkish/Belgian friendship associations, cultural center, religious associations, and fellowship associations.

Most of the Turkish associations interviewed were registered in Turkish neighborhoods in the Brussels Capital, which include Schaerbeek, Saint Josse, and Molenbeek. Two were based in Anderlecht but had branches in Brussels Capital. These areas are highlighted on the Brussels map in Figure 1.



Figure 6-1. Brussels map showing areas where Turkish neighborhoods are located (Source: [http://maps.google.com/maps?f=q&source=s\\_q&hl=en&geocode=&q=bruxelles,+belgium](http://maps.google.com/maps?f=q&source=s_q&hl=en&geocode=&q=bruxelles,+belgium). Last accessed May, 2009).

## Types of Associations

According to the categorization of association types mentioned above, the number of interviews with different types of associations is given in Table 1.

Table 6-1. Number of Interviews according to types of associations

Association Types	Number of interviews
Business	3
Religious	2
Political	3
Fellowship	1
Cultural	4
Education	4
Women	3

Although five Turkish business associations were contacted, only three agreed to participate in the research. I was able to reach the other two association leaders as well; however, one declined to meet for an interview and the other missed the first interview and did not respond to my attempts to reschedule.

Interviews were conducted with two religious association leaders. This number may seem small due to the high number of religious associations/mosques in Brussels. However, it should be noted here that the two associations interviewed were federations and included many smaller associations under their umbrella. A religious association from a non-main stream sect of Islam was also contacted, but they were not willing to be interviewed. I believe that these two religious federations were able to provide valuable information, and did not try to interview any other smaller religious association.

The three political associations identified were all willing to be part of the study. When it comes to fellowship associations, I was able to identify only two in Brussels. One was a really large association and was among the first to be interviewed. The second fellowship association

identified was a smaller one and did not want to participate in the study because they have not been active for the last two years. I was able to identify two labor associations in Brussels. One could not be reached. I was able to reach the other one, but could not conduct an interview as the association leader was in Turkey for a long time.

I was also able to interview all of the four cultural association leaders identified through the initial secondary research. One of these was a federation and included many smaller cultural associations under its umbrella. However, there was another difference from Kaya and Kentel's (2007) categories of associations. Two other sub-categories under the cultural associations were identified while I was searching for the Turkish associations in Brussels and these were education and women's associations, which belong under the cultural associations category. I interviewed the leaders of four education associations and three women's associations. They were all able to provide valuable input.

It must be noted here that the category Turkish/Belgian friendship association, is not really practical because all of the cultural associations interviewed claimed that they were trying to establish friendship with the Belgian community and expose them to the Turkish culture. In fact, all of the cultural associations were Turkish/Belgian friendship associations. Thus I decided to combine the two categories cultural association and Turkish/Belgian friendship association in the analysis.

Between April 7 and May 20, 2009, semi-structured qualitative interviews with 20 Turkish association representatives, two Turkish-Belgian politicians and one diplomat from the Turkish embassy in Brussels were conducted. During the interviews with the association leaders, the names of two politicians came up occasionally. I was able to contact these two influential politicians and interview them to include their opinions on the Turkish community in Brussels

and immigrant integration efforts, both at the national and EU level. While she was personally introduced to one of the politicians, I contacted the other politician through her own efforts. These interviews were a good opportunity as they provided a different perspective than those of the leaders of Turkish associations. During the interviews, the issue of relationships with the Turkish state and their representatives in Brussels (Embassy and Consulate) were one of the themes that came up. Therefore, I decided to interview a diplomat from the Turkish Embassy in Brussels to ask about the issues raised during the interviews and to discuss immigrant integration efforts and their role for the Turkish community. When the informative interviews with the politicians and the official from the Turkish Embassy are also included, a total of 23 semi structured qualitative interviews have been conducted for this research.

### **Sample Description and the Interview Process**

I believe that it is important to provide some details about the study participants before going into the research findings. Almost all of the study participants had acquired Belgian citizenship; however, these people have also kept their Turkish citizenship, so they are considered dual citizens. Only four study participants did not have Belgian citizenship. Out of the 23 people interviewed, only six were women and the rest were men. One women participant was a politician, the other two were the leaders of two education associations and the other three were women's association leaders.

There were variations in the age of the participants as well. While most of the participants were between the ages 35 and 55, there was one participant who was 22, and two participants who were older than 65. While 17 of the study participants were college graduates or were currently taking classes from a university and working towards a degree, the other six were middle school or high school graduates. While the members of the first generation tended to be older and less educated, the members of the second and third generation seemed to be younger

and more focused on pursuing their education. The occupations of the participants were also interesting. While almost none of the women participants worked, half of the men interviewed were only involved in their associational positions and did not hold other jobs. Those who worked were mostly small businesses owners, managing their own restaurants, supermarkets or other stores.

The first impression I had while arranging and conducting the interviews was that people were really willing to share their views and opinions. Almost all of the participants were very helpful while arranging an interview location and trying to meet in places I could easily find with my limited knowledge about Brussels area or were willing to meet in a well known place and then go to the interview location, which were usually the association offices. The participants were really warm and seemed to be interested in the research topic. In fact, some wanted to learn more about this dissertation research and my personal background. However, there were also few who approached the interviews with suspicion. Some participants spoke as if they were speaking to a journalist, some thought the goal of the interview was to get an internship and one specific participant implied that he thought I might be a spy. He answered all my questions carefully and even asked why some of the questions were being asked.

Participants also enjoyed being interviewed and being listened to. They were enthusiastic and excited during the interviews and answered all the questions willingly, taking time to think deeply about their answers and trying to answer all of them. But this enthusiasm to answer questions also proved to be a challenge at times because it was hard to keep participants on the topic and the interviews would start to become similar to casual conversations, mainly about where I was from in Turkey or how she decided to come to Brussels for conducting this research. Consequently, I had to be really careful or sometimes even assertive to keep the interviewees on

the topic. Sometimes, one just had to listen to what they have to say and that is what I did sometimes. In fact, while some interviews lasted a little over an hour, there were some that took more than two. Those were exhausting experiences and I had to go home and rest before starting to transcribe.

The participants were really accommodating and all of them served me tea or coffee during the interviews. When the interviews took place outside of the association offices, in cafes or restaurants, the participants always insisted on paying the bill, insisting that I was still a student. This might sound peculiar to someone not familiar with the Turkish culture, but it is quite normal according to Turkish traditions. All the participants live in Brussels and viewed me as a guest. Interviews mostly took place at the offices of the associations. But some took place in cafes and restaurants because it was a convenient meeting point. In addition, I conducted one interview in a store because the participant could not leave the store at that time, one in a mosque because it also functioned as the office of the religious association, and finally one in a men's coffeehouse.

I would like to emphasize that some of these interviews took place under unusual and unique circumstances. I asked during the interview in the coffeehouse whether any women has ever entered the coffeehouse before, and the answer was no. I felt that although the participants felt close to me due to my Turkish nationality, they still felt that I was a stranger and the participants acted differently than they normally would when they interacted with a "traditional" Turkish woman. Another example for this different treatment could be the interview in the mosque. I was able to enter the mosque without having to cover my head, which seemed like an exception compared to all the other women who entered the mosque with headscarves.

I also have to note that one of the major challenges during the interviews was explaining the informed consent form and having the participants sign it. First of all, they all had trouble

understanding what the informed consent form was for. Even those who have been involved in research projects before told me that they have not seen anything like this. I explained, sometimes a couple of times, that the function of the IRB document was to protect their privacy. Usually they were fine with signing the consent form after they understood what it was, although almost all of the participants were hesitant when signing the consent form. In addition, when I told them that I will not be using their associations' or their name; they would tell me that it is alright to use their information. Then I would have to explain to them why their names and their association's name will not be included in the study. In the end, I was able to explain the informed consent process to all of the participants and had the informed consent forms signed by everyone.

### **Different Types of Associations Included in the Study**

#### **Business Associations**

Interviews were conducted with the leaders of three business associations. All three of these associations work towards improving the ties between Turkey and the European Union. One of the associations focus solely on the business community in Brussels and Belgium, the second one focuses on the business and research and development (R&D) community, and the final one on the business community and Turkish civil society organizations in Belgium. One of these business associations also emphasizes promoting secularism among the Turkish community in Belgium.

The main objectives of these business associations can be summarized as: Improving business ties between Belgium and Turkey; promoting the inclusion of Turkish NGOs in Turkey's ascension talks with the European Union; following the secular way of life as established by the founder of modern Turkey, M. K. Ataturk; improving the ties between the Turkish research and business organizations and the European research community and lobbying

in the European Union and Brussels for Turkish research and development and business organizations; and being a contact point for the European Union as an expert on Turkey. The main activities of these business associations include: Organizing conferences, discussion groups and meetings with the Turkish business world in Brussels also with Belgian ministers, and organizing special events during Turkish National Holidays.

### **Religious Associations**

Interviews were conducted with the leaders of two religious organizations. Although the number two may seem small, it must be noted that both of these organizations are federations which means they have offices and representatives all throughout Belgium. There are 90 associations with 10,000 member families under one of these federations while the other manages 12 associations under its umbrella. These federations are also connected to larger religious organizations in Europe.

The main objectives of these religious associations are to provide religious services to the Turkish community and to strengthen the ties between Turkish immigrants and connect them to Turkish culture and Islam religion. These associations especially focus on young people and women by organizing social and cultural activities. While they promote integration into the host culture, both of these religious associations resist assimilation and work towards ensuring that new generations do not forget their native language, culture, and Turkish identity.

The activities of these religious associations include celebrations and activities on religious days, administering mosques, and helping mosques with finding and educating imams (religious leader). They also organize cultural activities and special events during religious holidays. These associations connect with their members by phone, during Friday prayer, through word of mouth, and during organized special events.

## **Political Associations**

Three political associations were interviewed and these associations belong to three different political backgrounds. The objectives of these associations can be summarized as the integration of Turkish immigrants in Brussels to the Belgian political system. However, all three associations have their specific political goals. One of these associations follows the progress of the democratization in Turkey from an EU perspective. Another political association aims to promote the secular way of life among Turkish immigrants in Brussels and Belgium while the third association promotes Turkish nationalism.

The activities of these associations include distributing informative posters on the local elections for the Turkish community, organizing panels on the Turkish community in Belgium and their political integration, exhibitions, and projects for informing the Turkish community on the EU parliamentary elections coming up soon. Some other activities include a music chorus consisting of people from different cultures and religions, folk dancing and *saz* (a stringed instrument popular in Turkey) lessons, Turkish language lessons, after school study sessions for helping students with their homework, social activities for children, sports activities, religion lessons, book reading, and a publishing of a newsletter. The political associations communicate with their members through personal relations and word of mouth (members live close and interact often), by phone, through email, and posters.

## **Fellowship Associations**

The leader of the largest fellowship association was interviewed for this study. This association targets people who come from a little town called Emirdag in the city of Afyon in mid-western Anatolia. The natives of Emirdag constitute the majority of the Turkish immigrants in Brussels and Belgium. In fact more people from Emirdag live in Belgium than in Emirdag today. The leader of the fellowship association also pointed out that the population of Emirdag

is 20,000, but the Emirdag population in Belgium is over 55,000. The objectives of this association include sending financial aid to Emirdag and building close ties among the Emirdag community in Brussels.

The main activities of this fellowship association include after school lessons for students, social events for women, pottery, computer, French lessons, translating authentic Nasreddin Hoca stories to French and reading these to kids in schools, charity events during the month of Ramadan, alms giving to help those in need, purchase of books and computers for schools in Emirdag, charity nights where the money is collected to buy electric wheel chairs for the disabled in Turkey, and publishing informative booklets about Belgium to inform those who will be moving here. This association communicates with its members through its Web site, by phone, and through SMS. Also, their offices are centrally located in the Turkish neighborhood of Schaerbeek, so members often drop by.

### **Cultural Associations**

For this category, leaders of four cultural associations were interviewed. The objectives of these associations include working with the communes (local municipalities) to help immigrants with day-to-day problems. Although it is a Turkish association, one of these associations focuses on not only Turks, but Ukrainians, Iranians, Moroccans as well. Other objectives include representing the Turkish community in Belgium, trying to establish ties with the Belgian community through organizing special events; fighting prejudice against Turks and preventing assimilation of Turks; helping strengthen the immigrant middle class through education, music, painting, and film making lessons; and bringing bands from Turkey for concerts.

The activities of these associations include French and computer lessons, homework help for students, driving lessons, meetings to inform members on their rights and responsibilities in Belgium. In addition, these associations have a film club and focus on the creation of

educational tools, intercultural and intergenerational activities, arranging trips to Turkey for both Belgians and Turks, and culture and ethics lessons. These associations also have other activities where they provide briefings to people planning to go to pilgrimage, they organize dinner for 1000 people every night during Ramadan for people breaking their fast, have activities on Turkish national and religious days, and participate in national day activities of Belgium. They partner with the Ministry of Labor for motivating the young people, have projects to support families with problems, and organize presentations of Turkish academics of their work on Turkish immigrants in Europe. These associations communicate with their members by word of mouth, posters, letter, email, and through their Web sites.

### **Education Associations**

Four education associations were visited and their leaders were interviewed. Their main objectives are to enable cultural exchange between Turkish immigrants in Brussels and Belgians; promote higher education among the Turkish youth; promote Turkish culture and break the Turkish immigrant stereotype in Belgium through organizing events; educating children, and their mothers.

The activities of these associations include organizing artistic and cultural events, such as theater, music, and sports events; organizing music, painting, and movie lessons; helping Turkish students with their university application; sponsoring Turkish cultural nights and inviting people from different cultures to establish intercultural dialogue; organizing trips to Turkey, French lessons, after school homework assistance, school preparation, and psychological advice. These associations reach their members through posters, radio ads, flyers, email, and phone.

### **Women's Associations**

The leaders of three women's associations were interviewed. The objectives of these associations include educating women and children; and providing a place for women to gather

and have a social interaction where they can bring their children in Schaerbeek, ask for guidance, and get support. These associations aim to establish a bridge between Turkish and Belgian cultures, help their members to learn about the language and culture of Belgium, and get out of their homes. They also try to reach newly arrived brides from Turkey to help with their adjustment to Belgium.

The activities of these associations include giving Turkish and French language lessons, Quran lessons, psychological support for women, legal consulting and translation, folk dancing, sports, music, painting lessons, special events, trips, and art and cultural exhibitions. They communicate with their members mainly by SMS, email, phone, flyers, postal service, newspaper, and radio advertisements. One of these associations also organizes monthly meetings with its members.

### **Findings**

I transcribed the interviews the evening the interviews were conducted. The field notes taken during the interviews were also typed at the end of each transcript. I did not start data analysis until all the interviews were completed. The informative interviews with two politicians and the diplomat from the Turkish Embassy in Brussels were also analyzed with the interviews of the immigrant association leaders as I believe that presenting different perspectives would add to the diversity of the research.

I started coding and highlighting the interview transcripts in Turkish through textual analysis. I looked for commonly used or interesting words, paying attention to repetitive nouns or phrases, important statements, repetitions, and focusing on stories told by participants as suggested by Rubin and Rubin (1995). Concepts, main arguments, and themes were identified through multiple readings and listening to the transcripts. Later, all the 23 transcripts were coded

in Turkish individually to determine whether the concepts, themes, and main arguments were present in all of the transcripts.

The concepts, themes, arguments, stories, and interesting quotes identified were all copied from the 23 interview transcripts to a single document and organized according to the main themes identified. I then translated this document into English, and then back to Turkish to make sure that meaning was not lost in translation. A professional translator was consulted to make sure that the translations and the back translations were accurate.

Main themes identified through textual analysis can be organized according to the research questions. The second research question focuses on how the Turkish association leaders see the Turkish community in Brussels and the main issues affecting them. The themes identified around this question can be listed as identity: First generation or newcomers' views on identity versus second and third generations' views on identity; Turks in Belgium; The Little Anatolia Schaerbeek and neighborhood culture; living in a cocoon; ghettoization of the Turkish community in Brussels; being lost; impacts of Turkish TV channels; the new trend of reverse migration; education issues; family issues; issues Turkish women face. In addition, the participants also talked extensively about political activism tied to Turkey and relationships with the Turkish state, which are all explained in detail in their respective sections below.

In addition, the themes related to the third and fourth research questions about the existing EU immigrant integration efforts and the Turkish association leaders' awareness levels, the Turkish associations leaders' efforts to learn about these issues and their efforts to potentially influence EU decisions and initiatives about immigrant integration are also discussed in this section. The themes identified which are related to these two research questions are: European Union and Turkey Relations; especially issues related to Turkey's membership to the EU;

Belgian immigrant integration efforts; and EU immigrant integration issues. The participants also talked about lobbying as a means to establish relationships with EU institutions and officials and to potentially influence public policy. In addition, the results section also includes the Turkish association leaders' opinions about how the European Union should reach out to immigrant communities to inform them about the EU immigrant integration efforts.

### **Turkish Association Leaders' Views on the Turkish Community in Brussels and the Main Issues that Affect the Turkish Diaspora**

#### **Identity**

The issue of identity came up during almost all of the interviews. When I asked the participants to define themselves, the issue of identity came up naturally. However, the participants interviewed had different conceptions of identity. During the interviews, I realized that there was a difference in the perception of identity depending on whether the participants belonged the first, or second and third generations.

Especially, there was a major difference in how the participants defined themselves depending on whether they were from the first generation of immigrants or second and third generations. In fact, one of the participants, someone from the second generation, pointed to this difference: "There are two types of Turks here, those who were born and raised here and those who came later." These two groups tend to be significantly different. The identity theme will be examined from two perspectives, the definition of the first generation and the definition of the second or third generations.

#### **First generation or newcomers' views on identity**

A participant from a business association stopped me when I used the term "Turkish immigrants" and asked, "Are we still immigrants?" Then we went into a discussion of definition problems related to the Turkish community in Belgium. He moved to Brussels 25 years ago, he

is a first generation immigrant. He defined himself as Turkish and said that he never applied for Belgian citizenship although he could have years ago. Another participant from a cultural association also asked the same question: “Until when will this term immigrant be used?” He also defined himself as Turkish:

We came from there. We brought many things with us.” But he also stated that his children do not see themselves like he does. “There are many differences in opinion. Our children get their education here. The education system here is very different; then there is the Western culture. Their friends in the street are different here. What matters is that they should not lose their own identities.

The leader of the fellowship association who arrived to Belgium 30 years ago also pointed to this difference in the self-definition of different generations:

I am still deeply connected to Turkey, but the youth is not like me. It is really hard for me to cut my ties from Turkey. It is also hard for others to see me as Belgian. They don’t want to anyway. But young people are influenced by the Belgian culture.

A leader of a political association interviewed also defined himself as Turkish. He did not acquire Belgian citizenship and he regards himself as a Turkish nationalist. In fact, he stated that he does not have Belgian citizenship because he was refused in the past:

The reason for the refusal was because they said that I belong to an imperialist political party that wants to eliminate Kurds. However, the real reason is Turkish nationalism. This usually happens to people who are members of our association.

The political party he mentioned is MHP (the Nationalist Movement Party), which is a right wing opposition party that is in currently in the Turkish Parliament. The leader of a cultural association, again someone who moved to Belgium 40 years ago, defined himself as Euro-Turk, but “without losing anything from our Turkish identity, culture, and beliefs. I feel that we have adapted to the lifestyle of Europe, we are conservative, but democratic.” He said that their initial goal when coming to Belgium was to work here for a couple of years, save money and go back home. But in time, they realized that there is no going back home. “If we live here, then we need to live according to the life style here. We need to integrate, not assimilate but integrate.”

A religious association leader also emphasized their Muslim identity in Europe and Brussels:

I am a Muslim Belgian. I am a European citizen with a Muslim identity. We want to contribute to the European society. But we are against [a] one-sided integration. We will resist if they (Europeans) try to impose their way of life, traditions upon us. We attend Belgian national special events with Belgian flags in our hands. We just want them to respect our religion and our life style.

He supports the idea of living together in harmony and he is against the labeling of Muslims.

### **Second and third generations' views on identity**

The opinions of the second and third generation immigrants' on the identity issue differed from those who are first generation immigrants. The second and third generation tended to emphasize the European aspect of their identities. The leader of a women's association, who was born and raised in Belgium, defined herself as Belga-Turk. The leader of a political association, a third generation Turkish national, pointed to his pluralist identity and said that they are neither from there (Turkey), nor from here (Belgium) – they are both. He argued that “the second and third generation Turkish nationals are going through critical times because they are the actors of a history they are not responsible for.” He was against the terms Turkish immigrant, Turkish national, or TCN because they do not include all aspects of the Turkish community here and most of the Turkish people do not define themselves as immigrants. He stated that Euro-Turk is the only valid definition, as it does not exclude any of their identities.

Another participant, the leader of a religious association who was born and raised here stated that he is Belgian, but his Turkish identity is really important to him. The leader of an education association, defining herself as the daughter of an immigrant family, also said that she is Belgian, but also Turkish. “Although I was born here and I have Belgian citizenship, I have to

remember that I am Turkish. Even though my children were born here, they are the children of Turks and they will be raised like that.”

Issues of identity and belonging came up during the interviews with the Turkish politicians as well. One politician, who is a second generation Turkish national, stated that he is proud of his Turkish inheritance, but also a part of Belgium and Europe. He argued that difference should not scare people. “I live in the capital of Europe. I carry parts of Belgian and other cultures while I still protect my own identity.”

The other politician interviewed is a third generation Turkish national living in Brussels, her grandfather arrived in the 1970s and she agrees with the use of the term immigrants when defining the Turkish community in Brussels. She said “we are immigrants after all.” She defined herself as a Belgian with Turkish origin who is from Schaerbeek:

Our national feelings are really strong. I never deny my past, but Belgium is also my country, I was born here, all my friends and family live here, I earn my living here. What’s important is realizing what it means to live here and living together by respecting each other’s differences.

### **Turkish Lifestyle in Belgium**

The issue of the life of the Turkish community in Belgium came up during the interviews. It seemed that there were many different views on how the interview participants saw the Turkish community and lifestyle in Brussels. While some participants were more critical of the Turkish community in Brussels because of the lack of education and ghettoization, other participants believed that before criticizing immigrants their backgrounds and the context when they arrived to Belgium needs to be taken into account.

One cultural association leader summarized the main problems the immigrants as deep rooted in the first generation:

Our parents moved here to work. They came from a rural background, they do not know the language, the children’s grades are not good, but the parents can’t help. The parents

speaking Turkish among themselves, so the children can't learn the local language properly. They live a closed life in a ghetto.

The leader of a business association said that there is a large Turkish community here and they influence the European public opinion about Turks and Turkey. In the past, the Turkish immigrant community helped create many stereotypes about Turks in Europe:

Turks live in ghetto-like communities. They are not open to integration. They don't learn the language of the host society. Religion is a big part of their life. They don't dress like us. They don't respect women. They try to continue their lifestyles from Turkey in Belgium as much as they can.

However, he emphasized that a new generation is coming whose members are different from the ones who caused the creation of these stereotypes. The new generation is changing with education and entrepreneurship.

Despite these positive developments in the Turkish community, he stated that there are still major problems which include a lack of organization, lack of education, and excess of immigrant associations in Brussels. The leader of another business association complained that the Turkish community in Belgium is really closed to the outside and there are divisions within the society. There is a lot of religious pressure in addition to education problems. The leader of an education association also agreed with the lack of education in the Turkish community in Brussels. "The number of students does not increase. Young people strive to earn easy money by opening Turkish restaurants or supermarkets."

The leader of an education association agreed that people are after making money, fast and easy:

Especially Turkish men don't go to school. All they care about is how they can make money. They don't think about their future. These are alarm bells for the Turkish youth here." She also defined one of the major problems of the Turkish community in Belgium as lacking a perspective. "Families here live for the day; they work in manual jobs and save money. They do not provide any guidance to their children about their future and education. It is left all up to the child. Now these families who work in manual jobs or

receive social subsidies (unemployment benefits) want their child to be a lawyer. But this is impossible, these are all empty hopes.

She believes that there is change, especially in the third generation, but it is too slow paced and this upsets her. The leader of another education association also had concerns about the Turkish youth:

We live in the capital of Europe but some people want to raise their children as if they still live in small villages. This is not right. Just because we are Muslims does not mean that we can restrict our children. We should let them do what they want and help them develop, a boy or a girl. Our religion is beautiful; people should not hide behind it to restrict their children.

The fellowship association leader's concerns were different. He complained that the immigrant community here follows the news in Turkey and is not involved in what is going on in here. He stated that elections are coming up and there are many Belgian-Turk candidates, but not many people are aware of what is going on or who they will vote for. One politician interviewed also complained that the Turkish community in Belgium did not embrace Belgium as their new homeland. "They do not accept integration; they only see this country as a cash source. But the future of this country is our future."

On the other hand, there were some who believed that the reasons behind the Turkish community's current state should be examined without criticizing them as backward and a closed community. One cultural association leader said that Turks were among the last group of immigrants to arrive to Belgium and this needs to be considered when criticizing them. In fact, he emphasized that Turkish immigrants realized that they were permanent settlers in Belgium only in the 1980s:

The history of Turks in Belgium date back only 40-50 years. There are still many issues they need to deal with, they could not learn the local languages properly. They felt alienated in their new country and realized that they can never go back. They also realized that their children will not go back either.

The leader of the fellowship association also pointed to the same issue and said that people only started buying homes as late as 1992-1993. That is when they realized that they are here to stay. Until then, everyone assumed that they would go back home. The second generation leader of an education association actually complained about this focus on Turkey during the interviews:

Our parents always assumed that they would go back home after they saved enough money. They also invested all the money they saved in Turkey, buying homes and land. They never thought that they would live here. This is really unfortunate because if they had invested their money here, then all Turkish families would own property here and they would be in a much better condition economically.

On the other hand, some still believe that the Turkish community has not realized how permanent they are in Belgium even today. The leader of a political association said that Turks first build cemeteries when they decide to stay somewhere:

We don't even have a cemetery here. We don't bury our dead here, we take them back to Turkey. We have not accepted Belgium as our homeland. This community cannot comprehend that they are permanent settlers here.

This is a significant point and it makes me realize that Turkish people do not feel like members of this society, even after the third generation.

The rural background of the Belgian Turks is seen as one reason for their current state. A small group of immigrants mentioned the need for an urban versus rural distinction when looking at the Turkish community in Belgium. The leader of a cultural association argued that Belgian Turks are the least developed in Europe because most of them migrated from small villages and towns. He suggested that Turkish immigrants in other European countries tend to be more developed and open to change. He believed that the rural background of the Turkish immigrants in Belgium are a disadvantage:

The Turks in Belgium came from villages in Anatolia. They came from a rural background. Turkish immigrants in Germany or the Netherlands are more developed. They are more civilized. Their cultural development is more enhanced, they probably

came from cities, and they are more urban. The Belgian Turks could not get over their rural backgrounds. They are too conservative and culturally inferior to the Turks living in Turkey.

One politician interviewed also agreed with this perspective. He believes that one of the major issues is the rural versus urban background distinction. He believed that people from a rural background have problems with adapting to the urban culture and lifestyle. But he is also hopeful about the future. “We need time to adapt. We are only at the third generation now. Give us some time.” The leader of a women’s association is hopeful about the future generations. She said that integration is much easier now than compared to the past because of a large network of associations from where people can get help.

### **The Little Anatolia Schaerbeek – Neighborhood Culture**

Schaerbeek, the area where a majority of the Turkish community in Brussels lives, is an interesting experience. It is very close to the center of the city, in fact you can even walk to the Grand Market from there, and it is just three metro stations away from Schuman, the center of the European Union. However, it is a different world. Although it is so close to the center of Europe, it could easily pass as a street from Turkey. The restaurants and cafes, the stores, the grocery stores, and the hairdressers with Turkish names and the staff make you feel like you are walking in a street in Turkey. Almost everybody in the streets speak Turkish. A Turkish national could easily live in Schaerbeek just like they do in Turkey, without learning a single word of the local languages or knowing anything about the local cultures.

The neighborhood culture in Schaerbeek also came up during the interviews. While a large group of participants agreed that this neighborhood culture disabled the integration process of the Turkish community, a smaller group believed that it helped protect the Turkish identity of the immigrants. One of the politicians interviewed had worked in the municipality and was involved with the Schaerbeek neighborhood. She said that Schaerbeek is, in fact, the sixth

largest municipality in Belgium with a population of 130,000 residents. This population is mainly made up of Turkish nationals, who are so concentrated there that Schaerbeek is also called *Little Anatolia*. But South Africans, Moroccans, and local Belgians also live there. In fact, there are also very affluent neighborhoods inhabited by local Belgians registered in the Schaerbeek municipality.

A cultural association's representative underlined the deep neighborhood culture in Schaerbeek:

You can do things you wouldn't be able to do in Turkey. For example, you can greet someone you don't know on the street here. When you understand that they are Muslim, you greet them openly.

Some others, however, do not believe that this neighborhood culture is such a positive thing as it provides a protected area almost like a cocoon for the Turkish immigrant community. The leader of a women's association reflected on this issue during the interview: "There are families or women who have never gotten out of this part of town. They have been trapped here." The leader of an education association also agreed with this view saying that

living together in Schaerbeek has influenced integration negatively. Turks living here could not move on. But when you look at the Turks in Turkey, you realize that they are much more developed, they are much more educated.

In fact, one of the politicians interviewed stated that although she was born and raised in Brussels, she got lost the first day of college and her father had to take her to the university during the first week until she learned how to get there. "We hadn't gotten out of Schaerbeek much, we didn't know the city." In fact, the neighborhood became sort of a cocoon and a ghetto for the Turkish community.

### **Cocoon**

A few of the participants were more critical of the Turkish community in Brussels and went deeper while talking about the effects of the neighborhood and Schaerbeek on the Turkish

community. An education association leader mentioned the word cocoon during the interviews when describing the life of the Turkish community here:

We have to get out of our cocoon. We don't even know what is around us. We have to be more involved in the social life, in matters that concern the society. The elections are approaching, but we don't know the candidates, what they propose, who to vote for. But if we want to move forward as the Turkish community, we have to think about the future.

This cocoon seems to be a pattern for the Turkish community in Brussels. Some other participants also talked about the community forming a cocoon, a protected area for the Turkish community around itself in the Schaerbeek neighborhood. These participants criticized the Turkish community for not having opened up to the Belgian culture, lifestyle, and community.

### **Ghettoization**

The issue of ghettoization came up during the interviews. Again a critical minority of the participants focused heavily on this issue. The leader of a Turkish women's association admitted that they were not successful at integrating as a society:

We have many problems as a society. We have language issues, we have education issues, and our youth has problems. We are seen as second class citizens across Europe and some of it is our fault. The Turkish community here is different than those in Turkey. People here have been ghettoized. They were not able to open up to the society here.

One political association also complained about this ghettoization effect. "Turkish kids are deeply influenced by Arab kids, especially in regard to having a Muslim identity. There are really strong Islamic pressures in the neighborhood schools."

One participant, the leader of a cultural association, argued that the ghettoization is, in part, a result of the Belgian government's mistakes in the past. He stated that when they first arrived to Brussels, large groups of immigrants moved somewhere together and brought their families. When newcomers arrived, they moved in those areas as well.

The Belgian government always assumed that these immigrants would return home one day and did not have an immigration policy for a long time. However,

if the Belgian government had taken immigration seriously, and distributed immigrants to different locations in town, then the ghettoization present today could have been eliminated. The newcomers would have been better educated and they would have learned the local languages. The immigrants did not change after they came. They still live like they did in the 1970s and 1980s. Today the Belgian government worries about eliminating the ghettos. It's too late now.

On the contrary, there were a few participants who were happy about the Turkish immigrants living together in Schaerbeek and the neighborhood phenomenon. One participant from a religious association said that there is a ghetto where the immigrant societies live. But he said that this has created a Turkish neighborhood in town:

Every Turkish immigrant who came to Brussels moved here with their families. People did not lose their Turkish identities. It is not like this in other European countries. Living together helped protect our people.

Another important feature of the Turkish immigrants in Brussels that separates them from Turkish nationals in other European cities is that most of the Turkish immigrants here are from the same town, Emirdag. The leader of a Turkish cultural association emphasized the importance of this difference:

This is a small community and this creates an auto control system. People are closely connected to each other and follow each other closely. This means that people do not lose their culture, but it also makes integration a challenge.

### **Being Lost**

A small group of participants expressed that they were afraid of the future of the Turkish community in Belgium. At first, I had problems comprehending why this concern was so strong. But when other participants also reflected on their concerns for the future, I could understand their fears of the future and of being lost. The participants seemed really concerned about what will happen to the Turkish community here after 50 or 100 years. There were fears of the

Turkish community losing its culture and traditions, forgetting its language and history, simply being lost in the future. The leader of a Turkish women's association kept asking questions when talking about the future of the Turkish community: "Where will the Turkish community be after 50 years? What will the youth know? How much of Turkish history could we teach to our children?"

The leader of an education association also reflected on the issue of being lost and complained about some EU member states having lost their national identities:

Some families don't even speak Turkish at home. This is terrible. What language will the children of today's youth will speak, what will happen to our culture? Who will we be? Look at the countries that got into the European Union. Let's take Italians as an example. How many of them go to church, how many speak Italian, how many of them visit their home country during their holidays? None. They have totally lost their identity. We don't want this, I don't want this.

The leader of a cultural association also shared these fears. He stated that the situation of the Turkish immigrants is different than that of the Turks in Turkey:

People in Turkey don't live under the risk of losing their identities. Here, the first and the second generations are not under this risk either. Families are able to teach Turkish culture and history to their children. But if we are permanent here, we have to consider what will happen in the next 50 or 100 years. If we don't work on the people, they will get lost. I don't want them to have Turkish names but not know a word of Turkish in the future.

### **Turkish Television Channels**

There were two conflicting views on the easy accessibility of Turkish TV channels via satellite dishes, especially since the last 10 years. While a majority of the association leaders believed that having Turkish TV channels was a positive development for the Turkish community, a smaller group of participants argued that having Turkish TV channels has affected people negatively.

A cultural association leader said that Turkish TV channels have been instrumental for teaching Turkish language to the immigrant community. Another cultural association leader

emphasized the benefits of following the Turkish news and following the cultural developments in Turkey in addition to the protection of the mother tongue. The leader of an education association stated that TV is crucial to protect the Turkish identity of the immigrant community: “We may be far away, but who will we be if we lose our culture?”

The leader of an education association looked at the Turkish TV viewing from another perspective. She argued that Turkish TV channels are needed because those are the only options of people watching TV shows and the news without feeling humiliated:

They (Belgian authorities and community) criticize us for not following the Belgian TV channels and say that this is the reason why we can't learn the local languages. But the TV channels here have programs that contradict with our beliefs and lifestyles. Anti-Islam views and prejudices are evident in TV programs. You constantly get slapped in the face while watching these. Even in the news, Muslims are portrayed negatively. So people don't watch the TV channels here. They follow the Turkish TV.

On the other hand, there was a smaller group of participants who don't think that watching Turkish TV channels is really beneficial for the Turkish community in Brussels. The leader of a women's association said that following Turkish news and politics, and learning the language may be benefits of Turkish TV. However, she argued that there are also social disadvantages. She claimed that some mothers lose themselves while watching TV and get addicted. Also, some families stop following what is going on around them in Belgium:

Some mothers become serial-colic and devote a lot of time to TV. They forget their families. Also, they are unaware of what's going on in Belgium, especially the political life here. Thank God there's the European Turkish mass media. They explain what's going on in Belgium, in Europe as well.

Another participant, a leader of a cultural association argued that although Turkish TV has been somewhat beneficial for the Turkish community, its use is what is actually problematic:

These people are here physically, but they live in Turkey mentally. They know exactly what's going on in Turkey, but they don't know what's going on here. They stay away from the cultural life in Belgium.

There was also one participant, leader of an education association, who was heavily against Turkish TV and believed that its disadvantages outweigh its advantages:

I wish we did not have Turkish TV. It has an enormous destructive effect on the community here. People here learn about Turkey from the TV, but Turkey is not the place portrayed on TV.

### **Reverse Migration**

In fact, the positive perception of Turkey based on Turkish TV serials may be influential in attracting the new generation to move back to Turkey. This is called reverse migration, as used by the participants. More than half of the participants talked about reverse migration at some point during the interviews. The leader of a Turkish cultural association first mentioned the term reverse migration while talking about his family. His daughter who was born and raised in Belgium wants to move to Turkey. He said that he would move back to Turkey today if he was not busy with all his association work. He said that he sees this phenomenon of reverse migration positively:

Turkish people should go back to their homeland. Life in Turkey is beautiful. People should live according to their culture, according to their traditions there.”

Another education association leader, a second generation born and raised in Brussels, was also making plans to move back to Turkey. When I asked her why, she responded: “The reasons are missing our homeland and wanting to raise our children in our own country.” The leader of a political association also talked about this reverse migration trend. However, he believed that the Belgian authorities are in part responsible for Turkish nationals born in Belgium to move back to Turkey:

Educated children want to go back and live in Turkey. These kids who were born here don't see Belgium as their homeland. They were not able to embrace Belgium. They can't say 'our Belgium' and the Belgian authorities did not create an environment for them to feel this way.

The leader of a religious association, again a second generation, also emphasized the longing for the homeland Turkey. It puzzled me at first, this longing for the motherland they never lived in. But the participant described this longing really well:

Our country is one of a kind. Our culture is beautiful. We can never thank God enough for the country we have. Our country is so vast, we have to travel and see all the different parts of it. The beautiful county we have, even its sun is enough.

I have to admit that his love of his country moved her deeply. The leader of a cultural association also mentioned reverse migration and the longing for Turkey. “Turkey and Belgium cannot even be compared. We got soaked in this country.” He said that he does not plan to go back, but young people, the third generation want to move back to Turkey. “They work in the branches of Belgian banks in Turkey. They work in international companies.”

The leader of a fellowship association said that his daughter has moved back to Turkey and she is very happy there. “There is no more development in Europe. No one can save any money. Europe is not in a good state anymore.” When I asked him if he would plan to go back, he said no. “The first generation is well settled here, no one will go back. We only go to Turkey for holidays.” I think that this is an interesting approach. While the third generation is willing to move to a country they have never lived in, the first generation does not have such plans because they are settled here.

The views of a political association’s leader on reverse migration were different from everybody else. Although he is a third generation Turkish national, he said that “moving back is history now. We love Turkey, but those who move there come back in two months.” This viewpoint was different than the previous optimistic approaches. He argued that people born in Belgium will not be happy when they move to Turkey, because they come from a different culture.

## **Education Issues**

The lack of education among the Turkish youth was a concern for almost all of the participants interviewed. The leader of an education association suggested that families are the main source of the education problems of the youth in Belgium. “The families are not educated. They came as workers. They cannot guide their children properly. They do not appreciate the value of knowledge.” The participant also stated that the immigrant youth who go to college are the ones who are supported by their families. He said that the others just go into work life because their families do not have the vision to show them the right way.

The leader of a religious association also mentioned that the Turkish immigrant youth is not interested in education due to the background of families they come from:

Our people who have a rural background are not enthusiastic about continuing their education (going to college). This is changing, but too slowly. The unemployment assistance also affects education negatively. Young people rely on that unemployment income.

A cultural association leader believed that the education problems of the Turkish youth are rooted in the language issues. He suggested that the Turkish nationals here cannot speak Turkish or the local languages fluently:

They don't speak proper Turkish at home because the education level of the parents is too low. They can't speak their language very well. The young people don't know proper Turkish. They don't speak the local languages like a native either. So they go to vocational schools to learn a manual job and they don't go to college. Their employment chances are limited.

An education association leader compared Turkish nationals in Belgium with Turks in Turkey. She argued that Turkish nationals in Belgium are not that developed and open to education:

The young people in Turkey are more open, more active, and more successful. They are more focused on education. But here, we have all these resources, all these opportunities, but they don't want to go to school. There are many kids who drop out. This is really sad.

She believed that the one functions of the Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels should be to provide direction and support to those who want to get an education. This will allow them to set good examples for future generations.

### **Family Issues**

In addition to the education problems, more than half of the participants discussed the family problems Turkish immigrants in Brussels go through. The leader of a political association reflected on the family issues in the Turkish community in Belgium. He stated that there are many divorces in families and psychological problems because of the ‘imported/national’ brides and grooms from Turkey. He said that people who come from Turkey and people raised here are significantly different. He argued that this causes issues between the parents and the children, in addition to problems between the spouses. He referred to people raised in Turkey versus Belgium as “two different cultures from the same race” and suggested that the Turkish families here need to be studied sociologically.

A cultural association leader said that the family life of Turkish immigrants has been deteriorating in the last 5-6 years with the increase in divorce rates. Another cultural association leader said that this negative trend in the family life is really upsetting because family life is important for a child’s success later in life. The leader of an education association also reflected on the family issue:

I envy the Europeans a bit as a mother. We don’t have as much family communication as they do. We don’t speak everything openly with our children. We don’t explain everything openly. I believe that we could connect with our children if we communicated more openly.

### **Women**

Women participants, who make up a minority among the people interviewed, emphasized women’s issues. These participants were the leaders of women’s or education associations. An

education association leader said that the responsibility to educate the children falls especially on the women in the family. However she argued that the Turkish women need to be empowered to influence their children positively. “But first they need to be able to stand up on their own feet. They should not just rely on their husbands.”

One challenge for the Turkish community in Brussels is the imported brides who come to Belgium from rural areas in Turkey. The interviews revealed that these young women do not focus on building a life in Belgium once they arrive, they don't focus on furthering their education or learning the local languages. On the other hand, they immediately have children. This means that they can only focus on themselves and their education after 5-10 years of arriving to Belgium. This is a major concern for the leader of a women's association. It worries her that even educated women who are college graduates in Turkey shut themselves in their homes when they move to Belgium. One of her major goals is to include these educated women into the social life and get them out of their homes.

A Turkish politician interviewed talked about the disadvantages of young women in the Turkish community in Brussels. She complained that Turkish families, due to their rural backgrounds, do not care about the education of their daughters and focus on their sons instead. Girls are married at a young age. She even gave an example from her own life. Although her family was really supportive of her political career, there were others who claimed that politics is not for women. “People would say to my father, your daughter is smart and all, but she would have done something if she had gotten married.” She believes that this perception of women needs to change in the Turkish community for them to be more contemporary and get integrated into the European lifestyle.

## **Political Activism tied to Turkey**

Turkish politics and political activism tied to Turkey was an issue discussed during the interviews. Although these issues were mainly discussed by the leaders of political associations, many other association leaders interviewed briefly talked about the political situation in Turkey and Turkish politics. One of the political association leaders mentioned this issue while talking about the subsidies associations receive from the municipalities:

If you are focusing too much on Turkish politics, then you can be sure that you will not receive any funding from the municipality. They won't fund us anyway because they think that we are too involved in politics in Turkey. Only those who act like they don't care about Turkey will get funded. Those that are not nationalists will receive funds.

The leader of another political association also mentioned the link between the political interest of the association and receiving funding. They used to receive funding from the municipality and they even had three social advisors funded by the municipality working in their office. However, after they protested against a bill for the recognition of the so-called Armenian genocide in Belgium, their funding was cut immediately and the social advisors were taken back. He agreed that political activism tied to Turkey is heavily discouraged. The association was trying to find funding from elsewhere. A cultural association leader was also aware of this Turkish politics issue:

In the past, we were so concerned with what's going on in Turkey. All we cared about was Turkish politics. As if we would save Turkey. But then we realized that while trying to save Turkey from over here, we were losing our people who lived here. Then we decided that we need to do something about our people here. There are many people in Turkey who are trying to save it anyway.

He believes that focusing on the people here and trying to help them integrate into the Belgian society is more important for the associations.

## **Relationships with the Turkish State**

Most of the participants mentioned the Turkish embassy or the consulate in Brussels during the interviews. While a small minority stated that the relationships with the Turkish state are not developed, there were others who believed that the Turkish state and its representatives in Brussels were really involved with the Turkish community. The interviews revealed that things have changed in time and relationships with the Turkish state has improved.

A political association leader interviewed reported to have very strong feelings about the Turkish embassy and consulate in Brussels. He argued that the Turkish state and its representatives (embassy and consulate) do not see them as worthy of any attention, and said that they don't receive any help or assistance from the embassy or the consulate. An education association leader also had this approach, and he mentioned that although they had a positive relationship with the embassy in the past, they feel like it is just words. "They always tell us that we support you but there is no action, we don't see anything coming from them."

A cultural association leader believed that the Turkish state needs to watch out for the Turkish nationals in Europe to make sure that they do not to lose their identity and get lost. An education association leader pointed out that there is a lack of guidance and information services for the Turkish associations and the Turkish community in general. However, he also believed that this should be the role of federations and the Turkish officials in Brussels, mainly the role of the officials and diplomats working in the Turkish embassy and the consulate,

This is a problem dating back to the 1970s. The Turkish state did not act properly. They stayed away from the immigrant community for so long. The integration of immigrants should have been managed more effectively.

Another cultural association leader supported the same idea. He argued that the Turkish state should be more responsive to the needs of its people in Europe. The view that the Turkish state and its representatives in Brussels should educate the Turkish nationals here and provide

them with resources was widespread among these participants. However, there were also differing opinions among the participants on the role of the Turkish officials in Brussels. The same leader said that they felt left alone until the last 10-15 years. However, he argued that things are changing today:

But now there is the embassy, consulate and the representatives of the Turkish office of religious affairs. We are really happy about this increasing connection with the Turkish state.

A few participants talked about a change in the approaches in time. A women's association's leader also agreed that the relations with the embassy and the consulate have been improving. She is a second generation immigrant so she can make a comparison with the past: "When I was young, it was different. We were left alone. It is changing now." She was not the only one who talked about this change. The leader of a cultural association also mentioned this difference in the approach of Turkish officials towards the Turkish immigrant community in Belgium:

There is more interest and help towards the Turkish nationals. They care about our problems and concerns. The Turkish state recently started to be involved with its people abroad. This is a positive development. We are the Turkish state's work force and economic power abroad.

A women's association leader talked about the increased involvement over time as well.

Another women's association leader said that the Turkish officials have been very open:

They tell us to come and talk to them. They want to know our needs. The Turkish ambassador and consul general are always attending events and visiting associations.

Things were a bit different for the leaders of the business associations. All three of the business association leaders mentioned having a strong relationship with the Turkish state. They all said that they hold regular meetings with the Turkish ambassador. These meetings are called STID in Turkish, which means "civil society business world" meetings. The leaders of the three business associations said that these meeting allow an exchange of ideas between the ambassador

and the business community in Brussels. However, this meeting was not mentioned by any other association leader interviewed. Such meetings seemed like a really good way for the embassy to connect to the different types of associations in Brussels and to help them with their needs and concerns.

I asked about these meetings to the diplomat interviewed to learn why the organizations involved were limited to the business associations. However, the answer was that the embassy is at equal distance to all immigrant associations. But he also added that relationships with associations may evolve depending on the personality of the ambassador or the consul general and the personal relationships between the parties involved.

### **Turkish Association Leaders' Awareness of EU Immigrant Integration Efforts**

Almost all of the participants interviewed first went into issues of Turkey-EU relations before starting to discuss immigrant integration issues. Almost all of the participants automatically started to talk about Belgian immigrant integration efforts first. When it came to EU immigrant integration efforts, almost none of the participants had any information, except one exception, the leader of a political association.

### **European Union and Turkey Relations**

When I used the term EU immigrant integration, almost all of the participants were selective towards the word "European Union" and ignored immigrant integration at first. The issue of Turkey's EU membership came up immediately in all of the interviews. In addition, the Armenian and Kurdish issues also came up occasionally during this part of the interviews. It seemed these issues were in the agenda of most of these association leaders. Although I tried to keep this part of the interview relatively short, reminding the participants that what she was actually asking was the EU efforts towards the integration of the immigrant communities living

in Europe, I believe that a summary of the Turkish association leaders' opinions about these issues should also be provided here.

A women's association leader said that the so-called Armenian genocide issue is used a lot in Brussels especially to provoke the Turkish youth. A political association leader also believed that these issues were used a lot and said that the Armenian and Kurdish issues are sensitive issues for the Turkish immigrants here:

We are nationalist people; our nationalist reflexes are really strong. These issues are our hot buttons and they know this. That's why they do it on purpose.

He also added that he does not believe that Turkey will ever become a member of the European Union and Turkey's efforts are just a waste. A religious association leader said that he believes that the European public and the European Union is afraid of Turkey's Muslim identity. He also added that there are also deep historical fears that date back to the Ottoman times. The leader of a cultural association argued that although the European Union fears Turkey, they need to admit Turkey into the Union in the long run. He believed that Turkey's EU membership is especially important because there is no country in the East now that is strong enough to protect the European Union's eastern borders. But he also agreed that Europe has many fears regarding Turkey:

They are afraid of Turkey's potential power; man power; power of its developing economy. Especially France and Germany are really afraid of Turkey. They are afraid of Turkey's power to influence decisions, especially afraid of a Muslim country influencing the EU decisions.

A political association leader also reflected on this issue of Turkey's EU membership and suggested that it is a cultural identification issue. He argued that the history of Turkish existence in Europe dates back much earlier than Turkish immigrants who arrived in Europe in the 1960s. He suggested that today's prejudices date back to the Ottoman times. But he also believed that the European Union needs to be more open, because

A single type, determinist, religious and cultural identification is not realistic. Europe needs a multi cultural, multi religious, multi historical and multi ethnical identity. The European Union is a political project that focuses on pluralism, it's a transnational coming-closer project.

A women's association leader said that Turkey is a strong country and it needs to enter the European Union by protecting its own identity. "Europe needs Turkey. We should not forget how powerful we are and we need to take advantage of this." The leader of a business association argued that the accession process may even be more important for Turkey than the actual membership in terms of national development. He argued that Turkey needs to take advantage of the accession process.

### **Belgian Immigrant Integration**

After I explained to the participants that the research focuses on how much they know about the EU immigrant integration efforts, all of the participants immediately went into talking about Belgian national laws and regulations regarding naturalization and integration. I had to cut in and specify that she is actually interested in their knowledge of the EU immigrant integration issues, not the Belgian national laws and regulations. Here is a summary of what the participants think about the Belgian integration laws. How much they know and what they think about the EU immigrant integration laws will be discussed in the next section.

Most of the participants argued that Belgian has a very liberal naturalization system compared to other European countries. However, some of these participants feared that Belgian naturalization laws will become similar to those of other European countries. The leader of an education association said that Belgium is a really free country with an easy naturalization system and lots of opportunities. Even immigrants can benefit from these opportunities and social services. A women's association leader also agreed with this and said that acquiring citizenship is easier compared to other European countries. However, she said that she fears that

naturalization will get harder in Belgium in the future. The leader of a cultural association said that Belgium is more relaxed in terms of naturalization requirements compared to Germany and the Netherlands; however, he believed that Belgium will start to change in their direction. “The laws are stricter compared to the years we first arrived. We had many rights and freedoms in the past. We did not face discrimination as immigrants.”

The leader of the fellowship association also believes that Belgium will be affected by the strict Netherlands and German naturalizations laws:

There are policies to discourage people. For instance, some municipalities see all Turkish marriages as false and arranged to provide a residence permit for either the bride or the groom. There is some truth in this, but the controls are excessive. The officials interrogate the bride and the groom separately and they ask questions as detailed as the color of underwear. This is really humiliating.

The leader of an education association said that he believes the immigrant integration laws in Belgium are really liberal. However, he suggested that what is missing is information and guidance. He complained that there are not many documents on immigrant integration which would have been useful for the immigrants and the immigrant associations. Another education association leader had a different point of view and argued that the Belgian integration laws are not good at all,

There is hypocriticism. They tell us to integrate, but there is no one around to take as an example. There are no Belgians in the neighborhoods we live in. There are only Turkish and Moroccan kids in the schools around here. Who will they take as example?

She complained that there is a pressure for integration only towards the immigrants, but she feels that this pressure is unfair. She believed that the Belgian authorities should also communicate with local Belgians about immigrant integration. Another strategy she believed would be effective is to implement quotas in schools for admitting a certain number of immigrant students to avoid certain schools to be full of immigrant children while some schools have none.

## **European Union Immigrant Integration**

As it was mentioned before, the interview participants did not have much information about the EU immigrant integration efforts. Almost all of them admitted not having much information about the European Union or the EU immigrant integration efforts. Whenever they told me they don't know much about the EU immigrant integration efforts, they apologized and felt embarrassed. When this happened, and it happened most of the time, I had to take a moment to console the participants. I usually told them that most of the association leaders did not know much about this issue either. From the interviews, it seems that the Turkish associations don't seem to be interested in EU immigrant integration decisions and initiatives. Whatever information they have, they seem to have learned from word of mouth.

Just like most of the association leaders interviewed, the leader of a religious association said that he does not have much information about EU immigrant integration efforts, but said that they sometimes hear things from people. Another women's association leader said that she never researched the EU immigrant integration issues. She added that she is mainly interested in the national laws. A cultural association leader also admitted that he only follows the Belgian national integration policies and regulations. An education association leader suggested that they don't know much about the EU efforts, however when I provided some examples of EU integration efforts and decisions; he said that he knew about these initiatives, but he did not know they were initiated by the European Union.

At this point, I started to realize also that the EU immigrant integration efforts do not really interest these participants because most of them are Belgian citizens and do not have to worry about immigrant integration issues neither at the Belgian, nor at the EU level. A fellowship association leader argued that

the EU integration efforts don't really interest us. They don't interest our members either. They act within the Belgian policies and regulations. If someone comes here as a bride or a groom, they get naturalized in a couple of years anyway.

The leader of a cultural association also emphasizes this point. "I personally have no idea about EU integration issues, I never researched it. Since we are Belgian citizens, these laws never interested me."

A political association leader admitted that they have not done anything about the European Union, other than protesting some decisions. He added that the European Union does not have a direct relationship with associations. The leader of a women's association believed that the Turkish consulate may be the resource to provide information on these issues. "People rely on word of mouth information. People should go to the consulate and learn it from the experts. But unfortunately no one does this." Another women's association leader admitted that they have not tried to partner up with other Turkish associations to be more proactive in these issues. However, she believed that this issue is worthy of attention. The leader of a religious association said that the EU immigrant integration issues do not concern them much because it is not part of their goals as an association. But he added that they try to inform their members as much as they can.

The leader of a political association also said that they don't have one-to-one communication with the EU and complained about the lack of interest among Turkish association regarding the European Union:

The immigrant associations are not as active as they should be. They can't open up to the outside. We live in the center of the European Union, but we don't have much communication with them. This is unfortunate. But we don't know how to get into contact. We don't know what to do. The Turkish state needs to help us about this.

An education association leader said that EU immigrant integration issues have not been their priority. However, she added that she knows about the integration efforts towards

immigrants from the new EU member states, Bulgaria, and Romania. She also said that the European Union needs to promote these immigrant integration strategies and one way to do this could be to reach out to the immigrant communities directly. The suggestions of Turkish associations about how the European Union should communicate its immigrant integration efforts will be discussed in detail in the next section.

An education association leader said that the European Union sees the issue of immigrant integration as the responsibility of the member states. He believed that the EU immigrant integration decisions are merely suggestions. He argued that even if there is a small discussion in this area, the European Union would leave the issue at the discretion of the member states. He provided an interesting example to prove his point,

Last year, Belgium did not have a government for 10 months. This immigrant issue got so problematic that the country was literally gangrene. Some people climbed construction cranes, some invaded university campuses, and others went on hunger strike. These took place in the capital; in the heart of Europe. There is no way they can say we did not hear about immigrants' protests. But the European Union had zero affect on this issue. What I am trying to say is immigrant integration policies are still under the direct control of the member states.

In fact, one of the Turkish politicians interviewed also agreed that the Turkish immigrants in Brussels, especially those who have been naturalized do not have information about the European Union or its immigrant integration efforts. On the other hand, she said that those who just migrated to Europe or immigrants who could not acquire Belgian citizenship might know about these laws. She claimed that this might be due to the lack of communication on the part of the European Union to inform TCNs:

They cannot establish a connection with people. They (EU institutions) haven't established a bridge, a relationship with their citizens. But I don't think they are even aware of this. They do so much research; they publish so many reports. But I don't know who benefits from all these efforts.

A political association leader focused on the EU immigrant integration strategies from a totally different perspective. He supported the idea that the concept of participation should take the place of integration:

We reject the concept of integration as an organization. Integration is over because clear definitions of integration are never provided. Communities that have been living for three generations; when will they be considered integrated? What does integration really mean? The concept of participation is more realistic. It supports pluralist identities.

He mentioned the *Eurobarometer* surveys and said that the European Union must care about what the public thinks to invest so many resources in these surveys. He argued that the European Union is not successful at communicating its efforts to the EU community. In addition, he stated that people need time to understand EU policies. “There are so many resources and so many communication tools. It is hard for people to find the time to research these issues.”

### **Turkish Association Leaders’ Relationship with the European Union and Their Strategies to Influence EU Policies**

One of the research questions proposed in the beginning of this research was whether Turkish associations can influence the European Union on issues of immigrant integration; whether they are engaged in a two-way communication, and what strategies they have or can use to influence EU policies in these areas. Almost all of the participants started talking about the importance of lobbying as a unified community to be more informed about EU immigrant integration efforts and to influence policy in these areas. However, the participants had many interesting and creative suggestions about how the EU institutions can better inform them about immigrant integration issues.

### **Lobbying**

Lobbying and acting together as a unified community was another issue that came up during the interviews when I asked the participants how they believe they could influence the EU

immigrant integration policies and strategies. Lobbying was a distant term for most of the participants. They all knew the meaning of lobbying and what kinds of actions need to be taken, however, almost all of the participants argued that the Turkish community in Brussels was not active or integrated enough to act together and form a lobby. While a few participants suggested that the Turkish state officials need to help the Turkish community organize, many other participants argued that the Turkish community and the associations need to be more integrated to act together and form a lobby.

A business association leader said that we cannot speak of an active Turkish lobby in Brussels and he suggested that the concept of lobbying is not well-established among the members of the Turkish community in Brussels.

Some people think lobbying is bribing, but it is a long-term process. You first need to get to know people, establish a network to influence people.

Another business association leader suggested that his organization engages in lobbying in the European Union to inform EU officials about Turkey and the Turkish community in Europe and to establish relationships. He said that they arrange informative seminars and meet with parliamentarians to discuss issues of interest. He seemed to be the only association leader actively involved in lobbying at the time the interviews were conducted. The leader of a cultural association admits that something should be done in terms of lobbying. However, he added that they are a small association and do not have the staff or the resources to be involved with these issues. But he also argued that lobbying is really important for the Turkish community in Belgium.

The leader of a women's association complained that they haven't been able to form a lobby and voice the concerns of the Turkish community. A cultural association leader also viewed lobbying as communicating the Turkish community's issues and to represent the Turkish

community. However, he believed that there needs to be a political platform to be able to do that. A political association leader also argued that a Turkish platform, a Turkish lobby is missing. He suggested that the reason for this lack of a Turkish lobby is because the Turkish civil society is not well-developed. Turkish officials don't have detailed information. They are not well-organized and they can't lobby. There is a lot expectancy from the Turkish state. The political association leader interviewed said that the Turkish embassy and the consulate should be blamed for not being more involved with the Turkish community. "They should come and explain to us, teach us, organize us." This was the approach he had when it came to lobbying, he believed that it was something that can be triggered from outside.

The leader of a religious association believed that there will be a strong Turkish lobby in the future:

Financial and other resources are needed. An association is needed which will organize all other small organizations. This association needs to be neutral and free from outside influence.

An education association leader believed immigrant associations need to partner-up and engage in lobbying to explain themselves. "There needs to be more cooperation between Turkish associations." The leader of a political association also pointed out the importance of lobbying for the Turkish community. He suggested that establishing relationships with parliamentarians and engaging in direct communication is really important. He also added that being a contact point for the mass media organs may be used as a lobbying tool.

One of the Turkish politicians interviewed argued that until people forget about their differences which are rooted in Turkey's political history, unite and accept being Belgian, they cannot form a lobby:

The Turkish associations need to explain to people that they are from Belgium. But they still discuss issues that relate to Turkey's history. These issues are not even discussed in

Turkey anymore. We are stuck. If the young people here admit that they belong here, if they feel like they are from Belgium, than they can form a lobby group.

### **How the European Union Should Reach out to Immigrant Communities**

Lobbying was not the only strategy suggested by the participants to establish a relationship with the EU institutions. Most of the participants believed that the EU institutions need to be more proactive in communicating with immigrant communities. In fact, participants had many different ideas about how the EU institutions could communicate to them about immigrant integration efforts.

Almost half of the participants believed that the EU institutions need to reach out to the civil society organizations directly to communicate about immigrant integration efforts. An education association leader argued that the European Union should focus on reaching out to people directly. He suggested that this can be done through establishing relationships with the civil society organizations. He believed that this could also help to move immigrant integration issues from the national levels to the EU level. “In fact this might be influential in creating a public debate within the EU community because EU decisions include many voices and different opinions.” The leader of a women’s association also suggested that the EU institutions should communicate with civil society organizations, which will then reach out to people directly. A cultural association leader said that the European Union should reach out to civil society organizations directly, but he added that these organizations need some investment to improve their structures to establish a better relationship with the EU institutions.

A cultural association leader suggested that the EU institutions should try to reach umbrella organizations like federations, instead of many small associations, to reach out to people. He argued that the European Union cannot visit each little association individually. A smaller cultural association leader also agreed with this idea. He believed that it cannot be the

responsibility of a small association to research and communicate these immigrant integration issues, however, he argued that larger associations or federations could be more involved with the EU institutions and inform the community.

The leader of a women's association also said that immigrant associations should be more involved in these issues. However, she believed that this was not sufficient to inform people. She also provided an example from the Flemish government's communication strategy, where the government communicates EU decisions that interest the public via small brochures. She suggested that this could be a strategy used by the immigrant communities to communicate EU policies and developments in immigrant integration issues. In addition, she argued that the local Turkish media, newspapers and news Web sites such as *Yenihaber*, *Binfikir*, and *Belcikahaber* should also inform the Turkish immigrant community about EU immigrant integration efforts. In addition, she said that opinion leaders and people trusted in the community, such as politicians should also be more active in communicating immigrant integration issues. However, she complained that the Turkish community does not have many elected officials and argued that this needs to change as well.

The leader of a fellowship association, a first generation immigrant, approached this issue from a different point of view:

Maybe the European Union communicates this issue to Belgian ministers and the ministers inform the public through Belgian newspapers. But we can't learn about these issues because we can't read French.

He argued that the Belgian government needs to reach out to immigrant communities more proactively to communicate about issues that interest these communities. A religious association leader suggested that the European Union could publicize its immigrant integration strategies and new developments in this field via Turkish TV channels through advertisements and TV programs. In addition, he suggested radio channels could also be used to inform people.

Another suggestion was having Turkish politicians inform the Turkish community about the EU integration efforts.

An education association leader suggested that the EU institutions can try to reach students directly. In addition, he proposed that an information center can be established so that people who want to learn more about EU immigrant integration issues can directly apply for more information. Another education association leader said that the responsibility to communicate EU immigrant integration issues to the public falls on politicians, civil society organizations, the mass media, and people working in the municipalities. The leader of another education association argued that the mass media, especially TV channels should be used to inform people. She suggested that Turkish TV channels could be used to inform the Turkish community in Europe.

A business association leader said that information in these areas do not come from Turkish sources, but comes from Belgian sources,

Belgian politicians inform us about these issues expecting us to vote for them. That's how we learn about these issues. Or we learn about these developments from national newspapers.

The leader of a political association had an interesting suggestion as to how the European Union can communicate its integration strategies to the public. I also think that this strategy could be applied in many other policy areas,

The European Union has this approach: Let's make a decision, people will eventually accept it anyway. This approach is typical of *representative democracies*. However what they need is *participative democracy*. The rise in Euro skepticism is also a part of this problem. The European Union could use pilot projects and consult people. They have to make the public feel responsible to make a decision before making a decision at the EU level.

The participant suggested that participative democracy, giving people responsibility before making decisions, should be tested by the EU institutions. He believed that big problems require big solutions.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This study has provided insight on the question of whether a relationship exists between the EU institutions and Turkish associations in Brussels. In addition, the awareness level of EU efforts on immigrant integration by the leaders of the Turkish associations has been evaluated. This research also has revealed a detailed profile of Turkish immigrants and Turkish associations in Brussels, their thoughts on the Turkish community in Belgium, and their associational life, which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 includes a detailed interpretation of the results and a discussion of the answers provided by the research to the research questions proposed. In addition, policy and communication strategy recommendations for the EU institutions are provided in Chapter 7 based on secondary research. Furthermore, the implications of this research in terms of civil society empowerment and EU level community building are discussed. How public relations and public diplomacy strategies may help organizations are further analyzed in Chapter 7 to reflect on the importance of these practices in the global arena.

### **Discussion and Interpretation of the Research Questions**

#### **EU Public Relations and Public Diplomacy Efforts Regarding Immigrant Integration**

The research question one was answered through secondary analysis of the EU reports on immigrant integration and an examination documents found on the EU Web site related to EU immigrant integration efforts and communication strategies. Based on the research conducted, although there does not seem to be an existing public relations and public diplomacy strategy geared specifically towards Turkish immigrants or towards third country nationals (TCNs) in general, there are EU Commission proposals and strategies developed for actions in this area. The EU institutions, especially the Commission, seem to be aware of the lack of information

among the public about the European Union in general. This is evident from all the decisions and proposed actions to enhance relationships with the EU citizens through various initiatives. Also, the Commission argues that EU member states should be better informed to provide relevant and up-to-date information to their citizens about the European Union and its direct influence on their lives.

However, the Commission is also aware that establishing partnerships with EU member states are not the only way to organize joint communication initiatives and reaching out to the European public. Therefore, the Commission believes that establishing strategic partnerships through special projects with regional and local authorities and organizations can play a crucial role in initiating debate on the European Union. This will be instrumental in explaining the local relevance of EU decisions and policies to the European community (Commission of the European, 2007).

Another issue that was mentioned on the EU Web site by the Commission was that most of the EU issues are presented from a national perspective via the national mass mediated channels of the EU member states. This means that EU policies that may directly affect the lives of EU citizens are presented from a national perspective under the influence of national interests. This is an important challenge the EU institutions have to deal with. The Commission suggested that the EU institutions need to engage in direct and two-way communication with EU citizens in national, regional, and local contexts. The Commission suggests that one way of achieving this is through communicating with national and European level political parties to reach out to people directly.

Here is a summary of the Commission's efforts to communicate with the EU citizens and residents, including the immigrant community about EU immigrant integration efforts. First of

all, the Commission recommends a study/mapping exercise of the various rights and obligations of TCNs in the EU member states (Common programme, 2007). This way, the Commission will be able to create a list of the differences in the treatment and rights of TCNs in different EU member states. I believe that this might be a good strategy for the EU institutions to connect with the various immigrant groups and to listen to their needs and problems, eventually leading to a deeper understanding of the issues TCNs face in various EU member states.

The creation of a platform of immigrant organizations at the EU level is also proposed by the Commission. This platform of immigrant organizations might be very useful for the different immigrant associations to engage in projects and be more instrumental in informing their stakeholders about the EU immigrant integration efforts. Federations and associations established by different immigrant groups could join this platform to voice their opinions about immigrant integration in the European Union. In addition, the Commission recommends that intercultural, inter- and intra-faith dialogue platforms should be created in the EU member states to increase dialogue among religious and civil organizations at the national level. This might also provide an opportunity for immigrant organizations to engage in relationships and partnerships at the national level and expand the national association networks.

The Commission also plans to launch a Web portal for European experiences on immigrant integration which will include a *European Integration Forum* to encourage EU level participation by all stakeholders (Common programme, 2007). A presence on the Internet might be influential in reaching out to more immigrants and creating an EU-wide network where people could share their experiences and look for answers to their questions about EU immigrant integration efforts.

One of the Commission's goals is to increase civil society organizations' access to the Commission by allocating a person as a civil society contact point for all departments (Commission of the European, 2007). A specific contact could also be allocated for the area of immigrant integration to provide a direct access point for immigrant associations.

Another project of the Commission is the *Houses of Europe* to create European public spaces as meeting points for citizens, NGOs, political actors, and the mass media (Commission of the European, 2007). These spaces could also be used by the immigrant communities to attend and organize special events such as exhibitions, film screenings, meetings, and forums. These spaces may allow immigrant communities and associations to voice their concerns about issues related to immigrant integration and share their experiences. In addition, intercultural projects organized by different immigrant communities could also be held in these spaces.

The Commission also proposed to present EU policy initiatives to the general public by policy specialists in Brussels and the EU member states the day they have been adopted (Commission of the European, 2007). This strategy could also be used to raise awareness and boost public debate on EU immigrant integration legislations both at the EU and the national level.

As it can be understood from the examination of the EU communication strategies, the Commission, and other EU institutions emphasize the need to communicate with the EU citizens and start a public debate on the future of Europe and other EU policies. Another goal of the Commission is to establish stronger relationships with member states, NGOs, civil society associations, and opinion leaders in the member states to expand the EU communication structure and reach out to as many stakeholders as possible through various networks and platforms created at the European Union and member state level.

However, one also quickly realizes that a targeted communication or public relations strategy specifically designed for immigrants or for enhancing immigrant integration does not currently exist among the EU communication strategies. However, involving the immigrant communities and immigrant associations in the public sphere and establishing relationships with them are proposed in the Commission's *Common Agenda for Integration* and the *Communicating Europe in Partnership* documents. These documents can be seen as a starting point where the needs and concerns of specific civil society organizations and immigrant associations are acknowledged. Involvement with the EU institutions and uniting in EU-wide platforms or networks at the national level may benefit these organizations as they will establish relationships with EU institutions, engage in two-way communication, and influence legislation through expressing their needs and problems.

Immigrant associations and communities may also be involved in these strategies and be able to better inform their members on EU immigrant integration decisions and new developments in this area. In addition, the intercultural, inter-, and intra-faith dialogue platforms proposed in the *Common Agenda for Integration* may also be instrumental in starting a dialogue with religious and civil organizations at the national level. This stress on the civil society organizations and immigrant associations reflects the fact that the European Union has realized the importance of involving these groups in the EU public sphere and providing a platform to voice their opinions.

### **Turkish Association Leaders' Views on the Turkish Community in Brussels and the Main Issues that Affect the Turkish Diaspora**

The second research question focused on how the Turkish association leaders view the Turkish community in Brussels and what they believe are the main issues affecting them. One of the main themes participants discussed were issues of identity and how the first generation or

newcomers defined themselves versus the second or third generations' views on identity. The issue of identity was interesting. In the literature review, Kaya and Kentel (2007) were cited because they differentiated between Turkish immigrants of different social status and their distinct conceptions of identity. According to their research results, Belgian-Turks with higher social status underlined the European side of their identities. On the other hand, those from lower social classes tended to emphasize their Turkishness more.

I realized that there was a difference in the perception of identity depending on whether the participants belonged the first, or second and third generations. In fact, those who are newcomers to Belgium or are first generation immigrants defined themselves as Turkish and were very proud of their Turkish identity. On the other hand, participants who were second or third generation immigrants, meaning those who were born in Belgium, also acknowledged their Turkish heritage, but emphasized their Europeanness. Some of them mentioned the terms Euro-Turk or Belga-Turk in their self definitions.

This result seems to be different than the results of Kaya and Kentel's (2007) research results. Although this research did not include questions about their social or economic status etc. of the participants, I believe that an alternative variable, the generation the immigrant belongs to, for immigrant self-definition could have been discovered in this research study. The generation of the immigrant could have an influence on how he or she defines themselves. This issue could be studied further in future research studies about the self-definition of immigrant groups.

Other themes identified about the Turkish community in Brussels include: the life of Turkish nationals in Belgium; the Little Anatolia Schaerbeek and neighborhood culture; living in a cocoon; and the ghettoization of the Turkish community in Brussels. Erzan and Kirisci (2006)

had also mentioned ghettoization among immigrant communities and stated that the Turkish immigrants were under a strong ghetto-effect. This seemed to be true for the Turkish community in Brussels as well. The Turkish community was concentrated in a single neighborhood which functioned as a cocoon for them, but which had also become a ghetto. This is further triggered by the lack of proficiency in the local languages, which limits participation in social and political life and causes Turkish immigrant families to move to ghetto-like neighborhoods, isolating themselves from the local culture and community. I believe that this heavy ghettoization has negative effects on the integration of the Turkish immigrant community into the Belgian social life and culture. This idea was also supported by more than half of the interview participants.

In addition, other themes identified during the analysis of the interviews the participants believed affected the Turkish community are: Being lost; impacts of Turkish TV channels on the Turkish community; the reverse migration trend; family issues; issues Turkish women face; and education issues. Education issues were also mentioned by Söhn and Özcan (2006) who had listed the reasons why Turkish immigrant children do poorly in school. These reasons include: The parents' socio-economic status, ethnic composition of the school class, institutional discrimination (immigrant children go to lower level schools because they cannot perform well and they do not know the language). All these factors were reported to negatively affect the education of immigrant children. The interviews with the Turkish participants in Brussels revealed a similar trend. In addition, the participants believed that the youth were focused mainly on making money not education. Some participants argued that this was due to the lack of parents' ability to provide a vision for their children. I was reminded that the parents are generally blue collar workers and do not have the ability to provide proper advice or guidance for their children.

The other themes identified include political activism tied to Turkey and relationships of the Turkish community in Brussels with the Turkish state and its representations, including the Turkish embassy and the consulate. Kaya and Kentel (2007) stated that immigrant organizations tend to focus more on Turkey and Turkish politics rather than the political life of the host country. This seemed to be somewhat true for the Turkish political associations in Brussels. While two of the association leaders interviewed said that they focus heavily on Turkish politics, the other two seemed to be interested in the political life in Belgium more. In fact, one of these association leaders even said that they have stopped trying to save Turkey and start focusing on the Turkish people in Belgium. In addition, Avci (2006) argued that political activism tied to Turkey by immigrant associations is not viewed positively because the host countries want immigrants to integrate into the host country's society. There were some Turkish political association leaders that believed that this was the case and who claimed that they have lost their funding for this reason. As it was mentioned before, some other political association leaders recognized that they need to focus more on the political life and rights in Belgium to be able to help the Turkish community there.

#### **Turkish Association Leaders' Views on the EU Public Relations and Public Diplomacy Efforts Regarding Immigrant Integration**

To answer this research question about how Turkish association leaders in Brussels receive, evaluate, and respond to EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts about immigrant integration, the participants were asked if they are aware of EU efforts in these areas. I asked the participants how they learn about EU immigrant integrations strategies and what they think about the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts. There seemed to be a pattern after the tenth interview. In fact, I was able to clearly understand what saturation meant as the answers to questions about this issue were the same. The Turkish association leaders did not

really have an idea about the EU immigrant integration efforts, thus they could not really evaluate the effectiveness of its public relations and public diplomacy strategies in this area. The participants seemed to be unaware of EU decisions and actions in the area of immigrant integration. The participants usually felt embarrassed at this part of the interview and said that they do not have much information about the EU immigrant integration efforts. Some participants were not even aware of European Union's involvement in this issue.

I had to explain the EU immigrant integration efforts and give examples of EU initiatives in this area to most of the participants. Almost none of the participants knew about these efforts before I explained them to the participants. A usual reaction after my explanation and examples of EU immigrant integration efforts was surprise. The participants said that they did not know anything about these efforts and realized their importance. Most participants complained about a lack of communication on the part of the European Union at this point and said that EU institutions need to reach out to the immigrant associations. However, it is not that surprising to find out that these association leaders are not knowledgeable about EU level immigrant integration initiatives. Due to the structure of the European Union, although decisions may be taken at the EU level, their implementation is achieved at the national levels. Thus, unless someone is curious about how a new regulation was initiated and did some research on this initiation process, they may never know whether this regulation comes from an EU level decision making process or initiated by the national governments.

It can be said that there was a general lack of interest and information about the European Union in general among most of the participants. Only the business associations were involved with the European Union. However, the participants from the business associations were specifically aware of business-related issues and were not interested in EU immigrant integration

efforts. Only one political association leader seemed to be more aware and involved in the issue of immigrant integration at the European Union level and said that the EU public relations and public diplomacy efforts in this area were not sufficient as there seems to be a lack of information among the immigrant communities. He complained that to learn about what the European Union is doing in terms of immigrant integration, people need to be personally involved in this issue and research this area through their own resources. He also added that not many associations have the knowledge, time or resources to do this. He regarded the EU public diplomacy and public relations efforts for immigrant integration as inefficient as they do not reach out to the immigrant communities and associations, thus missing their main target audience.

In short, there is a clear lack of communication efforts or channels through which Turkish immigrant associations can receive information regarding EU immigrant integration efforts. This is in part due to the lack of interest among the Turkish associations and their inability to reach this information so far. However, another part of the problem is that the European Union does not have a clear strategy to communicate its immigrant integration efforts with immigrant communities and the civil society in Europe. Therefore, it is pointless to talk extensively about Turkish immigrant association leaders' evaluation of and response to any EU immigrant integration effort that they do not receive any information about. Consequently, an in-depth analysis of this research question was not possible as there was a clear lack of information on the part of the leaders of Turkish associations.

### **Turkish Association Leaders' Relationship with the European Union and Strategies to Influence EU Policies**

Another research question focused on Turkish associations' influence on the European Union on issues of immigrant integration; whether they are engaged in a two-way

communication, and what strategies they use to influence EU decisions and initiatives. However, as described in the answer to the previous research question, Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels are not able to receive, evaluate, and respond to EU immigrant integration efforts. Therefore, it is not surprising that they do not have any relationship with EU institutions, they are not engaged in a two-way communication and they have not developed any strategy to influence EU immigrant integration decisions and initiatives in any way.

Nevertheless, as I asked questions related to these issues during the interviews, most of the participants emphasized a need to follow EU immigrant integration efforts more closely and develop a strategy to establish relationships with EU institutions so they can influence EU initiatives in the future. I realized that the interview process served as a learning process for some of the participants. The interviews helped participants understand the relevance of EU initiatives on immigrant integration for immigrant communities within the European Union.

One reason for the lack of any relationship between EU institutions and Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels could be because of the lack of organization within the Turkish community in Brussels. There are many small associations which do not have the capacity or the resources to research and inform the Turkish community about these efforts, let alone establish a communication with the European Union and follow or even try to influence EU immigrant integration efforts. Even though these Turkish associations are especially weak in the area of the European Union and EU immigrant integration efforts, the responses of participants showed that they are highly knowledgeable about Belgian immigrant integration and citizenship policies. This is understandable as the national laws are what matters to EU citizens and residents and most people are unaware or do not even care about how laws and regulations are initiated. People care about Belgian laws as they have a direct influence on their daily lives. However, they are

not yet aware of how EU decisions and initiatives on immigrant integration might have an effect on the national laws, consequently on their future.

Business association leaders interviewed seemed to have stronger relationships with the EU institutions. They had personal contacts in these institutions and see themselves as representing the Turkish community in Brussels. Having stronger financial resources, professional staff, and their business interests may be reasons for their closer relationships with the EU institutions. However, these relationships were business related as stated in the mission of these associations, and did not focus on issues of immigrant integration.

I asked the participants how they think the European Union should establish relationships with the immigrant communities and inform them about the EU decisions and initiatives on immigrant integration. The participants were creative in finding ways for the EU institutions to reach out to them and they had these suggestions. First of all, they suggested that the EU institutions should target immigrant federations and umbrella organizations in member states rather than try to reach every little association. It would be the responsibility of these federations and umbrella organizations to further transfer the information within their community using smaller organizations. Another suggestion was for the EU institutions to use pilot projects to make the public feel responsible for decisions taken at the EU level. The EU institutions should use participative instead of representative democracy by giving people responsibility before making decisions. One other suggestion for the EU institutions to be more effective in reaching the Turkish immigrant community in Europe was to use Turkish TV and radio as communication channels. Finally, it was suggested that the Belgian government could be more proactive in communicating EU immigrant integration efforts to the immigrant community in Belgium.

The participants also engaged in self-criticism and suggested the following for the Turkish associations to be more effective in communicating the EU immigrant integration efforts to their communities. One suggestion was for immigrant associations to prepare and distribute brochures to inform their members on EU immigration initiatives in this area. The participants also suggested that the local Turkish newspapers could be more informative about the EU immigrant integration efforts and try to raise awareness about the European Union's relevance for the immigrant communities. Another suggestion of the participants was for the politicians and opinion leaders with a Turkish background to be more active in informing the Turkish community within the European Union about the EU immigrant integration efforts and to be more proactive in voicing the problems of the Turkish immigrants and trying to influence EU decisions in immigrant integration issues.

Based on the interviews conducted with Turkish association leaders in Brussels, I believe that there seems to be a disconnect between the EU institutions and the Turkish immigrant community. This disconnect is understandable because although decisions may be taken at the EU level, their implementation is always at the national level and thus people do not realize whether a decision comes from the EU institutions or their national governments. This unawareness is understandable as many people mainly care about the implemented national laws and do not care about how these laws were initiated or whether they were initiated by the European Union. However, it can be argued that the Turkish community in Brussels is not aware of the importance of the European Union in general although they live in the capital of the European Union. In addition, the Turkish association leaders interviewed are not proactive in trying to learn more about the European Union, EU level initiatives, communicate with the EU

officials or try to influence decisions regarding immigrant integration, which further produces the disconnect.

### **Implications of the Research for EU Public Relations and Public Diplomacy and Immigrant Integration**

This study examined whether the European Union tailors its communication efforts and cooperates with various EU publics, specifically focusing on Turkish immigrant associations in Brussels. I set out with several research questions. Does the European Union have any strategies to engage in a two-way relationship or dialogue with special interest or civil rights groups when developing and communicating a new policy? More specifically, how does the European Union communicate its immigrant integration decisions and initiatives to the EU public and to the immigrant communities? Can immigrant associations have any influence in the EU immigrant integration initiatives and is lobbying or other type of persuasive strategies by immigrant groups possible in the European Union?

The research results revealed that the current communication efforts of the European Union are not reaching the Turkish immigrant community. Even the community leaders' lack of knowledge about the EU immigrant integration efforts show that more communication is needed. The EU institutions need to use public relations and public diplomacy strategies to promote EU founding principles and other decisions and initiatives, including issues of immigrant integration to EU internal and external publics. Managing a relationship with different people who come from different national and cultural backgrounds is the challenge the European Union faces today. However, as Valentini (2007) stressed, supranational organizations such as the European Union "need to communicate with the language, the values and norms of their publics" if they want to reach them and incur behavioral changes in their publics (p. 123).

This research also revealed that the European Union needs to utilize public relations and public diplomacy strategies to nurture relationships between publics and the EU institutions and also among the different communities living within the EU borders to enhance community building. Ledingham (2001) proposed that public relations efforts may be influential for community building through nurturing relationships and uniting diverse populations by reducing conflict and resolving differences. Community building is an important function of public relations that public diplomacy could take lessons from. Utilizing public relations and public diplomacy to integrate its increasingly diverse population and to create a common European identity and enhance community building, especially among the immigrant communities, should be a major goal for the European Union.

According to a European Commission report published in November 2007, the population of TCNs within the European Union is 18.5 million, making up 3.8% of the total EU population of approximately 493 million (Commission, 2007). The 3.8% may seem insignificant; however, 18.5 million TCNs living within EU borders make up a population larger than many EU member states and constitute a large immigrant community. The EU institutions need to acknowledge the significance of the TCN population in Europe and start to overtly consider these immigrant communities in their public relations and public diplomacy efforts as a unique public that need to be communicated with.

A new way to ensure enhanced communication with various EU publics, including TCNs, is to engage in dialogue with civil society groups. Michalski (2007) suggested that this can be done by establishing networks and engaging in two-way communication with interest groups, such as citizens' or civil rights organizations. Interacting with interest groups may be helpful for the EU institutions, especially during the planning or implementation of new decisions or

policies. This way, the EU institutions could get the public's input on new policy areas and they can reach publics more effectively about new policies and actions during their implementation. Enhancing communication with diverse publics and engaging in two-way communication are public relations strategies that public diplomacy could use to reach people more effectively.

Some may argue that people do not need to be informed about EU decisions as these decisions are not directly relevant to EU publics because laws and regulations are always implemented at the national level due to the structure of the European Union. However, as a researcher conducting research about communication, I believe that although EU decisions and initiatives may not influence the lives of EU publics directly, people still need to be informed about the European Union. I believe that this will help enhance the EU public sphere and also reveal the importance of EU institutions for the EU citizens and residents. Unless people know what the EU is trying to achieve and its goals, they will never be able to fully appreciate its importance or value for their lives.

Today, the EU institutions need to incorporate public relations strategies and establish two-way communication with diverse EU publics. As Valentini (2007) also suggested, public relationship management within the European Union should be “culturally oriented and based on a two-way symmetrical flow of communication and on community-building relationships” (p. 127). However, this research revealed a lack of direct communication between the EU institutions and the Turkish community. Considering that the Turkish community constitutes a great percentage of the immigrant population within the European Union, the lack of direct communication with this community living in the EU capital may imply a lack of relationship management in the EU institutions towards the immigrant communities living within the EU borders. This situation needs to change if the European Union aims to create a truly diverse EU

public sphere by being inclusive towards all the groups that live within EU borders. One way for the EU institutions to enhance relationships with the immigrant communities, especially the Turkish immigrant community, is to start to publish EU documents and reports in Turkish. This way, the language barrier will be eliminated and the Turkish immigrant community, the largest in Europe, will be able to reach and understand EU related information.

I believe that a diverse EU public sphere which takes into account the views and needs of all EU publics is possible. But it is only possible with more targeted and advanced public relations and public diplomacy efforts. Although public relations belongs to the field of communications and public diplomacy belongs to the international relations field, both practices have quite similar goals. Melissen (2007) said that “a lesson that public diplomacy can take on board from the sometimes misunderstood field of PR [public relations] is that the strength of firm relationships largely determines the receipt and success of individual messages and overall attitudes” (p. 21). The importance of cultivating and establishing relationships and engaging in two-way communication with diverse publics are important areas where public diplomacy could learn from the strategies and practices of public relations. If public diplomacy, instead focusing on information dissemination, could also focus on building and managing relationships, then a much better relationship could be established between the EU institutions and the EU publics and even the rising Euroskepticism among the EU publics could possibly be reduced.

This research reveals that although the fields of public relations and public diplomacy belong to different schools, they are quite similar in nature. If public diplomacy could benefit from the two-way communication and relationship management focus of the public relations field, then publics could be reached more effectively, their concerns and needs could be taken into account, and community building could be enhanced. The European Union, with its unique

structure, its goals of enhancing the EU public sphere and reducing Euroskepticism, could be a testing ground for this new public relations approach to public diplomacy.

However, I believe that these public relations and public diplomacy strategies for enhanced communication and establishing relationships should not be limited to the efforts of the EU institutions. The EU civil society and immigrant communities should establish themselves as a legitimate force to influence the EU institutions. Empowerment of the EU civil society and the immigrant communities is also very important to influence public policies. From a civil society perspective, the immigrant community in Europe needs to be more proactive and make use of the new communication technologies to shape EU policies and actions.

In fact, the civil society groups in the European Union could be empowered and utilize strategic communication practices more effectively. These civil society groups, specifically the immigrant communities, need to be proactive and communicate back to the EU institutions their concerns and needs. Immigrant communities need to realize their potential for influencing and potentially shaping EU immigrant integration decisions and initiatives, as these may directly influence them. Using public relations and strategic communication to establish a dialogue with the EU institutions could also help immigrant communities to improve their conditions in their host countries and even the reputations of their homelands.

Another strategy immigrant communities could use is to unite and establish a platform to voice their opinions and be more influential in promoting public debate about immigrant integration issues in the European Union. Also, an EU civil society network for immigrant associations can be established to increase interaction among different immigrant associations. This immigrant community network could use public relations and public diplomacy strategies, just like an organization or lobby group, to influence policies, especially EU decisions and

initiatives related to immigrant integration. This immigrant community network could help the immigrant communities in the European Union to be accepted as a legitimate group that has a specific mission. This could be a new area to use public relations in the European Union. Public relations research needs to focus more on how the civil society can be empowered to shape policies and decisions in the future.

This proposed immigrant community network has many implications for the empowerment of the various immigrant communities living within the European Union. This network can function as a grassroots movement to empower these communities, help them organize and raise their voices to explain their needs. This kind of self-structured organization can also enhance community building as these different immigrant communities will unite to determine common concerns, share their opinions and requests. Such a network may even be influential in providing information about the immigrant community, in terms of the challenges they face and their needs, back to the EU institutions. The immigrant communities in the European Union need to realize their potential and use communication and public relations strategies to connect their own communities and to establish relationships with the EU institutions.

However, the EU institutions also need to improve their public relations, public diplomacy and communication strategies. EU institutions can reach out to immigrant communities more effectively especially if they publish reports or other documents that are related to immigrant integration issues in the native languages of the immigrant communities, for example publish reports in Turkish to reach out to Turkish immigrant associations. Another recommendation for the EU institutions could be to organize meetings and seminars where the immigrant community leaders could be invited to raise their concerns and to talk about their needs. This way, a

personal relationship with the immigrant community leaders and EU officials could be established. These meetings or seminars would also allow the immigrant community leaders to improve their relationships with EU officials and get them inside the doors of the European Union. These meetings or seminars could be provided as Webcasts to those who can not attend due to geographical limitations.

Another recommendation of this reserach for the European Union is to encourage the contact points in each member state to be more active and to reach out to immigrant communities by attending special events and by personally meeting the immigrant community leaders. This would encourage more interaction between the EU officials and immigrant communities and would help information from these communities to reach EU institutions more effectively. Another policy or communication strategy I could recommend to the European Union based on secondary research is the need to publicize its initiatives or decisions more effectively if they want to inform EU publics, more specifically the immigrant communities, about what the European Union does and what are its goals. Michalski (2007) also suggested that establishing networks and engaging in two-way communication with interest groups, such as citizens' or civil rights groups, is important, especially if they will be influenced by a new decision. Interacting with civil society groups, especially immigrant communities, may be helpful for the European Union while developing new policies and also trying to inform the public about these during their implementation. I believe that if the public could be informed about where certain decisions come from, they may be more inclined to follow the agenda of the European Union and they may be more involved with the EU institutions.

This reserach has many theoretical implications for the fields of public relations and public diplomacy. First of all, the importance of public relations for large supranational or international

organizations has been laid out by this research. Just like countries, these organizations need to utilize public relations and public diplomacy strategies if they want to reach out to their publics, inform them, and to establish relationships with them. As Gilboa (2008) stated, until now the public diplomacy efforts of NGOs, civil society groups, and individuals have mostly been ignored. One point this research underlines is that public relations and public diplomacy are no more unique to corporations or governments anymore. In fact, international organizations need to make use of these strategies to improve their reputations and enhance relationships with their publics.

Another point this research makes evident is that the discipline of public diplomacy can feed from the discipline of public relations. Although these two practices belong to different academic areas, their practices share a lot of common characteristics. As Melissen (2007) argued, the skills and practices of public relations may be used to improve public diplomacy strategies. A major implication of this research is the need for more interaction and research partnerships between the fields of public relations and public diplomacy. Researchers from these fields should collaborate and conduct research together to reveal the similarities between these two fields. Such future studies would be useful for both public relations and public diplomacy as they would increase the application and research areas of both fields.

### **Research Limitations and Areas for Future Research**

Patton (2002) suggested that the predispositions of a researcher should be reported in the research. Being Turkish was an advantage for me during data collection as Turkish was the mother tongue of all the study participants and I was familiar with their culture and traditions. Being Turkish also made it easier to access the immigrant associations, establishing rapport, and gaining their trust. The participants were more comfortable in expressing their opinions and admitting their lack of knowledge on issues of EU immigration.

A personal predisposition could be being an immigrant in Europe and going through the bureaucracy to obtain a residency permit in Belgium. This allowed me to experience being a TCN in the European Union. This might have influenced me to believe that the European Union should be more proactive in communicating its immigrant integration efforts. However, I believe that I was successful in being aware of my own predispositions and tried to be as open to the experiences of the study participants as possible during the data collection, analysis, and interpretation. On the other hand, I have to note that as a researcher I find the topic of this research study important and I felt personally connected to the study participants during the research. Feeling close to the issue studied has allowed me to go into the research with many questions and encouraged me to solicit many study participants and try to develop a deep understanding about the research questions. The member checking at the end of the research process was also beneficial to add to the credibility of the research results. The positive responses I received from the study participants reveal that I was able to capture the essence of the issues we discussed and cover the topics they find noteworthy.

Patton (2002) also stated that researchers should include an evaluation of how the design decisions and strengths and weaknesses of the sampling strategies might have affected the results of the research. Critical case sampling allowed me to interview the Turkish immigrant association leaders who can be assumed to have more access to information on EU immigrant integration efforts compared the rest of the community. This made it possible to reach a conclusion about the Turkish immigrant community in general without having to interview more people from the community. Turkish immigrant association leaders' evident lack of knowledge on EU immigration efforts made it clear that had I interviewed ordinary people from the community, the results would not have been any different. Also, the fact that the leaders of

different associations were interviewed enabled me to talk to people with different backgrounds and perspectives. This means by interviewing only 23 participants, I was able to have an insight into the opinions of different groups in the immigrant community.

One weakness of this study is that I relied on secondary research to gather information on the EU immigrant integration public relations and public diplomacy efforts through searching for information on the EU Web site, EU reports, and articles. However, interviewing EU officials related to these topics would have provided more insight on EU strategies in this area. This could be a future research project that could complement this study. Although gaining access to EU officials may prove to be quite a challenging task. In addition, this research has also been useful for providing general background information about EU immigrant integration efforts and Turkish associations in Brussels. Future studies could benefit from this research as more specific questions can be designed based on these research results and deeper understanding can be achieved.

I believe that conducting the research in Brussels, Belgium might have significantly influenced the results of the study. I also believe that Belgium is a special case because the Belgian immigrant naturalization laws are quite liberal. A person who has lived in Belgium for five years has the right to apply for Belgian citizenship and become naturalized. However, nationality restrictions vary from country to country and becoming naturalized is not as easy in most of the EU member states.

I believe that if this research were conducted in an EU member state with more stringent nationality requirements, the percentage of immigrants not naturalized in that country would have been higher because the immigrants would not want to give-up their citizenship in their home country. In this case, because they are not naturalized in the host country, they would have

limited rights and freedoms as they would be considered TCNs. Therefore, I believe that they would be more likely to have an interest in accessing information regarding immigrants, specifically EU immigrant integration efforts and initiatives. I believe that a similar research study could be implemented in a country like Germany or the Netherlands where there are stringent legal requirements to acquire citizenship. This would allow us to see if there are any differences in the awareness levels of immigrants who have not acquired the citizenship of the host country or not.

Also, the identity issue which came up during the interviews needs further research. Kaya and Kentel (2007) had reported that Belgian-Turks with higher social status underlined the European side of their identities, while those from lower social classes tended to emphasize their Turkishness more. In this research, I asked the participants how they defined themselves and discovered a difference in how the participants' definitions depending on whether the participants were a first or second/third generation immigrant. An interview participant also reflected on this difference between the self-identification of immigrants. She said that there are two different types of Turks, one group includes people born and raised in Belgium and the other group is made up of people who migrated from Turkey, meaning the first generation.

I also realized this pattern in self-identification between the first and second/third generation of Turkish immigrants. While the participants from the first generation mostly emphasized their Turkishness, those who are second or third generations, meaning people who were born and raised here, focus more on having a dual identity such as Belga-Turk or Euro-Turk and emphasized being Turkish but also belonging to Belgium. I believe that this issue of self-identification or self-definition needs to be studied further. The reason behind the

differences may also be related to the generation of the immigrants in addition to their socioeconomic status as suggested by Kaya and Kentel (2007).

I am aware that this research focuses solely on one immigrant community in Europe. However, there are many different immigrant communities living within the borders of the European Union. A future research study could examine the levels awareness of the EU immigrant integrations efforts of more than one specific immigrant community through in-depth interviews with their association leaders. This way, comparisons between the awareness levels of different associations from different immigrant communities could be made. For example, a future research could also include interviews with the leaders of Moroccan immigrant associations in Brussels. It was mentioned by some of the participants in the interviews that Moroccans have fewer language issues because they speak French in their home country. Examining the differences between the Moroccan and the Turkish association leaders' awareness about how the EU communicates immigrant integration might be interesting. This study could help determine if a grasp of the language has an influence on the awareness levels of EU immigrant integration efforts.

APPENDIX A  
IRB PROTOCOL AND INFORMED CONSENT

**1. TITLE OF PROTOCOL:**

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, PUBLIC RELATIONS & IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH DIASPORA

**2. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:**

Emel Isil Ozdora,  
Ph.D student in Mass Communication,  
Department of Public Relations.  
Email: [eozdora@ufl.edu](mailto:eozdora@ufl.edu)  
(352) 328 6994  
324 University Village Apt. 1  
Gainesville FL 32603

**3. SUPERVISOR:**

Juan-Carlos Molleda, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor - Department of Public Relations  
College of Journalism and Communications  
Office: 3046 Weimer  
University of Florida  
PO Box 118400  
Gainesville, FL 32611-8400  
Phone: 352-273-1223  
E-mail: [jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu](mailto:jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu)

**4. DATES OF PROPOSED PROTOCOL:**

01.02.2009 – 04.01.2009

**5. SOURCE OF FUNDING FOR THE PROTOCOL:**

None

**6. SCIENTIFIC PURPOSE OF THE INVESTIGATION:**

Qualitative research, in-depth interviews for dissertation research to understand the experiences of Turkish immigrants living in Europe and how they perceive the European Union's public relations and public diplomatic efforts on immigrant integration.

**7. DESCRIBE THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN NON-TECHNICAL LANGUAGE.**

**Interviews.** Semi-structured qualitative in-depth interviews will be conducted with research participants who are Turkish immigrants living in Europe (Belgium and Germany) identified through purposive and snowball sampling. The data gathered from the interviews will be used in my dissertation to describe their experiences of being an immigrant in Europe and also what are their experiences in regard to the European Union's public relations and public diplomatic efforts on immigrant integration. The research focuses on what these Turkish immigrants experience as

immigrants, what are some of the issues they face, what they think about the EU integration policies and whether they are aware of these policies.

An interview protocol with some question ideas to be used in the interview is attached to the protocol. However, it must be noted that because these interviews will be focused on learning the participant's experiences, what it means to be a Turkish immigrant living in Europe, the researcher aims to allow the participants to speak as they wish and tell their stories. Because of the nature of the data to be gathered, the interviews will be semi-structured in order to allow the participants to express themselves freely without limiting them to a set of pre-established standard questions. However, some questions about demographic information, being an immigrant, and EU integration efforts will be asked to direct the participants.

**8. POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND ANTICIPATED RISK.**

There are no serious potential benefits or anticipated risks for the research participants. The only potential benefit could be to allow the respondents to express themselves freely and voice their opinion about EU immigrant integration policies.

**9. DESCRIBE HOW PARTICIPANT(S) WILL BE RECRUITED, THE NUMBER AND AGE OF THE PARTICIPANTS, AND PROPOSED COMPENSATION (if any):**

Participants for the interview will be Turkish immigrants living in Europe. All of the interview participants will be over 18 and they must be Turkish immigrants who work and live in Europe. A purposive sampling technique will be used initially to recruit some participants through consulting the researcher's acquaintances who live in Brussels, Belgium and in Aachen, Germany and asking them to recommend some individuals who think they fit with the participation criteria of the study. Afterwards, a snowballing sampling technique will be used to recruit more participants upon the recommendation of the first group of interview participants. No compensation for participation in the study will be provided.

**10. DESCRIBE THE INFORMED CONSENT PROCESS. INCLUDE A COPY OF THE INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT.**

The participant will be presented with a copy of the consent form to sign before the interview begins. Because the interviews will be conducted in Turkish, the native language of the respondents, the researcher will translate the consent form to Turkish and go over the form with the interview participants. A copy of the informed consent form is attached to the protocol form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Principal Investigator's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Supervisor's Signature

I approve this protocol for submission to the UFIRB:

---

Dept. Chair/Center Director                      Date

**Informed Consent**

**Protocol Title:** A Phenomenological Analysis of the Turkish Diaspora.

**Please read this consent document carefully  
before you decide to participate in this study**

**Purpose of the research study:**

You will be asked some open-ended questions during the interview. The information gathered from the interviews will be used in my dissertation to describe the experiences of Turkish nationals living in Europe and what they think about the European Union's immigrant integration efforts and its communication efforts.

**What you will be asked to do in the study:**

Answer questions and talk about your experiences of being a Turkish national living in Europe and what this experience means for you. You will also be asked about what you think about the integration policies and the public diplomacy efforts of the European Union to communicate about these integration policies with EU citizens and residents.

**Time required:**

1 – 1.5 hours per interview participant.

**Risks and Benefits:**

There are no serious potential benefits or anticipated risks for the research participants. The only potential benefit could be to allow the respondents to express themselves freely and thus allowing you to voice your opinions.

**Compensation:**

You will not be compensated for participating in this research.

**Confidentiality:**

You will be assigned a pseudonym. Thus, your name will not be used in the study in order to protect your identity. You will be able to review the transcripts and see a copy of the dissertation afterwards.

**Voluntary participation:**

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating. You can refuse to answer any question you want without any penalty.

**Right to withdraw from the study:**

You have the right to withdraw from the study at anytime without consequence.

**Whom to contact if you have questions about the study:**

Emel Isil Ozdora,  
Ph.D student in Mass Communication,  
Department of Public Relations.  
Email: [eozdora@ufl.edu](mailto:eozdora@ufl.edu)  
(352) 328 6994  
324 University Village Apt. 1  
Gainesville FL 32603

Or

Juan-Carlos Molleda, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor - Department of Public Relations  
College of Journalism and Communications  
Office: 3046 Weimer  
University of Florida  
PO Box 118400  
Gainesville, FL 32611-8400  
Phone: 352-273-1223  
E-mail: [jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu](mailto:jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu)

**Whom to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study:**

UFIRB Office  
Box 112250  
University of Florida  
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250  
(352) 392-0433

**Agreement:**

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

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

Principal Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B  
INFORMED CONSENT – IN TURKISH

**Arastirmaya Katilim Izin Formu**

**Arastirma Ismi:** Yurtdisindaki Turk vatandaslar hakkında detayli gorusme calisma

**Bu arastirmaya katilmayi kabul etmeden once lutfen bu formu dikkatlice okuyun**

**Arastirmanin amaci:**

Bu arastirmada size bazi sorular sorulacak. Verdiginiz cevaplardan alinan bilgiler doktora tezimde kullanılacak. Yapilan gorusmelerin amaci Avrupa’da yasayan Turklerin deneyimlerini daha iyi anlayabilmek ve sizlerin Avrupa Birligi entegrasyon calismalari hakkindaki bilgi seviyesini ve dusunceleri tespit etmek.

**Arastirmada ne yapmaniz istenecek:**

Bu arastirma suresince arastirmacinin sordugu sorulara cevap verip Avrupa'da gocmen olarak yasamanin sizler icin ne demek oldugunu anlatmanizi istiyecem. Ayrica, Avrupa Birligi entegrasyon stratejileri ve kanunlari hakkında sorular sorup ve de bunlarin nasil duyuruldugu, yani Avrupa Birliginin bu konudaki iletisimi hakkindaki yorumlarinizi soracam.

**Gerekli zaman:**

Her gorusme katilimcisi icin 1 ile 1,5 saat arasi

**Riskler ve Kazanimlar:**

Bu arastirmaya katilmanin herhangi bir tehlikeli riski, ya da katilimcilara saglayacagi belirgin bir kazanim yoktur. Tek kazanim, katilimcilerin fikirlerini rahatlıkla aciklayip kendilerini ifade edebilme sansini elde etmeleridir.

**Odeme:**

Bu arastirmaya katilmaniz karsiliginda herhangi bir odeme almayacaksiniz.

**Gizlilik:**

Gizliliği saglamak icin her katilimciya bir rumuz verilecektir. Boylece, arastirma raporunda veya tezimde isminiz olmayacak ve kimliginiz gizlenecektir. Ayrica, eger isterseniz, katildiginiz gorusmenin veya doktora tezimin bir yazili kaydini da gorebilirsiniz..

**Gonullu katilim:**

Bu arastirmaya katilim tamamen gonulludur. Katilmamaktan dolayi herhangi bir ceza alimi soz konusu degildir. Cevaplamak istemediginiz herhangi bir soruyu hicbir cezaya tabi tutulmadan cevaplamayabilirsiniz.

**Arastirmadan cekilme hakki**

Hicbir cezaya tabi tutulmadan bu arastirmadan istediginiz zaman geri cekilebilirsiniz.

**Bu arařtirmayla ilgili danisabileceginiz kisiler:**

Emel Isil Ozdora,  
Iletisim bolumu doktora ogrencisi,  
Halkla Iliskiler Departmani.  
Email: [eozdora@ufl.edu](mailto:eozdora@ufl.edu)  
(352) 328 6994  
324 University Village Apt. 1  
Gainesville FL 32603

Ya da

Juan-Carlos Molleda, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor – Halkla Iliskiler Departmani  
Iletisim ve Gazetecilik Faultesi  
Office: 3046 Weimer  
University of Florida  
PO Box 118400  
Gainesville, FL 32611-8400  
Phone: 352-273-1223  
E-mail: [jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu](mailto:jmolleda@jou.ufl.edu)

**Katilimci haklariniz hakkında danisabileceginiz kurum:**

UFIRB Office  
Box 112250  
University of Florida  
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250  
(352) 392-0433

**Onay:**

Burda sozu gecen arařtırma protokolunu okudum ve ben de bir kopyasini aldim. Bu arařtırmaya  
gonullu olarak katilmayi kabul ediyorum.

Katilimci: \_\_\_\_\_ Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

Arařtirmaci: \_\_\_\_\_ Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

All the interview participants will receive the same set of questions, however, the researcher may ask different questions or other follow up questions if participants bring up an important issue:

- Please tell me a little bit about yourself and how you started your life in Belgium.
- How long have you been living here? If you were born here, when did your ancestors/family arrive?
- Do you work, where do you work?
- What is your level of education?
- Do you speak the native language of the country you live in?
- How do you define yourself?  
*If they mention the word **immigrant** in their self-definition:  
Could you explain an incident when you felt that you were an **immigrant**?*
- What made you feel like an immigrant, how did it feel?
- How long have you been working for the organization and briefly what are your roles and responsibilities?
- How would you define the function of your organization?
- How many members does your organization currently have?
- How do you communicate and interact with your members?
- What are the goals of your organization?
- How does your organization help Turkish immigrants living in Brussels?
- Do you follow the Turkish media – what kinds of media? (TV, newspaper?)
- Do you follow the national media of the country you live in?
- Are you aware of the integration policies (efforts also?) of the European Union?

*If you do, how did you find out about these?*

- How much do you know about EU immigrant integrations efforts? How do you follow the most recent developments and policies?
- How do you learn about EU immigrant integration efforts, what are some of the information sources you use or events you have attended regarding EU integration?
- How does the European Union integration efforts influence you?

*Does it have any effect on your life, what are your experiences?*

*If they know, Where did you learn about these integration strategies?*

- What do you think about these integration policies and EU's public relations/public diplomatic efforts for communicating them with the immigrant communities?
- What do you think about the way the European Union communicates these integration policies?
- Do the EU institutions communicate with the Turkish community about immigrant integration and EU policies? In other words, do you receive any direct (personal or mediated) communication from the EU?
- What does the ordinary Turkish TCN living in Brussels know about the EU immigrant integration efforts and policies and how do they learn about them?
- What's the role of your association in informing Turkish immigrants about EU immigrant integration efforts?
- Is there any room for two-way communication with the EU?
- Do you have any direct contact with EU officials?
- Is there any potential for lobbying for your organization to influence EU policy in Brussels?

- Could you explain your organization's own strategic communication strategies to proactively influence public policy regarding immigrant integration?
- What strategies do you think the European Union institutions should use to communicate with the public and inform them about EU level immigrant integration efforts and new developments?
- Do you think there are other things the EU institutions can do to inform people about these integration strategies or policies? What do you think can be done better?

APPENDIX D  
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – IN TURKISH

Butun katilimcılara ayni sorular sorulacaktır, ancak herhangi yeni bir konu ortaya cikarsa, arastirmacinin bu konulari aydinlatmak amaciyla farkli sorular sorma hakki vardır:

- Kendinizden ve Belcika'ya nasıl geldiginizden bahseder misiniz?
- Ne kadar zamandır burda yaşıyorsunuz?

*Katilimci eger burda dogmus ise, aileniz, atalariniz buraya ne zaman gelmisler?*

- Çalışıyor musunuz? Nerede çalışıyorsunuz?
- Eğitim seviyeniz nedir?
- Yaşadığınız ülkenin ana dilini konuşabiliyor musunuz?
- Kendiniz nasıl tanımlarsınız, siz kimsiniz?

*Eger tanımlarında **gocmen** kelimesi geçiyorsa, Kendinizi **gocmen** gibi hissettiniz, bunun farkına varmanıza neden olan bir olayı benimle paylaşır mısınız?*

- Size ne kendinizi gocmen gibi hissettirdi, nasıl hissettiniz?
- Kaç yıldır bu dernekte çalışıyorsunuz?
- Görev ve sorumluluklarınız nedir?
- Derneğinizin amacı ve görevleri nelerdir?
- Derneğiniz Belcika capında herhangi bir orgütün içinde mi?
- Bruksel'deki Türklere nasıl yardımcı oluyor?
- Kaç üyeniz var ve onlarla nasıl iletişime geçiyorsunuz?
- AB uyum yasaları hakkında neler biliyorsunuz? Bu konudaki gelişmeleri/haberleri nerden/nasıl takip ediyorsunuz – bilgi kaynaklarınız?
- Avrupa Birliği entegrasyon politikaları sizi nasıl etkiliyor?
- Hayatınız üzerinde bir etkisi var mı, deneyimlerinizi paylaşır mısınız?

- AB uyum yasaları hakkında hangi etkinliklere katıldınız?
- AB uyum yasaları ve bunların kamu diplomasisi/iletişimi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- Göçmen gruplara ulaşma konusunda başarılılar mı?
- AB kurumlarının Belçika'daki Türk toplumuyla direkt bir iletişimi oluyor mu (özellikle de AB uyum konularında)?
- Belçika'daki herhangi bir Türk AB uyum yasaları konusunda neler biliyor?
- Nerden öğreniyor?
- Derneğiniz üyelerini AB uyum yasaları hakkında bilgilendirme konusunda neler yapıyor?
- AB kurumları ile çift yönlü iletişim söz konusu mu?
- Herhangi bir AB çalışanı ile direkt iletişiminiz var mı?
- Lobi yapıyor musunuz – uyum konusunda?
- Derneğinizin uyum konusunda politikaları etkilemek için yaptığı aktivitelerden bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Siz AB kurumlarına uyum konuları konusunda iletişim açısından ne gibi şeyler yapmalarını önerirsiniz?

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Emel Isil Ünsal was born in Ankara, Turkey, in 1983. She attended the TED Ankara College primary, middle, and high school between 1989 and 2000 and developed an interest in communication studies. The author attended Bilkent University between October 2000 and June 2004, and graduated from the Department of Communication and Design. During an internship in her junior year in college, the author realized her interest in public relations and decided to focus more on the field. The author started the master's program in mass communication, specializing in public relations at the University of Florida in August 2004 and graduated in May 2006. Afterwards, she continued doctoral studies in the same field at the University of Florida. The researcher received her Ph.D. from the University of Florida in the Summer of 2009. She plans to pursue a career in Brussels, Belgium working in a non-governmental organization and continue her research aspirations focusing on Turkish immigrants in Europe.