Araştırma Makalesi / *Research Article*

THE NATURALIZATION PROCESS IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION: THE TURKISH MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM?[1]

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ABSTRACT

The essay aims to identify two issues, namely the integration of the Turks living in Belgium with the host society by obtaining citizenship status, and the rights of citizens who acquire citizenship status in line with concepts such as social citizenship. Citizenship means being part of society not only legally but also in the context of social citizenship, in countries where discrimination between foreigners and citizens is considered in the context of a multicultural society rather than an exclusionary factor. The integration theory and the concept of social citizenship are the base of the essay. Social citizenship implies the level of participation in a society as Marshall posits modern citizenship should cover civil, political and social rights. Some interviews with various representatives of the Turkish migrants in Belgium were conducted to find out how the Turkish migrants was feeling about integration and naturalization. In Belgium, some biased policies followed by the right-wing governments have endangered the benefit of social citizenship and integration in recent years. As a result, the number of Turks acquired citizenship has decreased recently in accordance with the lack of adequate instruments to integrate with Belgium. Additionally, the Turkish migrants in Belgium suffer from the disadvantages of living in enclaves and having poor education. They feel they belong to Turkey rather than Belgium in political and cultural aspects even if they acquire the citizenship.

Keywords: Naturalization, Integration, Migrant, Citizen.

UYUM BAĞLAMINDA VATANDAŞLIK SÜRECİ: BELÇİKA'DAKİ GÖÇMEN TÜRKLER

ÖZ

Makale, Belçika'da yaşayan Türklerin vatandaşlık statüsü alarak ev sahibi toplumla entegrasyonu ve sosyal vatandaşlık gibi kavramlar doğrultusunda vatandaşlık statüsü kazanan kişilerin hakları olmak üzere iki konuyu ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Vatandaşlık, yabancılar ve vatandaşlar arasındaki ayrımcılığın dışlayıcı bir faktörden ziyade çok kültürlü bir toplum bağlamında kabul edildiği ülkelerde, sadece yasalar önünde değil, sosyal vatandaşlık bağlamında da toplumun bir parçası olmak anlamına gelmektedir. Entegrasyon Teorisi ve sosyal vatandaşlık kavramı makalenin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Marshall'ın da belirttiği gibi modern vatandaşlık medeni, siyasi ve sosyal hakları kapsamalıdır ve sosyal vatandaşlık bir topluma katılım düzeyini ifade etmektedir. Entegrasyon ve vatandaşlığa geçiş konusunda düşüncelerini öğrenmek amacıyla Belçika'daki Türk göçmenlerin çeşitli temsilcileriyle bazı görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Belçika'da, sağcı hükümetlerin son yıllarda izlediği önyargılı politikalar sosyal vatandaşlık ve entegrasyon uygulamalarını tehlikeye atmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Belçika ile entegrasyon için yeterli araçların bulunmamasına bağlı olarak vatandaşlık kazanan Türklerin sayısı son zamanlarda hayli azalmıştır. Buna ek olarak, Belçika'daki Türkler, dışa kapalı alanlarda yaşamanın ve yetersiz eğitim almanın dezavantajlarından mustariptir. Vatandaşlık kazansalar bile siyasi ve kültürel açıdan Belçika yerine Türkiye'ye ait olduklarını düşünmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vatandaşlık, Entegrasyon, Göçmen, Vatandaş.

INTRODUCTION

The transition process from either a migrant or a refugee to a citizen means a new phase for those individuals in their staying in the country because they do not reside there on a temporary base anymore. Generally speaking, that transition can be achieved through an inclusive and sustainable way as part of multiculturalism or through discriminatory and racist policies in the context of assimilation. The distinction between the different aspects of multiculturalism as a policy, a moral position and a description of a state of affairs is a key to perceive the topic in detail (Turner, 2006: 609). The essay aims to understand how the naturalization process in the context of migrant integration is performed, and how it affects the Turkish community in Belgium. Citizenship and naturalization covering that transition are interchangeably used in the essay.

Foreigners can acquire citizenship in the country in which they live through many different methods, such as marriage, adoption and some exceptional ways, but the essay mainly focuses on the duration of the statutory session and the citizenship practices under the integration process and is conducted by articulating the naturalization policies as part of the migrant integration in Belgium. From a migrant point of view, citizenship represents the most basic means of access to all the rights in a society like political representation and participation, a wide range of employment opportunities including public services, free movement, and family reunification or citizenship opportunities for all the family members. In addition to all of those benefits, the concept of social citizenship is crucial in terms of naturalized migrants. Generally speaking, it is believed that all people deserve to have certain rights regardless of their place of residence and nationality (Davy, Davy and Leisering, 2013: 1). Therefore, social citizenship which basically means participation is deemed as the essential component of international human rights. Yet, the common practice in the worldwide does not support that statement.

The naturalization of foreigners is a complex process with social, economic, political and cultural dimensions beyond merely being a legal process. Granting citizenship to foreigners is mainly in the virtue of the experiences of states with their historical, cultural and migration backgrounds, as well as their economic and political environment. Also, it is closely related to the readiness to include

foreigners in social acceptance and democratic processes. In states where the distinction between alien and citizen is not applied as an exclusionary element but within the framework of a multicultural society, citizenship means to be part of that society not only lawfully but also in the context of social citizenship. The essay primarily analyses the transition of resident foreigners to naturalization, and then focuses on how migrants can obtain citizenship in Belgium. It also aims to understand how the Turkish migrants are affected by the integration policies in Belgium. It argues that Belgium has abandoned utilizing naturalization as an integration policy recently via analyzing the number of the Turkish migrants and naturalized Turks. Some interviews were conducted with some Turkish people, some of whom obtained Belgian citizenship while the others did not, to understand the naturalization, integration and social citizenship aspects of migration in Belgium. Some political figures in Belgian politics like Mr. Emir Kir, some leader personalities in the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) established by people with Turkish origin like the executive board members of EYAD (*Emirdağ Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği*), BIF (Belgium Islam Federation), TOSED (*Türk* Özel *Sektör Derneği* - Turkish Business Association) and some diplomats like the Turkish Consul of Brussels Mrs. Dilsad Kırbasli Karaoglu were among those interviewees.

The essay is divided into five chapters as well as the introduction and the conclusion parts. It initially examines the definitions regarding the topic with a literature review. The second chapter focuses on the Turkish community in Belgium and the naturalization trend among them. The next chapter firstly deals with the ways to obtain citizenship in Belgium and then the integration policies. The fourth chapter scrutinizes the concept of social citizenship and political participation. Last but not least, the final section analyses the impacts of integration policies in the Turkish society in Belgium.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND DEFINITIONS

To understand the topic of the essay, the distinction between the terms should be clearly explained. Both the terms "citizen" and "foreigner/alien" are separately regulated in the context of rights and obligations granted and imposed by states in international and national laws. On the other hand, the terms like

"refugee and "subsidiary protection" represent legal statuses in international refugee law, and "migrant" stands for foreign people who are not bound by citizenship to the country in which they live. When local people assume that foreigners are not sufficiently committed to assimilating, they are likely to stigmatize and exclude migrants (Goodman, 2012). The term foreigner has been diversely defined under human rights law, international public law, international criminal law, international migration law, international refugee law, the law on foreigners and some more fields of international law within a broad spectrum. The Council of Europe (CoE) defines foreigners in Article 2 of Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level as "persons who are not nationals of the State and who are lawfully resident on its territory" (CoE, 2019). Accordingly, all the individuals, who are not citizens of the state, are foreigners to that state. International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines foreigner as "a person belonging to or owing an allegiance to, another State." (IOM, 2004).

Citizenship is deemed as the pinnacle of a person's lawful participation in a state (Middleton and Wigginton, 2012: 523). Baylis and Smith describe citizenship as "a status within which the right to participate in and to be represented (Baylis, Smith and Owens, 2001), while Brubaker postulates that the legitimacy of the modern nation-state is based on the benefits it provided for its citizens (Brubaker, 1992). Cohen posits that citizenship can be inferred as participation in ruling and being ruled by equals, who have the same political rights (Cohen, 1999, 248). Citizenship is theoretically explained based on three aspects: legitimacy, policy and identity (Carens, 2000). Firstly, citizenship is a legal status containing some civil, political and social rights. Marshall did not deem those three as different; instead, he identified each of them as mesh fostering one another (Revi, 2014: 454). It is Marshall's most important contribution to the field of social sciences to make bold and effective initiatives such as focusing on social rights and social citizenship in terms of democracy and citizenship (Hooghe and Oser, 2015). Secondly, citizenship is related to the self-government and political institutions of society perceiving citizen as a political subject and actor. Last but not least, the identity dimension of citizenship means a separate member that specifies the individual's belonging to a political community. In a nutshell, the essential elements of citizenship can be summarized as rights, political participation, and identity, within the boundaries of the nation-state. So, it can be inferred that

citizenship is developed by both the rights demanded by individuals, and the status and identity granted by the state (Polat, 2011: 129).

The definition of foreigner and citizen concepts as a form of political and legal belonging at the nation-state level means the description of the legal, political, economic and cultural framework in the society on the axis of the policies implemented by the state towards foreigners. In this context, the migration and integration policies of states are structured based on different public rights and obligations that are offered to foreigners and citizens in that country.

Categorization in the field of migration can be differentiated depending on the national and international legislation, so, the conceptual, legal and ideological differences arise among citizens, foreigners, refugees and migrant workers causing both different practices in the context of rights, and various means of economic, political, social and legal exclusion or inclusion. After examining the definitions on the subject and determining the conceptual framework, we can start analyzing the situation regarding the Turkish community in Belgium.

2. TURKISH COMMUNITY IN BELGIUM

Initially, Turkey and Belgium signed a bilateral migrant worker recruitment agreement in July 1964. The agreement allowed Belgian employers to employ Turkish migrants either by a work permit granted in the country of origin or a visa issued there (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 7). The Turkish workers originally had a background in the countryside of Turkey, mostly poorly educated and unskilled, and ended up with the jobs in the sectors requiring minimum qualifications like mining, construction, cleaning (Lesthaeghe, 2000). De Haas states that "the influence of formal recruitment by specialized agencies was only important in the initial years of labor migration and in setting the stage for subsequent chain migration" (De Haas, 2014, 39). Accordingly, the migration trends turned out to be family unification after the first half of the 1970s due to the slow-down in the numbers of recruitment. A statistic depending on a research by Jan Hertogen provides that the number of Turks in Belgium is 218.832. The research contributes a bright picture about naturalization of Turks giving the number about them as 122.085 in total. Additionally, 57.598 Turks acquired Belgian nationality by birth (gundem.be, 2019). In Belgium, Moroccans constitute an important share of

foreigners with similar patterns as well as Turks between 1985 and 2005 as shown in the Graphic 1 below.

Graphic 1. Immigration of Turkish and Moroccan Nationals to Belgium between 1985 and 2005 (De Haas, 2014: 57)
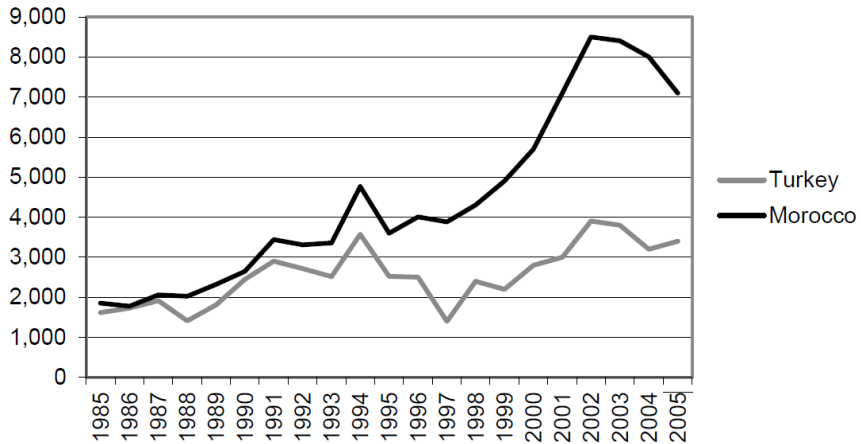
According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, around 240.000 Turks live in Belgium (BBC, 2019). They tend to demonstrate strong ties with Turkey as proven by the fact that about 140,000 of them enrolled to vote for the 24 June 2018 national and presidential elections in Turkey (Brusselstimes, 2018). According to the Belgian statistical office (Statbel), the number of Turks provided via e-mail by Statbel is 36.167 in 2017, and the Turkish community occupies the 10th place among the first ten nationalities. However, those figures used to be 39.882 in 2017 and the number of Turks in the ranking was the sixth place (Statbel, 2019: 16). The official number of Turks fell down 10% in two years. The reasons for the decline in naturalization will be analyzed in the Turkish perception of integration part of the essay.

Icduygu warns that "the decline in the total number of Turkish citizens abroad is mainly due to the declining trends of emigration from Turkey, and many Turkish citizens acquire the citizenship of other countries" (Icduygu, 2014: 108). Correspondingly, the decrease in the figures can be interpreted in three different perspectives: either the trend to return to Turkey or the tendency to apply for and obtain Belgium citizenship has increased, or finally less Turks moved to Belgium

in the last 10 years. Therefore, it is best to examine the number of Turks acquiring Belgium nationality to reach a more candid conclusion. When the figures provided by Statbel are compared between the years 2006 and 2016, it is easy to recognize a sharp decline in obtaining citizenship for Turks in Belgium. 3.204 Turks used to obtain citizenship in 2006 representing 10% of the whole granted citizenships and ranking as the second, but those figures dropped down at least triple times in 2016. Only 989 Turks were granted Belgium citizenship consisting 3% of 31.935 new citizens and occupying the eight in top ten nationalities (Statbel, 2019: 17). To understand the trends about the naturalization, broadening the picture might be more helpful with the number of naturalized Turks in Belgium between 1990 and 2003 as provided in the table below.

Table 1. Number of Naturalized Belgian-Turks between 1990 and 2003 (Statbel, 2004 in Kaya and Kentel, 2008).

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1990 .................................................706
1991 ..............................................1.020
1992 ..............................................4.044
1993 ..............................................3.415
1994 ..............................................6.263
1995 ..............................................6.925
1996 ..............................................7.066
1997 ..............................................7.835
1998 ..............................................6.932
1999 ..............................................4.402
2000 ............................................17.282
2001 ............................................14.401
2002 ..............................................7.805
2003 ..............................................5.186
Total ...........................................93.282
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Undoubtedly, naturalization is a two-sided process, first, the Turkish people should apply for it, and then the Belgian government would grant it. From the Turkish perspective, the numbers above can be interpreted with regard to the economic situation in Turkey. Turkey suffered a severe financial crisis in 1994 (Ozatay, 2000), and the number of citizenships seemed doubled in 1994 and kept

the trend until 1999 when the number fell to, more or less, the same level as in 1993. On the other hand, the highest figures observed in 2000 may be related to another economic crisis in Turkey in the same year (Dufour and Orhangazi, 2009). After peaking up in 2000 and 2001, the decline of naturalization in numbers has continued until 2016.

From the Belgian perspective, Mr. Emir Kir, the mayor of Saint-Josse-ten-Noode Commune with Turkish origin, interprets those figures as the result of the policies followed by the Belgian government in an interview conducted personally with him by the author of the essay on 3 April 2019. He points out that socialist governments in the 2000s, in which he took part in, facilitated acquiring citizenship but the recent populist governments with the right-wing majority preferred to obstruct it. According to Mr. Kir, the Turkish community was one of the worst affected communities in Belgium from that hurdle, especially in terms of language criterion because other nationalities like Moroccans are familiar with the language as well as the culture, due to their colonial past. The fact that the Law on Belgian Nationality used to facilitate obtaining citizenship by the amendments in 1991 and 2000.

When Graphic 1 and Table 1 are compared, the statement by Mr.Kir can be better understood because the migrant numbers in 2000 and 2001 were approximately 3-4.000, but the number of naturalized Turks were almost four times more. It can be interpreted from those figures that Belgium has ceased using naturalization as an integration policy in recent times.

3. GRANTING CITIZENSHIP TO FOREIGNERS DEPENDING ON THEIR LEGAL STATUS

According to Marshall, the link between individual and community takes place in the essence of the social rights which incorporates in citizenship (Moses, 2019: 170). The acquisition of citizenship takes place just as two basic principles: *jus sanguinis* (right of "blood" or descent) and *jus soli* (right of "soil" or territory). Brubaker accordingly explains the approaches to the naturalization process of foreigners: the first approach encompasses countries that define citizenship based on the land and adopts the citizenship concept, which makes it adequate for the naturalization of foreigners (Brubaker, 1992). The other approach covers the

countries that delineate citizenship based on blood ties with birth and implement an ethnic understanding with severe and complex processes for foreigners. According to Lee, "those approaches played a fundamental role in perceiving of modern citizenship, and they remain to explain criteria for citizenship status in many countries" (Lee, 2011:507). In countries where citizenship founds on territory such as the United States, Canada, and France, a person obtains the nationality of the state in which he or she was born (*jus soli*). In some countries like Germany, naturalization is mainly based on blood (*jus sanguinis*). In countries where blood ties determine citizenship, it is often more difficult for migrants and foreign family members of citizens to acquire citizenship.

In general, the acquisition of citizenship in a state is a process of transition from being an outsider to being a part of that society with all its rights and obligations (Goodman, 2010). Therefore, naturalization means not only gaining the full access and benefit of legal rights but also the ability to politically become a member of the community and the identity, which are intrinsic in that community in term of social citizenship which also includes well-being of individuals. The requirements and evaluation stages of that process are different in the context of some aspects like migration experience, historical and cultural ties, labor market conditions, unemployment rates, and perception and approach of society towards immigrants. The naturalization of refugees is usually regulated similarly to the naturalization processes of other regular migrants while a separate law covers it in some countries.

While developing a citizenship policy index, Howard bases his classification first on the liberal approach, which offers less complicated procedures and becomes more supportive for naturalization such as in France and Sweden, and secondly the restrictive approach, which envisages more prolonged residence conditions as well as imposing integration process (Howard, 2009). Belgium used to belong to the liberal approach until 2013, but it has more prohibitive provisions regarding naturalization now. In countries applying restrictive criteria such as Austria, Greece, Spain and Denmark, foreigners may not be granted naturalization as a result of the adverse decision of the competent authorities even if they have fulfilled all the requirements to obtain citizenship. Those countries put less emphasize on social citizenship, on the contrary to their claims.

When the conditions of states are considered in those processes, many states demand a specific duration and some forms of residence permit, having a sufficient level of knowledge about the culture and history of the country, possessing economic independence, lack of criminal record, showing good morality, respect to social and public order as well as having completed the process of socio-economic integration. However, it is essential to note that citizenship policies are not only designed to be in conjunctures but also the long-term, in the context of the rights and obligations of all other foreigners on an inclusive and equal basis especially considering social citizenship.

3.1. The Forms to Obtain Citizenship in Belgium

Citizenship is a concept consisting both normative and empirical dimensions (Gooby, 1991: 94). Belgium offers two mechanisms to foreigners to acquire citizenship: either by a declaration of nationality or naturalization, which is possible for individuals over 18 residing lawfully with no opportunities to gain Belgian nationality by declaration, demonstrating some exceptional merits like in art and sports. Naturalization means to cover foreigners who have been lawfully resident in Belgium for a certain period, and who want to obtain Belgian citizenship by lodging a file either to the communes they reside or directly to the Federal Parliament that mandated by Article 9 of the Belgian Constitution: "The federal legislative power grants naturalization". According to Article 12 of the Law on Belgian Nationality, foreigners including the refugees and the individuals with subsidiary protection status can apply for citizenship if they have legally been staying for ten years or staying for five years and meeting the integration requirements mentioned in Belgian law.

In 1989, the Belgian federal government enacted an organization on immigration policy, namely the *Commissariat Royal a` la Politique des Immigres/Koninklijk Commissariaat voor Migranten* whose aim was to advise the government on immigration policies (Kanmaz, 2002: 104). In the same year, the newly established Capital Region of Brussels commenced an integration aid fund, within the scope of which some financial assistance was provided to the communes that set up aid programs and activities. Those initiatives are the solid proofs of the Belgian government to enhance social citizenship and increase integration for migrants in the past.

The Law on Belgian Nationality accommodates *jus sanguinis* as the base criterion for granting citizenship due to the bloodline. Additionally, it allows *jus soli* acknowledging the principle of birth in Belgium. Firstly, only adult foreigners (18 years or older) who have been steadily residing at least for five years and proved to be well-integrated with Belgian society in terms of social and economic aspects can apply for citizenship. The current Law on Belgian Nationality has taken its final form after 2013. The amendments in 1991 and 2000 softened its provisions on citizenship as mentioned earlier but now it entails various forms to demonstrate social integration like attending a vocational training course for 400 hours or participating an integration course, working or being an entrepreneur for five years, and the finally acquiring a degree. Also, when integration is deemed as accomplished, it is possible to skip language condition. In a case by the Court of Appeal in Ghent (2014/AR/1095, 24 December 2015), it was decided that when a foreign person provides the necessary documents, it is unnecessary to ask the language skills (Asylum Information Database–AIDA, 2017: 102). The Court of Appeal endorsed that the Law on Belgian Nationality preferred a documentary system rendering the test of language unnecessary. On the other hand, it is conceivable to show economic integration by working for 468 days throughout the past five years along with by being an entrepreneur who paid his or her social security premiums for at least six quarters in the past five years.

Secondly, foreigners who have lawfully resided in Belgium for ten years without a severe interval can apply for citizenship. Also, the foreigner has to attest his or her language skills and demonstrate participation in the host community. By the word "host community", the law does not refer to the diaspora of foreigners, but the local native people as explicitly explained in the March 2013 Circular giving some examples like school education, vocational training and being a member to some associations (Asylum Information Database–AIDA, 2019).

The Belgian government did not impose any economic criteria for naturalization between 2000 and 2012 as the outcome of its perception the naturalization process as a tool for integration (Foblets and Loones, 2006). However, it has started requiring employment as a criterion for the applicants. Financial requirements such as employment that applicants (except the disabled) have to meet in practice were introduced in Belgium in 2013 although there

is no threshold in terms of income or welfare benefits imposed (Stadlmair, 2018, 48). Spouses of Belgian nationals have not needed to meet financial requirements since 2013. The rules regarding naturalization have turned out to be more sophisticated in time, but Stadlmair interprets that there is less room for administrative discretion by that way (Stadlmair, 49). However, as the leading figures of the Turkish society have pointed out, that process has not aided the Turkish community while obtaining citizenship in Belgium. On the contrary, it has put more hurdles to get access to the citizenship.

3.2. Integration Policies and Citizenship in Belgium

Although citizenship is considered as an important component of integration policies, it can also be used as part of assimilation policies. Integration is a process in which states offer equal access to its citizens and migrants (Aleksynaska and Algan, 2010). Therefore, citizenship can be perceived as a means to strengthen the social, economic and political integration of immigrants, rather than as a status or a rights-based element. Developing an integration policy should be dealt with in close relation to citizens and foreigners. The integration practices are shaped under the influence of different factors such as historical experiences on migration, economic and political structural conditions of the society, and the public perception of states. Therefore, states rely on their knowledge and understanding of integration to implement effective integration policies. As seen in Belgium, the political parties ruling the country are one of the determinants to the course of integration policies. The recent governments in Belgium tend to neglect the importance of migrant integration. Although there is not a single model for the inclusion of migrants, the minimum standards can be envisaged based on the best practices of different methods and regulations in different countries.

The success of integration policies is dependent on some instruments, which are (Huddleston et al. 2013):

• Individual aspects related to the characteristics of the migrant population (historical, geographical and demographic elements, duration of residence, the socio-economic situation such as education and job; socio-cultural characteristics such as the grasp of language)

• Factors with regard to the host community and macro level policies on the labor market, wages, working conditions, education system, social facilities, political environment, and public perception et cetera.

• Migration and integration policies.

Meantime, integration is not a one-sided but rather a mutual process, and not only migrants but also host communities are responsible for successful integration. The ability of migrants to integrate with the host communities is closely related to whether the host community can embrace migrants, and the situation is sustainable. Therefore, integration should be considered in terms of the mutual understanding of the expectations and requirements of the individual and society in a broader way, and should not be demoted to only being able to speak the language, grasping the notion of history and culture of the host country or establishing a business there. On the other hand, living in enclaves is the most important obstacle to the cultural integration of immigrants (Adiguzel, 2016: 175). To put it, the policies on integration should promote the stability in the host communities (Akinci et al., 2015, 60). The best way of reaching that goal is to enable social citizenship. It is a term to define the level of participation in a society and needs an elaborate analysis.

4. SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

In his most influential article, namely "Citizenship and Social Class", Marshall (1950) analyses rights into three categories with a normative classification: civil, political and social rights. By social rights, Marshall refers to economic and social rights, the minimum income and prosperity associated with these rights, and a socio-economic structure that enables every individual to benefit from the opportunities provided by modern democratic societies (Marshall, 1965). Welfare state policies and institutions - the free education system and social services - constitute the particular areas of these rights. The philosophical perspectives behind these rights can be explained as follows: the right of civil rights and the modern state of being legally complicated and being able to use violence - according to Max Weber, the privilege of the modern state - is softened, and political rights and political power are prevented from gathering in the hands of an elite group and it is aimed to correct the inequality of

income distribution created by the capitalist market economies in the production processes, and prevent the formation of socio-economic gaps in the society (Desmond and Waldron, 1988).

Besides, Marshall explains that civil rights are individual based whereas political rights are fundamentally individual rights, but they have a collective character. Within a historical process when special privileges are transformed into universal rights, civil rights extend from class to class and gender to gender. Civil, political and social rights are not independent but mutually exclusive rights. For example, the freedom to express ideas is both a civil and a political right. As a result, Marshall proposed the redefinition of modern citizenship, including the abovementioned three rights.

Taking into consideration what Marshall suggests that a practical reality emerges as the recognition of civil and political rights in a constitution by the formal framework, however, if it is not completed with social rights, an essential part of society may not benefit from and implement these rights. In other words, the existence of social rights and constitutional guarantee is inevitable to ensure that civil and political rights are not false and make sense in modern and democratic societies. Whereas civil and political rights are sufficient for negative freedom, the existence of social rights emerges crucial for positive freedom, which can be enjoyed by individuals. When those statements are applied to migrants and their naturalization process, it is not adequate to have legal avenues to obtain citizenship to be a part of the society. Individuals need to have some socio-economic infrastructure that entails some opportunities to disseminate their political and philosophical ideas and can gather supporters for those ideas. In democratic societies, the dissemination of ideas through non-governmental organizations, mass media, and some similar ways and access to all segments of society provides the necessary extension to increase the effectiveness of civil and political rights and move them beyond formal rights on paper.

The history of social citizenship in terms of integration in Belgium could be dated back to the 1970s when migrant workers were granted some social and political rights like the right to vote and be elected in trade union elections starting from 1971 (Lambert, 1999). The "Immigrant Advisory Boards" were established in the same period in some communes mostly in Wallonia to contribute to the

solution of the issues related to foreigners and their social integration (Manco and Kanmaz, 2005:1107). Belgium did not develop any policies to encourage migrants to indwell and get integrated, and then the Law on Belgian Nationality was amended to offer the principle of *jus soli* and facilitate the process for naturalization in 1984 (Politika Akademisi, 2014).

In Belgium, a prominent law was approved in March 2004, and then published in April 2004 granting new political rights like the right to vote in municipal elections to foreigners who, are non-EU citizens, have been lawfully residing for at least five years (European Migration Network, 2004). However, the law also imposed three restrictions on those foreigners: firstly, they could vote for the candidates in the municipal elections but cannot be elected; secondly, they should be registered in the electoral roll, and finally, they must sign a notice pledging to observe the Constitution of Belgium and the European Convention on Human Rights.

5. THE TURKISH PERCEPTION OF INTEGRATION POLICIES IN BELGIUM

To better understand how the Turkish community discerns the integration policies of the Belgian Government, the author of the essay conducted some interviews with different representatives of the Turkish community including the mayor of Saint-Josse-ten-Noode Commune, some NGO chairpersons, some Turkish workers moved to Belgium many years ago, some businesspersons and the Turkish Ambassador to Belgium and the Consul of Brussels. The interviews were managed to find out their views on integration in a free environment. Within this context, the Turkish consul in Brussels explains the reason why naturalization among Turks has diminished as;

• It has been harder to gain family unification since 2013.

• It has been more challenging to complete the integration course and pass the exam about naturalization and language.

• The Turkish people have started getting married to the local Turks and Moroccans instead of Turks from Turkey, so the need for naturalization is lessened.

The main points made by all the interviewees are;

• Living in Belgium has become more difficult for Turks, due to the discriminatory and populist policies of the right-wing governments in recent years.

• Turks started to buy home and establish a business, and get more integrated with Belgium after the 1994 economic crisis in Turkey because they got worried about the future of their children.

• Acquiring citizenship was facilitated in 2000 but got more demanding with more challenging conditions after 2013.

• After 2002, Turkey began to steadily progress, so the younger generation started considering returning to the homeland in the future.

• As Turkish does not belong to the western language family, Turkish migrants have difficulty in learning French and Dutch, which delays integration and access to the labor market.

• Living in enclaves is not suitable for them because the necessary role models do not exist there and negative exemplifying prevails hindering integration. Furthermore, the elderly Turks do not aspire for Belgian citizenship and are not enthusiastic to learn French or Dutch, while the young generation does not show any interest in getting registered in the Turkish consulate to apply for Turkish citizenship.

In general, the areas that the Turkish community is believed to be well-integrated are;

• The Turkish community poses no risk to the public order and security in Belgium; they obey the rules and have fewer criminal records in comparison with other migrant groups.

• The Turkish migrants are hardworking entrepreneurs establishing small-scale enterprises and factories in Belgium proving to be financially well-integrated.

• They are successful in the service sector because they are hospitable and running catering services in a better way than other communities.

The areas that The Turkish community is deemed as not well-integrated

are;

• The education level is lower than other migrants because they put economic success before education. The younger generation prefer to earn money as soon as they grow up. Hence, the rate of attendance at a university is low with 5%.

• The difficulty in learning French and Dutch impedes their integration.

• The Turkish culture is dominant among them, but that fact might have positive aspects of integration by facilitating it.

• The Turkish community is politically not well-represented by the right persons in Belgian politics. Furthermore, the Turks in Belgium are more interested in politics in Turkey than in Belgium. Culturally, an essential example of that statement is about the restriction of Turkish in schools in Flanders. The Turkish government cannot appoint any Turkish teacher to the schools there anymore. The Turkish community has demonstrated no interest in protesting that restriction.

CONCLUSION

The essay has tried to determine both the latest state of integration of Turks in Belgium by citizenship and how the concept of social citizenship is perceived for those who obtained citizenship. How alien and citizen concepts are regulated in a country is one of the most important indicators of social inclusion and exclusion as well as the differences in legal status and rights. While some states facilitate and encourage the granting of citizenship to foreigners with more liberal approaches, some other countries that define citizenship, primarily based on blood, origin and ethnic ties, restrict the naturalization of foreigners with conservative methods.

According to the findings of the essay, Belgium has abandoned its policy of enhancing integration through citizenship since 2013. Also, some other practices like hampering family reunification have made the life of the immigrants in Belgium including Turks more difficult. The Turkish community in Belgium has integrated with the host society in many ways, but some challenges remain to be tackled by both the Belgian and Turkish parts. Language is the evident challenge

among Turks as the most problematic barrier as well as the western culture. On the other hand, the 2nd and 3rd generation of Turks have stopped marrying a spouse from Turkey, instead they marry someone born in Belgium. That sort of marriages facilitate integration and remove language and citizenship hurdles. Furthermore, the level of political representation of Turkish immigrants are low for two reasons although it has been about 60 years since the first arrival of the Turkish immigrants,: firstly, the Turkish immigrants are more willing to participate in the Turkish politics, instead of Belgian politics, and secondly, Belgium has gradually put more hurdles before migrants who have obtained citizenship or have not yet.

Belgium used to follow a more liberal approach to grant citizenship to migrants, but the conservative and populist governments have reversed that tendency recently. Citizenship should be considered as a process to embrace the system of values of states and participate in the transformation of the society rather than feeling the belonging to the country and becoming a part of sustainable reception. Otherwise, the restriction of inclusion appears to be the first step of social exclusion and assimilation.

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