

An Analytical Study of Turkish Immigrants and Other Foreigners in the United Kingdom in Terms of the Philosophy of the Council of Europe

Prof. Dr. Zerrin Toprak Karaman

University of Dokuz Eylul, Turkey

London Metropolitan University

Centre of International Business and Sustainability

Abstract

This research on “Foreigners and Turkish Immigrants in the United Kingdom(UK) in terms of the Philosophy of Council of Europe” was based on the comparison, and evaluation of consistency, between the philosophy, on which the “Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level” (a Convention of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe which has the status of an international and regional organization with some 47 members as of 2011 and of which the UK is also a member)is based, and the international migration strategy practice in the United Kingdom. The convention concerned, determines the issues regarding the formation of public instruments that provides those people who live in a country and have non-native status in that country but have equal access as natives to individual and social rights that will ensure visibility in public life “equal to that of the citizens of the target country concerned”. Moreover, the Council of Europe relates its philosophical approach concerning settled foreigners to the basic principle “if they have obligations, they should also have rights” within the local level where they are settled. In this study, this issue has been specifically evaluated in the context of the political rights of foreigners who have emigrated from Turkey into the UK and the sustainability of the State. In addition, the practices “towards foreign settlers” by Turkey, which is again a member of the Council of Europe and has gradually become a country to which foreigners immigrate, and its future scenario have been examined in terms of the Convention concerned. I would like to thank Professor John Sedgwick from the London Metropolitan University Centre for International Business and Sustainability, who helped me with the formation of the framework of this study, and all the opinion leaders who contributed to the development of the content of the study in compliance with its aim by attending the interviews.

Introduction

The immigrations from Turkey into the United Kingdom constitute the sample of this research which is based on the goal of evaluating how valid the removal of barriers to the provision of visibility in Public Life as stated in the content of “the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level” (the Convention of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, of which the United Kingdom is a member) might be when the large numbers of immigrations into the country are considered. The article is also related to the Council of Europe Activity report 2010 on the new Strategy on Social Cohesion, which is based on four pillars, namely reinvesting in social rights and a cohesive society; building a Europe of responsibilities that are both shared and social; strengthening representation and democratic decision making and expanding social dialogue and civic engagement; and finally, building a secure future for all.

From the literature available, it is seen that immigrations from Turkey into the UK have for many years developed in the form of “claims for asylum”. The admission of asylum-seekers to British Citizenship when adequate conditions are met eliminates “being a foreigner”. Therefore, instead of drawing up an individual questionnaire for asylum-seekers, the methods chosen in carrying out this research are as follows: in-depth interviews with the founders of the associations established to help immigrants of Turkish origin, (these were mostly immigrants themselves who became opinion leaders in time), the observation of their activities on the spot and analyses based on the information obtained from literature relevant to the activities. The research area chosen was London since it was preferred for settlement by 90 per cent of the immigrants. This is in agreement with the literature. In fact, the legal domicile addresses of the associations established to serve the socio-cultural development of immigrants of Turkish origin are also in London. This study was launched in September and completed in November 2011 by the author. Since the 1990s, the UK has become a country of immigration. During the 1960s and the 1970s, emigration exceeded immigration so that net immigration was persistently negative.

Since then, net immigration has progressively increased. Furthermore, the enhancing of immigrated foreigners' visibility in public life and ensuring that they "have" the rights and obligations of citizens "as citizens do" have been part of the agenda of Europe. In fact, studies regarding the legal regulations which enhance the visibility of foreigners in public life are being followed through in many countries in the Council of Europe (1949). The Council of Europe opened the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level (*European Treaty Series – No. 144*) for signature of its member states in 1992. The Convention entered into force in 1997. Although the United Kingdom was responsible for signature that launched the initial process in 1992, the other stages have not yet been completed. In other words, the Convention is still not in force in the United Kingdom. Turkey has not signed the Convention yet. The Convention is basically concerned with Freedom of Expression, the Assembly and Associations; Consultative Bodies which represent foreign residents at local level, the Right to vote and to stand in local authority elections. These political rights are democratic indicators at local level (<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=144&CL=ENG> access: 18 September 2011). For evaluation, some territorial restrictions might be brought in to this convention.

Although other European Countries Albania, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden signed the Convention (with ratification) prior to 2011, the UK continues to procrastinate. Therefore, it is the foreign policy of the United Kingdom on foreigners' participation in public life which is concern to the author, and is generally examined in this article. Besides, the profile and status of the Turkish immigrants that came to the United Kingdom have been only briefly examined. In addition, the possible strategy of the United Kingdom as regards the Convention will be predicted. Moreover, because the study focuses on the condition of "becoming a permanent foreigner", "the asylum-seekers" are excluded from the scope of this study. However, in considering the structure of immigration from Turkey, brief information on this matter has also been provided .

The Concept of Foreigner

Since at the present time, the normative ethical rules are considered satisfactory in terms of both national and international public opinions, the fundamental basis of this article is to examine "settled foreigners" from the perspective of the Council of Europe.

During the meeting of the Institute of International Law held in Geneva in 1892, a foreigner was defined as 'one who is present in a state or country but who still does not have the right to claim the citizenship of that state.' In accordance with the provisions of the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level (<http://conventions.coe.int/> access: 18 September 2011), in the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the term "foreign national" is used for people who are non-citizens of the state but who are legally present within the borders of the state (Convention, art. 2). In terms of the Council of Europe, it is considered very important that different cultural and ethnic groups live peacefully within an area and that they participate in public life. The local cultural network is evaluated by important policies, such as "qualified education, organization in social spheres and the mutual cultural initiatives of organizations" (Council of Europe, 2004). At the stage the modern world has reached, foreigners are conscious of the fact that they should be treated like citizens and that responsibility can also be expected from them in this sense.

The British Nationality Act (1981) (<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/britishcitizenship> access: 22 September 2011) and the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act (2009) are the basic laws of the United Kingdom that define citizenship and the other categories of British nationality. The Nationality Law does not define a foreigner but only the cases of becoming a British citizen or renouncing citizenship.

International Immigration into the United Kingdom

The EU's population currently stands at almost 500 million. In 2001, the population of the United Kingdom was recorded as just below 59 million people. It is estimated that this figure will increase to 65 million by 2016 and 71 million by 2031. The best available measure of long-term trends indicates an increase in the annual net immigration from -24 thousand in the early 1970s to 89 thousand in the late 1990s- a total increase of 113 thousand. Recent trends are even more dramatic. From the trough of 1991-1993 to the peak of 1998-2000, the net immigration surged by more than 100 thousand per annum (Hatton, 2005).

Table. UK net immigration by country of origin or destination (IPS, thousands per decade)

	1971–1980	1981–1990	1991–2000
Commonwealth			
Australia	-189.8	-181.2	-43.4
Canada	-148.3	-47.7	- 7.5
New Zealand	-61.0	20.0	13.5
South Africa	-67.3	-3.3	78.6
Other African Commonwealth	81.4	54.3	72.1
Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka	108.4	109.5	106.5
Pakistan	67.8	77.9	62.5
Caribbean Commonwealth	-0.2	3.0	3.9
Other Commonwealth	57.8	9.6	48.5
Foreign			
European Union	-70.2	63.2	127.2
Rest of Europe	-21.7	3.1	26.5
United States	-45.0	-62.8	-19.9
Rest of America	1.1	1.5	-2.5
Other foreign	-62.5	27.1	108.1

Source, Timothy J. Hatton(2005):pp.5

More over the number of asylum-seekers entering the UK was 140,700 claims between 2006 and 2010, compared to the **United States of America** which received the largest number of new asylum-seekers (256,700 claims), followed by **France** (185,400 claims), **Canada** (144,600 claims), and **Sweden** (141,100 claims). The **United Kingdom** was the sixth largest recipient of new asylum-seekers in 2010 with 22,100 claims. This was the lowest level since 1989 (16,800 claims). The Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Bangladesh are the main countries of origin, from which the United Kingdom has received immigrants. Turkish people more often emigrate to Germany and Holland. The United Kingdom received only 55 Turkish asylum-seekers (UNCHR, 2010) in 2010.

The UK net immigration has increased dramatically. If as according to one view, it is simply the result of immigration policies at home and abroad, then it is determined by policymakers. However, evidence for other countries shows that a good deal of the variation in immigration can be explained by economic forces. The UK government has recently undertaken a series of reforms to immigration policy, the most recent of which is the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002

(http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/41/pdfs/ukpga_20020041_en.pdf ,access: 11 September 2011).

The comprehensive figures regarding immigration into the United Kingdom can be obtained from the statistics of the International Passenger Survey (IPS). How can we interpret these results? Relative inequality has the greatest impacts on the declining net emigration of British citizens. Immigration policies in several key destination countries became increasingly skill-selective as of the 1970s. While this reduced the ability of the low skilled to emigrate, the increasing relative return to skills in Britain that is reflected in rising inequality reduced the incentive for the high skilled to emigrate. In connection with all these policies, the total net emigration has declined (Hatton, 2005). Going to the future because of the inequality has largely ceased, unemployment will not fall, and the effects of relative income on immigration will be too small.

The first speech made by the previous Prime Minister Tony Blair on immigration (2004) relied on the idea that “The government needs to accept, and take into account, the negative economic consequences of immigration when setting immigration policy, rather than only considering the positive ones. Otherwise Britain will not get the immigration policy that best serves its interests” (Browne, 2004).

A problem therefore arises: If the labour market were allowed to operate freely rather than being undermined by the government’s immigration policy, then wages would rise faster, which would take more of the benefits of low paid workers.

Allowing the labour market to operate freely would also help draw disadvantaged workers, such as ethnic minorities, the young, single parents and the over-50s, into the world of work by giving them greater opportunities, and Industry has an important social role in helping bring disadvantaged workers into the labour market. If the only jobs a worker can get are those paying close to the minimum wage, it makes economic sense to claim benefits and seek unofficial ways of making money. However, according to some researchers, in general, the criticisms of the migration policy of the government focus primarily on control and the economic aspects of migration are not considered much (Boswell, 2008).

Since 2004, over 760,000 people have applied to the Worker Registration Scheme in order to enter the working sector and these immigrants have generally found a chance to work in the United Kingdom. By 2006, there had been growing reports of local services being placed under strain (schools, medical services and housing), and local authorities complained about bearing the brunt of these impacts. The Migration Impacts Forum (MIF), a group of practitioners who advise the government on how immigration is impacting public services and local communities, is composed of representatives from local government, health, education, police, criminal justice, etc. and affects immigrants in these and others areas. (Boswell, 2008).

At the beginning of 2008, the Labour Government designed a 5 tier model that basically depended on highly skilled workers, medium- and high-skilled workers, low-skilled workers, students (to be launched in 2009), youth mobility and temporary workers. Within this new framework, the Labour government was attempting to limit immigration in a number of ways.

The remarks of the UK Prime Minister David Cameron (2011) were widely acknowledged to be an attempt to shore up the Tories' right-wing base against competition from the British National Party and, especially, the UK Independence Party. His call for 'good immigration, not mass immigration' deliberately evoked the anti-immigrant "swamping" rhetoric employed by the likes of Conservative MP Enoch Powell in 1968 and Tory leader Margaret Thatcher in 1979 (<http://www.wsws.org/articles/2011/apr2011/come-a19.shtml> access: 13 September 2011). Lower argued that "There are problems of bounded rationality and opportunism to contend with and these may prevent parties from seeing the benefits of shared governance or, if they do, on being able to devise adequate structures.

Thus, a just economic system will have to provide: access to well-paid employment (providing a wage that will support a family at least above subsistence level); some reasonable guarantees of job security; retraining and job placement when employees are in transition; and a right to participate in formulating corporate policy in a democratic manner" (Lower, 2010). Furthermore, the participation of employers was primarily considered in theoretical studies such as some legal regulations. Unfortunately, the public opinion raises no objection to this development. 'Employee participation was never on the agenda and within the corporate governance framework as well as the feature in the principal policy documents' (Lower, 2010). Michael and Petito argued, Today, as a part of global civil society, political leaders- from would be emperors to petty dictators- would serve as a kind of public tribunal before which political leaders would be held at least morally and ethically accountable (Michael and Petito, 2009). This all seems as a democratic dance. That is, after political leaders become leaders, we see far more clearly that they were not so much aware of their responsibilities.

The Rights of Migrants in the UK and Turkish Immigrants in Britain

The participation of citizens in local public life is an essential element of effective and democratic local government. It reinforces accountability and underpins the legitimacy of local government. In recent years, a wide array of mechanisms of citizen participation has been developed by many European local authorities. How can one respond to this? How can citizen participation be effectively strengthened? How can a local authority learn from its own experience? These are but a few questions which are on the agenda of the Council of Europe. While our societies, economies and cultures have been rapidly changing, the same questions are asked for 'foreigners'.

There are a number of rights of labour migrants that apply to all legally resident migrants in the UK. These rights are health, education, social benefits and civil rights. Civil rights are language requirements, paying tax and becoming self-sufficient (or being in a relationship with a British citizen or permanent resident demonstrating self sufficiency), obeying the law, and joining in with the British way of life 'involving, playing an active part in their community' through voluntary work of some type. Other rights are notably family reunions, length of stay, access to permanent residence or citizenship (Boswell, 2008).

As a matter of principle, the right to vote in general elections and local elections should not be conferred upon non-citizens. To do so seriously weakens the concept of citizenship which the Government is seeking to encourage, particularly with its latest proposals for earned citizenship. Migrants cannot acquire citizenship until 5 years after their arrival in the UK so foreign citizenship will be weighted heavily towards recent arrivals (<http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/Briefingpaper/document/81> access: 18 September 2011). The first stage of foreigners' conversion into the UK citizenship starts with their obtaining a "permanent residence" permit in United Kingdom. Permanent residence is known as "indefinite leave to remain" and is often referred to as 'settlement'. An application for permanent residence can be made after four years of residence under some immigration categories (for example, work permit holders, business entrepreneurs and investors), as long as the conditions specified by the Immigration Rules continue to be met.

During the interviews with those people who had become UK citizens, it was particularly noted that the absence of problems with "tax and police departments" was an essential condition. In this case, in terms of the use of political rights, only those people who have become UK citizens have the rights to voteⁱ and to stand for electionsⁱⁱ. (http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/UKgovernment/Politicalpartiesandelections/DG_073243 access: 03 October 2011)

As working in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) depends on the fundamental principle of "voluntarism", it was expressed in the in-depth interviews that the foreigners had not experienced any problems in terms of becoming a member of such associations and the freedom of expression. Nevertheless, working in the administrative mechanisms of political organizations (the parties) requires the fulfilment of the conditions of citizenship, being a member of a party and maintaining one's membership for a year. However, the general opinion is that today immigrants of Turkish origin, at least this generation, have become introverted communities and do not tend to take part in the activities of associationsⁱⁱⁱ. In general, these associations are thought to function like family associations.

Turkish Immigration into Britain and Rights of Migrants in Turkey

Turks in the United Kingdom or British Turks are Turkish people who have immigrated to the United Kingdom. Since the first wave of Turkish Cypriots fled from their increasingly unstable and divided island to seek refuge in Britain in the 1950s and '60s, the number of Turkish immigrants has continued to increase (Kucukcan, 2009). And then again another emigration took place when the Turkish Cypriots were forced to leave their homes during the Cyprus conflict (1974). As well as this population movement, Turks then began to arrive from Turkey for economic reasons. The most recent influx started soon after the military coup on the Turkish mainland in 1980. Recently, smaller groups of Turks have begun to immigrate to the United Kingdom from other European countries. As of 2011, it is estimated that there are in total about 500,000 people of Turkish origin in the UK, with the majority of them being in London. Furthermore, in recent years, the number of Turks has been increasing, although not as fast as that of some other ethnic groups (http://www.bbc.co.uk/london/content/articles/2005/05/26/turkish_london_feature.shtml access:17.09.2011). The Turkish community has spread around Lewisham, Lambeth, Southwark, Croydon, Haringey, Enfield, Islington and Hackney, specifically Stoke Newington High Street and Kingsland.

However, "migrants often try to claim asylum after being denied a work visa, or because there is no way of migrating legally to their intended destination. This practice undermines faith in the asylum process and makes life difficult for legitimate refugees. So, governments face a conflict between being as open as possible to those fleeing persecution, and the fear of having the asylum system misused as a channel for economic migration. They also worry about 'asylum shopping' – the practice of lodging applications in several European countries at once, in the hope of being accepted somewhere. Consequently, only around half of European asylum applications are approved" (Brady, 2008). Today generally Kurds are leaving Turkey to seek refuge in other countries like Britain (Enneli and Modood, 2009). These Kurdish groups generally chose to be asylum-seekers as a means of becoming UK citizens.

In 1997, the EU merged the Schengen agreement on borderless travel (initially concluded among a smaller group of member states) into the Amsterdam treaty. With this, border and immigration cooperation became legally-binding, but still with a requirement for unanimity. Ireland and the UK chose to remain outside Schengen. Along with Denmark, they also negotiated to keep their involvement in EU initiatives on borders, immigration and asylum optional rather than obligatory (Brady, 2008).

The EU countries signed the Treaty of Lisbon in December 2007 and it came into force in 2009. It switched all remaining EU decisions on asylum, immigration and integration to qualified majority voting after 2009. The European neighbourhood policy (ENP) aims to make the countries to the EU's east and south more stable and prosperous. It does so by offering aid, market access and co-operation on various policies. The ENP budget pays for projects to strengthen border controls; upgrade facilities for refugees; and fight illegal immigration and people trafficking in partner countries. For example, EU experts train authorities in the management of migratory flows, including refugees. The EU wants to deepen co-operation under the ENP by negotiating. The EU expects ENP countries to co-operate more on migration issues and improve refugee facilities at home.

In 2008, the UK became the first European country to introduce a 'points-based' system. Under the new system, the UK will allocate work visas depending on the skills and qualifications that are lacking in its labour market. Those accumulating the highest points will not even require a job offer to secure a visa. Some economists have criticised points systems as ineffective and bureaucratic. Nevertheless, advocates argue such schemes are a much more sophisticated method than quotas. In addition, the UK's planned 'e-borders programme' – a system for monitoring air, sea and rail travellers to and from Britain – will require formal passport checks to be introduced between Ireland and the UK as of 2009.

In 2008, EU immigration services are due to start using a new biometric database called the Visa Information System (VIS). The database will centrally store records of all Schengen visas issued by European consulates, making it possible to cross-check such information automatically for the first time. The EU countries not in the Schengen area – like Ireland and the UK – will not have full access to VIS, but will be able to check its records to deal with illegal immigration and process asylum applications, if need be. Britain now behaves more carefully and selectively towards immigrants and implements the "zero tolerance" policy. In other words, it is multi-dimensionally examined whether the immigrants really meet the conditions of being asylum-seekers.

On November 06, 2011, immigration into Britain was evaluated in the programme "Sunday Morning Live" presented by Susanna Reid on BBC TV1. During this programme, the question "Is Britain Full Up" was presented to be voted on by the public. The rate of "yes" responses was over 90%. However, there were also views that positively approached external migrations. While new immigrants rejected the restrictions on immigration, those people whose families immigrated a long time ago supported the legal restrictions. The questioning was performed simply through "yes" and "no" responses and no detailed statistical analysis of it was provided. However during the programme, it emerge that reasons given in favour of immigrants stated that due to the good education immigrants receive they contributed to the social life and that Britain had further land capacity to receive immigration. Negatively, it was expressed that immigrants tended to have many children and with the increase in population, the concern about how to meet the new housing requirements and connected local service demands was particularly expressed by the guests of immigrant origin who had become British citizens.

Briefly, it is possible to state that public administration has also started to examine the increasing immigration into the country through the public medium by presenting it to be evaluated by the general public.

From Theory to Practice

Many institutions and organizations in the United Kingdom were founded to help the immigrants from Turkey^{iv}. Some call for increased levels of cooperation and coordination among relief agencies, whereas others point to gaps in international legislation.

Generally, the NGO's are interested in social activities such as 'support service' associations. These services are to provide a proactive support for vulnerable Turkish Speaking women -Türkçe konuşan Kadınlar Grubu- who are at risk from domestic violence. Some of these activities are particularly directed to protecting mothers and children. Some NGO's have assumed activities specifically towards the Turkish Speaking Children. The centres for these children generate projects related to issues such as health and skills. The activities have addressed Turkish Speaking people, these services also support Kurdish and Cypriot Turks. Primarily most support is given to refugees and asylum-seekers. Religious organizations such as churches and mosques also carry out social and educational activities besides the activities of their own organizations. During the interviews, it was remarkable that the churches also helped with the administrative affairs and that consultancy services were provided.

There are also associations that work on educational, commercial and social issues and that conduct various activities to ensure visibility in public life. The associations predominantly maintain their activities in the London area where Turks are concentrated.

Educational activities,^v first launched in 1965 as the Ataturk Schools, were developed as the number of Turkish schools increased (http://www.meblem.org.uk/turk_okullari.php access: 22.10.2011). Established to teach Turkish to the children of the immigrants of Turkish origin, these schools are supported in principle by the UK (Guler, 2011). On the one hand these schools contribute to the socio-cultural development of students, but on the other, they provide a meeting place for their families. Participation in the activities of these schools, which provide weekend or supplementary classes (<http://www.continyou.org.uk/> access: 19.10.2011) depends completely on the wishes of families. Furthermore, to meet the costs, a price ranging from 85 to 150 pounds is demanded from the guardians for contribution to the annual expenditures. The courses to teach the Turkish language are conducted within a programme both at the weekend schools and the UK schools.

However, due to implied economic reasons, either the hours of the courses officially provided at the UK schools are reduced or they are abolished. The choice in offering these courses seems to depend on the school directors themselves who may be influenced by a situation where voluntary weekend schools are prepared to conduct similar courses. While this preference more easily adopts students' education on weekdays, it is criticised as not wanting to open new educational activities on weekends and as it cuts or reduces the financial aid^{vi}. "Oakthorpe Turkish School" is one of the rare examples of a school which carries on its education programme on weekdays. Established in 1997, the school - as do the other schools - conducts music and folk dance classes in addition to Turkish literacy^{vii}. Although it is stated that the educational activities for the children of Turkish origin are successful, there is a common doubt concerning the absence of reliability of the statistics on the number of students that are educated each year.

These voluntary based activities are doubtlessly for the future but they are worth mentioning since they are a significant step towards the provision and enhancement of the visibility of educated individuals of Turkish origin in public life in the United Kingdom. When considered as a whole, these activities undoubtedly provide an opportunity in the United Kingdom for the encouragement of the capacities of students which in turn can increase their quality of life^{viii}. Nevertheless, despite the efforts by the parents of the children of families that are now UK citizens, in other words the young British citizens, for them to be better educated, "the school directors" have brought in a "commercial" dimension to these educational activities towards students through the practice of providing a place "in return for rent". However, this trend causes the British citizens of Turkish origin to feel like "strangers". It would there for be appropriate for the UK Government to announced the inclusion of these stated activities in supplementary education as part of education policy of the State, without leaving them to the discretion of individual school directors.

It is worth mentioning the Federation of Turkish Associations which was the status given in 2002 to the associations within the organization that was established in the 1950s and was -the first association to acquire in the UK.

(http://www.turkishfederationuk.org/tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=30 access:23 September 2011). In the last 30 years, associations with various names have been established to provide communication within the communities. The website of the Federation has been quite well-organized. According to the information on the website, the number of members of the Federation is 16 as of 2011. The goals and aims of the Federation can be summarized as follows: to gather the Turks residing in England and reinforce their unity and solidarity; to help them adapt to the social life in the country, where they live, without losing their own culture and traditions; to support Turks in the problems they encounter and try to find a solution to the issues that concern the benefit of our society; to fuse the Turkish and English societies within the framework of friendship and reinforce the existing friendship; and to promote and explain the Turkish culture and history. Information on 30 associations which function in and around London is available on the website of the Federation.

The nongovernmental organizations within the federation are as follows: the Federation of Turkish Associations in UK: the Ataturk Society, the Anatolian Cultural Centre, the Association of Turkish Women in Britain, the Union of Turkish Teachers in the UK, the Association of Turkish People in the UK, the Mustafa Kemal

Association UK, the Turkish Religious Foundation UK, the UK Turkish-Islamic Cultural Centre Trust, the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association –UK, the Pekunluler Turkish Cultural Association UK, the Turkish Elder's Club, the Turkish-British Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Turkish Bankers Association UK, the Textile Industry Development Association, the Turkish Forum UK Trust and the Young Turks Club.

The common issues in the views that emerged from the interviews are as follows: Firstly The United Kingdom attaches importance to education believing the irrefutable fact that “an uneducated society is destined to disintegrate”. Therefore, for the education of children, education support is available for everyone who lives and settles in its territories. The process of becoming a citizen had developed quite easily up until the 1990s. The education of the Turkish immigrants was considered high in the 1980s. Today most of the asylum-seekers come from the rural and undeveloped areas of Turkey and accordingly they only have had the basic primary education.

Regardless of the field of activity, the federation carries on its programmes from a broad perspective focusing on the development of relations between the United Kingdom and Turkey basically relating to the Turks who came as immigrants and become a settled. These activities also encompass cases such as the development of the representation of the Turkish community in public life and the prevention of cases likely to be developed against the Turkish community in a political sense^{ix}.

Further, the associations and foundations, the elderly, teachers, and lawyers within the federation carry on their group activities in accordance with their own established goals. Importance here is given to ensuring unity of power. When these activities are considered as a whole, it is seen that importance is attached to the freedom of thought (with the practice of Hyde Parks speakers), that formation and development of opinions are supported by means of various organizations and that people are partially granted political rights in the United Kingdom, although they are not citizens. For instance, they cannot vote but can join the associations and express their opinions.

The most important issue regarding the transformation of trade union activities is that the trade unions considerably lost their “political” impacts in the process after administratively preventing - with legal regulations - the labourers' continuously being dragged into strike by the trade union representatives without asking them in the period of Margareth Thatcher in the 1980s. Furthermore, it is generally known that in the United Kingdom, the State decision makers respect the right of workers.

Another essential matter is phenomenon of whether the State's solve the problem in time has created “political alienation”. During the interviews, it was generally stated that the initial approach of the United Kingdom with its traditional strategy-oriented government method of settling the problems step by step (1215 Magna Carta Libertatum) drew the nongovernmental organizations away from action and made them “idea production”oriented^x.

Religious Institutions

It can be noted that in the UK unlike Turkey, mosques come into the category of NGO and fill a social role as well as a religious one. In addition, they are the first addresses to which the Turkish society applies for funeral affairs. Moreover, in the marriage procedures, a certificate of a marriage ceremony carried out in the mosque is accepted by the municipality. While the religious functions of mosques are fulfilled by official people (the imams), social aid is organized by voluntary people not only in the United Kingdom but also for Turkey in times of natural disasters like earthquakes^{xi}. Costs are met by volunteer's aid.

Turkish Religious Foundation of the United Kingdom in London

Institutions with religious purposes have been structured as nongovernmental organizations. Especially the activities of the Religious Foundation which benefit the society are similar to those of other nongovernmental organizations. The foundation does not have any authority or control over the other associations and/or foundations established with religious purposes. The basic function of the nongovernmental organisations in the United Kingdom is to ensure that immigrants from Turkey contribute both to the welfare of the United Kingdom and to themselves^{xii}. Therefore, the activities are for facilitating the fulfilment of religious beliefs.

The nongovernmental organizations are meeting points, where those people who live in the United Kingdom but came from Turkey and settled, meet and communicate where activities are carried out to develop the quality of life standards. At the writing stage of this study, a meeting was carried out that was entitled “Education Workshop of the Turkish Society in the UK” and held by several institutions altogether at the Yunus Emre Cultural Centre on 15-16 October 2011 in London. The topics of the meeting concentrated on issues such as “the development of Turkish education, improvement of the negative socio-economic conditions, cultural clashes and discrimination”. Its aim was to help to develop the education and quality of life of the families and their children who became British citizens living here and to facilitate their visibility in public life in the United Kingdom and their taking part in political and administrative structuring.

Concept of Foreigner and Legislation Concerning Foreigners in Turkey

Comparing the position of foreign immigrants in Turkey, Turkish Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No. 4817, dated 2003, defines a **foreigner** as “one who is not regarded as a Turkish national in accordance with the Law on Turkish Citizenship No. 403, dated 1964”. This definition is in connection with the legal status of the Turkish Citizen. In fact, Law No. 403 does not define a foreigner but the cases of becoming a Turkish citizen or renouncing citizenship. There are many legal regulations connected to foreigners, such as the 1982 Constitutional Law, the Village Law No. 442, dated 1924, the Law on Military Forbidden Zones No. 2565, dated 1981, the Reprisal Law No. 1062, dated 1927, the Municipality Law No. 5393, dated 2005, the Law on the Right to Access Information No. 4982, dated 2003, the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No. 4817, and the Land Registry Act No. 2644, dated 1934.

The term “**Settled Foreigner**” is important in the issue of whether a residence permit is granted or not under the implementations of the Department for Foreigners, and the length of time for which it is granted. The outcome for a Settled Foreigner is determined by the results of research carried out on that individual. For instance, a longer-term residence permit is granted to the following: foreigners, who have entered the country, settled mainly in the holiday regions and purchased permanent estate in these regions and who are living in Turkey on the condition that they are treated as “foreigners having residence for a specified period of time”. Turkey’s Asylum and Refugee policy depends on the Geneva Convention (1951). The Geneva Convention is the most prominent characteristic of the country’s migration and asylum profile. Turkey was one of the drafters of the 1951 Geneva Convention and signed it with restrictions as regards both time and geographical limitations (the Geneva Convention, article B(I-a)). In 1967, when the Additional Protocol was accepted, Turkey agreed to lift the time limitation, but not the geographical limitation. According to this restriction, Turkey only accepts those with Turkish origin and immigrants from Europe as refugees and asylum-seekers.

In the past Turkey was both a sending country and a transit country among European and Asian countries in terms of migration but it has now become a receiving country. This development and change necessitates bringing forward and revising the concept of foreigner. On the one hand Turkey hosts European-origin population movements with touristic or settlement purposes, but on the other, it is in a position to be a country of origin where groups, who are not Turkish citizens but have historical and cultural ties and therefore who can be defined as ‘groups of Turkish origin’, arrive. Actually, it is a known fact that foreigners of Turkish origin return to Turkey from time to time particularly from the Balkan countries. Furthermore, there are also foreigners of Turkish origin from European Union countries who want to live their retirement under more comfortable conditions. However, whether the fact of immigration of foreigners of Turkish origin is a population movement from industrialized-developed countries or whether it is simply a desire to live in Turkey will be studied. In the provisions of ‘Turkish Citizenship Law’ No. 403, dated 1964, ‘being of Turkish origin’ has been designated as a separate provision (403, art. 7) among the conditions laid down for the admission of foreigners to Turkish Citizenship by the decision of the Council of Ministers.

The possibilities for foreigners to work in Turkey were extended upon the repealing of the Law on the Arts and Services Appropriated to the Turkish Citizens in Turkey No. 2007, dated 11.06.1932. By law a foreigner’s ability to work in Turkey was bound by the condition of obtaining a “work permit” and the types and conditions of work permits were organized within this scope. The period prior to ‘Law on the Work Permits of Foreigners’ No. 4817, dated 2003, completely closed the work entitlement of foreigners, while Law No. 4817 – even though it generally closed the strategic and public service business market to foreigners – opened opportunities for them in the education and business sectors within the framework of the laws of harmonization with the European Union, although still depending on obtaining the acquisition of a permit.

Nevertheless, as the regulation about working life is not confined only to Law No. 4817 and as provisions that eliminate the working of foreigners in many laws in force continue, foreigners have generally been directed to work within the private sector in Turkey. However, Foreigners of Turkish Origin have the same rights, as Turkish citizens in working life, provided that they meet the requirements, stated above. Nevertheless, like other foreigners do not have any “political rights”. Even if they are not Turkish citizens, foreigners of Turkish origin are at an advantage compared to other foreigners.

According to the Law on Associations No. 5253, dated 2004, “Foreign associations can carry out activities or cooperate with local ones, open an agency or a branch, establish an association or a higher institution or join an established association or higher institution in Turkey, with the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the condition that the opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is obtained.” (5253, art. 5) When a significant number of immigrants into Turkey from Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq failed to legally enter the Labour Market, they illegally entered the unrecorded economy with low wages even if they constituted quality workforce. This further complicated the problem of unemployment in Turkey. The regulations about the working life of foreigners largely relate to the prevention of foreign illegal workmanship and to the studies of harmonization with the EU.

As a consequence, Turkey is a country of emigration, immigration and transit. According to the statistics of the UNHCR (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) in July 2009, 17,593 people were waiting for their application to be finalised in Turkey either as recognised refugees (to be resettled in a third country) or as applicants for asylum (UNHCR, 2009). In 2008, 12,981 new applications were made to the office in a year, representing a 70 per cent increase as compared to the previous year (UNHCR, 2009). Moreover, the number of refugees who were sent to a third country in 2008 was only 3,832. In 2009, 25.5 million foreigners arrived in Turkey, more than twice the number in 2000 and eleven times the number in 1990 (Soykan, 2010).

According to the statistics, the number of asylum-seekers was about 9,230 in 2010 (UNCHR, 2010). Finally, all these groups need help and supportive services in Turkey while waiting for their acceptance from European Countries and the USA. Since becoming a country of immigration and transit migration, Turkey has also become a multi-cultural country. Turkey has been confronted with three main phenomena, i.e. the perception of a temporary transit migration under the legal control (it sometimes takes longer than 4 to 5 years), long-term foreigner settlement activities (generally from 6 months to over 10 years) (Karaman T, 2008) and illegal migration. Finally, the largest numbers of entries continue to come from the EU member countries as well as from Russia and Asia. Tourism is the major force behind Europeans who first come to Turkey. Considering the combined effects of this age profile and their decision to take up long-term settlement, the mobility of a retired settled foreign population, which we may also call ‘*Final Destination Tourism*’ (Karaman T, 2012). or “Last Stop Destination Tourism” is closely connected to the quality indicators of urban life standards.

In Turkey, the number of foreigners with a residence permit, which was shown to be 163,018 in mid 2005, increased to 202,085 by March 1, 2007. According to official data, foreigners mostly settled in Istanbul (106,156), Bursa (16,772) and Antalya (13,832). It has been found that of this figure, 93,724 people were those foreigners of European origin and had arrived from European Union countries. In Antalya, according to police records, the number of foreigners with a valid residence permit was 22,322 as of February 2009, with the top ten countries of origin being the Russian Federation (3,785), Germany (3,679), Kazakhstan (2,834), Azerbaijan (1,450), the Ukraine (1,343), Denmark (1,204), England (1,018), Kyrgyzstan (982), Uzbekistan (553) and Norway (512).

According to the above-mentioned figures, Russia ranks first with the greatest number of residents with residence permits as of 2009. In other words, the district of Antalya particularly attracts Russian tourists. Some of them have adopted a settled life. The Russian profile is remarkable in displaying a young population along with economic weakness. Because foreigners’ participation in work opportunities is bound by strict rules, their activity in the unrecorded economy stands out. The whole problem is not entirely due to settled foreigners. On the website of the Department for Foreigners at the Department of Security in Antalya where it shares information, it was stated in 2008 that a total of 12,846 people of foreign origin had been granted a Residence Permit for various reasons, whereas, although not elaborated on, information was also provided on the fact that a total of 1,013 people of foreign origin committed a crime during that period and that the required legal procedures were carried out accordingly (http://bilgiedinme.antalya.pol.tr/index.php?Itemid=51&id=787&option=com_content&task=view, access:15 March 2009).

The “black network”, which seems to occur only as a result of short-term touristic entries, is not easy to monitor. However, Russian tourists are not fully independent of the content of this study. Consequently, they negatively affect the moral evaluations of Russian tourists in particular by the local public.

Evaluations

The Convention of the Council of Europe on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level is based on the idea that foreign settlers - with their human characteristics - constitute significant potential that might contribute to the development of local politics as social capital. In this study, the international migration movements were examined in connection with the philosophy concerned. The author is of the opinion that on the condition that strategic planning of the international migrations is made, they are not a threat, but “an opportunity” through the labour and brain power likely to be provided to local authorities. Nevertheless, it does not seem easy to accept the predictions that immigrating foreigners will fully enjoy the rights of citizens. There is a understandable hesitation at the expectation that this might create competition between the newly immigrated foreigners and the settled citizens. Public opinion also expects that foreigners cannot be regarded exactly like citizens. This phenomenon reinforces the States’ approach to “the priority of citizens” in classical state administration. Maybe therefore, gated communities are gradually increasing and academics discuss those foreign settlers who are distanced from society in a socio-cultural aspect.

Even though the degrees of implementation instruments that ensure foreigners’ visibility in social life vary, they are slowly developing in favour of them. Likewise, the general shortness of the periods of conversion to citizenship in the UK and the displeasure felt in terms of influencing politicians that is based on immigrants’ becoming able to vote in short periods like 5 years are continually maintaining their significance on the political agenda. Activities for expressing opinions, working in nongovernmental organizations and sharing social responsibilities should be open to everyone who resides provided that they do not create any barriers to the sustainability of the state. The UK is one of the countries that provide these stated democratic life opportunities. However, the preference of not allowing foreigners to use the political rights maintains its significance. Likewise, although the UK delays the process of entry into force of “the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level”, it “gives hope” in that it took the first steps by putting the signature indicating that it adopted this convention and entered into the preparatory process. Nevertheless, it is also possible to think that the UK will take pains not to open all areas to the use of “foreigners” besides the processes of citizen and EU citizenship. Especially the strategic issue areas and the phenomenon of security facilitate orientation to the preference concerned.

While rules for foreigners are common to all groups, it is also necessary to consider the characteristics of the foreigners’ different profiles. This issue is also significant when considering that the incoming foreign residents have a value as “foreign social capital”. Likewise, the development of separate rules and strategies for retirees, students and tourists is gradually becoming important in the network of global relations. Public administrators now have to understand that these problems cannot be solved through using a single regulation tool for all foreign groups within the legislation for “foreigners”. As seen from the official reports and accessible research, in practice, the United Kingdom prefers not to include foreigners in political public life with respect to the use of “the rights to vote and to stand for elections”. It accepts immigrants for citizenship when they meet the required conditions “although it makes naturalisation difficult” and paves the way for enjoying the rights of citizens only after one has become a citizen. However, it attaches importance to the education of immigrants and children and displays “the British hospitality” by providing them with access to social and economic rights. Likewise, immigration takes place from Turkey into Britain with ‘refugee and asylum-seeker’ statuses. Most of such immigrants became ‘British citizens’.

During the in-depth interviews with the immigrants who had obtained citizenship through seeking asylum stated that “they had had no chance other than applying as refugees” in order to acquire British citizenship. These people will now naturally live and work for Britain for the rest of their lives. An essential result of this study is that the interviewees - regardless of whether they had arrived with a refugee status or for reasons such as education, health, tourism, etc. and converted to UK citizenship in time - stated that the UK citizenship is preferred since rights to foreigners are granted in exactly the same way as to citizens. The provision of relatively better economic conditions as compared to those in Turkey might also be significant in this preference.

When considered in terms of the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life, the researcher is of the opinion that the United Kingdom is unlikely to reach the stage of signature and acceptance in the near future. Furthermore, the author believes that it will not sign even by expressing reservations, e.g. granting the right to vote and granting the right to stand for elections. This results from the understanding that the reservations will finally be eliminated from the conventions of the Council. Clearly citizens (both in the United Kingdom and Turkey) generally do not welcome the idea of foreigners in strategic positions, thereby strengthening the opinion of the State. When the visibility of foreigners in public life is examined in terms of Turkey, the employment of foreigners in public services is impossible. They can play a role only in the private sector in economic life. Neither has the labour market being opened to foreign students. However, the issue of entry into working life has been extended to include “foreigners of Turkish origin”. Foreigners do not have any political rights (i.e. the right to vote). Nevertheless, their freedom of expression, establishment of associations and working in associations were improved as of 2004, as stated above. Actually, this democratic development was also provided for Turkish citizens.

In Turkey, there are few studies on the evaluation of public opinion of foreign settlers from the perspective of either foreigners or local people. Public Administration lacks comprehensive and integrated strategic action plans as well as an elaborative strategy for administrative, educational, health and social services for foreign residents. Turkish legislation is, in fact, of a single type and focuses on what the “foreigners” should not do within the borders of the country. Nongovernmental activities for their participatory roles are the only ones currently being developed. Except for the migrations of people for political reasons or who fear death in their homelands, migration is motivated by a desire for better economic conditions - in accordance with legal rules and the consent of both themselves and the country’s government. This can also increase competition among the citizens of the target country. It is important that these migration movements do not “ruin the life of the target country” by turning the life of people in the destination country into a “nightmare”, although in a sense they may be creating social and economic relief in the country of origin.

Immigrants into Turkey with a tourist status often due to the economic problems in their home countries, like those into the United Kingdom, subsequently become settled. Recently, such arrivals both from neighbouring countries and other parts of Europe have gradually increased. In particular there has been a flow of migration to Antalya from Russia and Asian countries of people seeking a life parallel to their routine life in the city rather than seaside recreation. Since there is a general rule that no tourists are legally allowed to work, this leads to unrecorded economic activities. This unethical situation, which is difficult to take under control, changes and constantly changes according to the incoming groups and negatively affects urban security. This activity is not confined to summer months. The scope of this paper does not include the security elements of migration. Nevertheless, it is equally important to assess the possible negative impacts of migrants as well as the positive impacts from a scientific standpoint.

With regard to Turkey the opinion of the researcher within the framework of these discussions is that Turkey should not sign the convention concerned without evaluating the studies of countries which have previously experienced migrations such as the UK and without making its own social-cultural and economic evaluations. Practising deliberative democracy is important and sharing responsibilities should be expected from both the media and opinion leaders in the other sectors. Besides, strategies should be developed by only with a scientific approach.

The use of the right to vote on the condition that one resides in that country perhaps underlies this convention. In addition, another crucial point is the matter of whether those who vote although they are settled in a foreign country or those with a dual citizen status but not being settled in Turkey can be as sensitive as those who reside in Turkey when voting for the future of the Country. Likewise they must ensure that they will not suffer punishment as the citizens of the country where they are settled .

The question remains of “how sensitive” a foreigner settled in Turkey and with the right to vote there can be regarding decisions for the future of the country. Likewise a citizen with dual status may not be objective when casting a vote in the country in which he does not reside. This subject should be open to debate.

References

- Boswell, C. (2008) UK Labour Migration Policy: Permanent Revolution?, CESPI Country Papers. pp. 4, 5 ; 11-13
2 Cited
- Brady, H. (2008) EU Migration Policy: An A-Z, London, pp.7, 13 16 Cited
- Browne, A. (2004) [WWW document] URL <http://www.civitas.org.uk/pdf/BrowneEconomicsImmigration.pdf>
(accessed on 13 September 2011)
- Council of Europe (2004) Foreigners' Integration and Participation in European Cities, 15-16 September 2003, Studies and texts no: 90, Council of Europe Publishing Strasbourg, pp.26
- Enneli, P. and Modood (2009) Young Turkish-speaking People in UK: Early Employment Experiences and Dependency on Ethnic Enclave, *Turks In Europe*, (edit) Talip Küçükcan & Veyis Güngör, Amsterdam, pp.189
- Guler, H. (2011) A Case study on Turkish Speaking Communities (TSC) in order to explore how teachers and parents contributing to the TSC Students' educational progress in secondary school settings? EDU 3994- Dissertation Middlesex University.
- Hatton, T. J. (2005) Explaining trends in UK immigration, Springer-Verlag, pp.5, 18-1955 Cited
- Karaman, Zerrin. T. (2008) Willingness of Foreign Retired Residents to Participate in Local Public Life and Strategic Approaches to Relationship Networks Within the Local Community; Example of Antalya, *Turkey European Journal of Economic and Political Studies (EJEPS)*, 1(2), Ankara. pp 24-64 1 Cited
- Karaman, Zerrin. T. (2012) An Empirical Study Of The Effects Of Social And Cultural Differences Of Foreign Retired Residents On Local Citizens Around Antalya Area Of Turkey", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 3 No. 1; pp. 206-216,
- Küçükcan, T. (2009) Turks in Britain: Religion and Identity, *Turks In Europe*, (edit) Talip Küçükcan & Veyis Güngör, Amsterdam, pp.86-87 1 Cited
- Lower, M. (2010) Employee Participation in Governance-A Legal and Ethical Analysis, Cambridge, UK, pp. 145, 146
- Michael, M. and F. Petite (2009) Civilizational Dialogue and World Order: The Other Politics of Culture, Religions, And Civilizations in International Relations, New York, pp.s29
- Soykan, C. (2010) The migration-asylum nexus in Turkey, *ENQUIRE*, Issue 5, June 2010, Department of Sociology, University of Essex, pp.4-5
- UNHCR (2010) Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010, *Division of Programme Support and Management Statistical overview of asylum applications lodged in Europe and selected non-European countries*, 28 March 2011, The UN Refugee Agency, pp.8-9, 15
URL <http://conventions.coe.int/> (accessed on 18 September 2011)
URL <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=144&CL=ENG> (accessed on 18 September 2011) URL
http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/UKgovernment/Politicalpartiesandelections/DG_073243 (accessed on 03 October 2011)
- URL <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/britishcitizenship> (accessed on 22 September 2011)
- URL http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/41/pdfs/ukpga_20020041_en.pdf (accessed on 11 September 2011)
- URL <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2011/apr2011/came-a19.shtml> (accessed on 13 September 2011)
- URL http://www.turkishfederationuk.org/tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=30
(accessed on 23 September 2011)
- URL http://bilgiedinme.antalya.pol.tr/index.php?Itemid=51&id=787&option=com_content&task=view (accessed on 15 March 2009)
- URL <http://www.continyou.org.uk/> (access on: 19.10.2011)
- URL http://www.meblem.org.uk/turk_okullari.php (accessed on 22.10.2011)

Notes

ⁱ **Who can vote:** in local government elections, citizens registered to vote; a British citizen living in the UK, a Commonwealth citizen living in the UK, a citizen of the Irish Republic living in the UK, a European Union citizen living in the UK, a person registered to vote as a Crown Servant, a person registered to vote as a service voter, a British citizen living abroad and registered as an overseas voter

ⁱⁱ Candidate: Section 81 and 82 Representation of the People Act 1983(PPA), Local Government Returns (Section 81(1), RPA), Parish and Community Council Election Returns (Schedule 4, Paragraph 3,RPA)

ⁱⁱⁱ Ziya Aksahin (interview: 29.09.2011) and Halil Cakir (30.09.2011) interviews.

^{iv} The people acting as directors of the associations in the Federation's list of members were asked – via their e-mail addresses – for their evaluations of their activities and of the visibility of Turks in public life in England. Responses were obtained only from the directors of the federation and from the influential opinion leaders in the Turkish community. The tasks and names of these people have been indicated in the footnote. The websites of those who had not responded were examined and it was seen that some of the website were not updated and others had no websites. This might also be related to the irregularity of the activities.

Furthermore, some 4 UK high-level representatives, namely Mr.Keith Whitmore (member), Mr. Nigel Mermagen (Councilor), Mr. Amrit Mediratta (Lord Mayor) and Mr. John Warmisham (Councilor) at the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, were asked - by means of e-mails sent to their official communication addresses on the website of the Council – about the activities of the United Kingdom and the issues mentioned in the Convention on the Visibility of Foreigners in Public Life; however, no response could be received.

^v Turker Cakici (October 23, 2011) Director

^{vi} Esref Yilmaz (interview on October 20, 2011), senior educator and the evaluations of the First Education Workshop of the Turkish Society in the UK on October 15-16, 2011

^{vii} Ulku Demirel (interview on October 21, 2011) school director

^{viii} It is observed that some newly established schools do not get any fee from the parents and attract students in this way. It should be carefully observed how these institutions, which are particularly structured for groups of 3 to 5 students throughout the Country, can maintain their existence despite high costs and whether they are “an opportunity” in terms of the future of Turkey.

^{ix} Ziya Aksahin (interview: 29.09.2011), the Federation of European-Turkish Businessmen Association; the Turkish-British Chamber of Commerce, ‘vice chairman’ and Director of Industry; the International Trading House-Elbagate Ltd President, of the Federation, founding member or member of many associations

^x Halil Cakir (30.09.2011); the Association of Turkish People in UK; and Ziya Aksahin (29.09.2011) interviews.

^{xi} Arif Bak (interview: 29 September 2011) in the administration of Ramazan-i Serif Mosque

^{xii} Prof.Dr. Seyfettin Ersahin (interview: 4 October 2011) the Adviser of Religious Services in London, the Embassy in London.