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THE SITUATION OF TURKISH PEOPLE LIVING IN GERMANY IN TERMS OF CRIMMIGRATION

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THE SITUATION OF TURKISH PEOPLE LIVING IN GERMANY IN TERMS OF CRIMMIGRATION

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

THE SITUATION OF TURKISH PEOPLE LIVING IN GERMANY IN TERMS OF CRIMMIGRATION

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Migration, which has existed since the first years of human history, partially or completely changes the lives of many people, enabling them to live a different life. This situation has benefits and harms for both the immigrant and the host country. One of the harms that should be focused on most is undoubtedly the fact that immigrants may commit rimes and affect the people of the country they visit. The deepest dimension of the concept of crimmigration is the effects of this concept and whether the harms caused by immigrants outweigh the benefits they bring. This study was conducted to reveal how much Turkish immigrants living in Germany affect the general crime rates and the debate will focus on whether the culprit for crime rates is the lack of integration among Turks or the attitude of Germans towards immigrants. While preparing the thesis, research was conducted on the concepts of immigration and crime, and the current situation of Turks in Germany and the situation of Turks who went to Germany not only as immigrants but also as refugees in recent years were taken into consideration. It was conducted with 18 Turkish immigrants living in Germany using semi-structured interviews as the method. In order to reveal the context between immigration and crime, Turkish immigrants were asked questions about Germany and analysis was made taking into account their opinions. The study was

concluded by forming an opinion and insight about the responsible party regarding immigration and crime.

Keywords: Migration, crime, criminal migration, Turks in Germany, integration, assimilation

ÖZET

ALMANYA'DA YAŞAYAN TÜRK GÖÇMENLERİN GÖÇ VE SUÇ BAKIMINDAN DURUMU

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Master of Science, Göç Çalışmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Şebnem Akipek Öcal

Haziran, 2024

İnsanlık tarihinin ilk yıllarından itibaren var olan göç pek çok kişinin yaşamını kısmen ya da tamamen değiştirerek onların farklı bir hayat elde etmesini sağlar. Hem göçmen hem de göçmeni sahiplenen ülke için bu durumun hem faydaları hem de zararları mevcuttur. Bu zararlardan en çok odaklanılması gerekenlerden biri kuşkusuz göçmenlerin suç işlemeye eğilimli olabilmesi ve bu nedenle gittikleri ülkenin halkını etkilemeleridir. "Crimmigration" kavramının en derin boyutu, bu kavramın oluşturduğu etkiler ve göçmenlerin oluşturduğu suçların neden kaynaklandığıdır. Bu çalışma, Almanya'da yaşayan Türk göçmenler üzerinden göçmenlerin genel suç oranlarına ne kadar etki ettiklerini, suçun nedenlerini ve bu durumun sorumlularının kim olduğunu ortaya çıkarmak için yapılmıştır. Tez hazırlanırken, göç ve suç kavramları ile ilgili araştırmalar yapılmış, Türklerin Almanya'daki güncel durumu ve son yıllarda sadece göçmen olarak değil, sığınmacı olarak da Almanya'ya giden

Türkler’in durumu da göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Metot olarak yapılandırılmamış görüşme tercih edilerek Almanya’da yaşayan 18 Türk göçmenle özel olarak anket yapılmıştır. Göç ve suç arasındaki bağlamı ortaya koymak için, Türk göçmenlere Almanya hakkında sorular sorulmuş ve onların görüşleri dikkate alınarak analiz yapılmıştır. Çalışma göç ve suç konusunda sorumlu olan tarafın kim olduğuna dair bir görüş oluşturularak sonuçlandırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, suç, kriminal göç, Almanya’da Türkler, entegrasyon, asimilasyon

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To my family, who have been by my side throughout this journey and supported me from the very beginning, especially my mother, who has been there for me in every stressful moment, I express my deepest gratitude.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDU/CSU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Christian Social Union
EEC	European Economic Community
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OAPEC	Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
TUIC	Turkey International Relations Works

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The concept of migration has been a longstanding and multifaceted phenomenon that has engaged the social sciences with various definitions, but fundamentally stands as the simple act of 'changing place'. In other words, the concept of migration is not only deeply rooted in ancient history but also considered the largest mobility following birth and death (Sirkeci& Cohen, 2015). Throughout history, individuals have desired or been 'forced' to migrate due to macro and micro reasons. This situation has not only affected the individuals migrating but has significantly influenced the demographic structure, existing policies, and social and economic conditions of the places they migrated to. Migration has not only facilitated the movement of individuals from one place to another but has also triggered a different migration movement to areas where the population decreased because of abandonment (Özcan, 2017). Thanks to this, migration has gained a permanent and continuous mobility. The act of migrating has been attempted to be explained with different concepts in migration literature, and as a result of various reasons caused by migration, individuals have found themselves in the pursuit of establishing a life in different places by leaving their homeland. The reason for migration varies from person to person, but the motivation to achieve 'better living conditions' in different parts of the world can encourage people to migrate. In some cases, migrating and starting a new life elsewhere can be seen as an opportunity that comes one's way.

The need for migration, as initiated within individuals, is an inevitable reality, alongside the necessity for countries to have migrants. This need may arise from limited workforce or declining population within a country. Labor migration is a type of migration that prioritizes the maximum benefit of both the migrant individual an the receiving country. Through this migration, individuals legally participate in the development of the country they migrate to, addressing labour demand according to their needs, while also improving their own financial status. This economic model, pioneered by Piore, ensures mutual benefits on an international and continuous basis. When citizens from underdeveloped and/or developing countries arrive in developed

countries, they do not encounter difficulties in receiving a satisfactory wage according to their standards, as they utilize their labour for the benefit of that country(Piore,1986). This internationalizes migration. With the theory proposed in 1979, international migration gained significance and became widespread. However, the mutual benefit varies from country to country, and not every country achieves equally satisfying results. Individuals entering host countries with a foreign identity are often perceived as belonging to a lower class, in addition to not necessarily possessing the appealing identity appreciated by the local population. Immigrants entering the country with a lower-class identity continue the continuation of unskilled professions (Gullupinar, 2012). There are numerous examples of this phenomenon.

One recent example of this is Germany, which, shortly after World War II, was estimated to take many years to recover the manpower it lost. To meet its labour needs, Germany invited people from different countries by making agreements. One of the prominent agreements in this context was the German-Turkish Employment Agreement signed between Germany and Turkey in 1961. This agreement, which is focused on Turkish workers, believing that their migration to Germany would contribute to the economic strength and development of the country (Aydın, 2016).

From the arrival of Turks to the current ongoing process, Turks have often been criticized by both Germans and the German media. These criticisms have generally influenced the lifestyle of Turks. However, despite the seemingly frustrating situation, the arrival of Turks in Germany has continued unabated over time. Turkish migrant workers who were already working in Germany have opened a different gateway to life by bringing their families along. Germany has been living with various immigrant groups for a long time and still holds the lead in Europe as the country with the highest number of immigrants.

However, although this situation may seem to have relieved Germany in terms of workforce, the presence of immigrants sometimes disturbs the German population. Germany compensates for its immigrant workforce in other ways. Because high migration leads to a cosmopolitan structure, and this structure causes more complexity. This complexity, in line with statistics, has increased the crime rates of foreigners in Germany at certain periods. (Temurçin& Gürlevik, 2018).

Considering the research conducted, the graph of the crime rates committed from 1963 to 2015 after the first migration of Turks to Germany in 1961 is expressed in numbers in Figure 1.

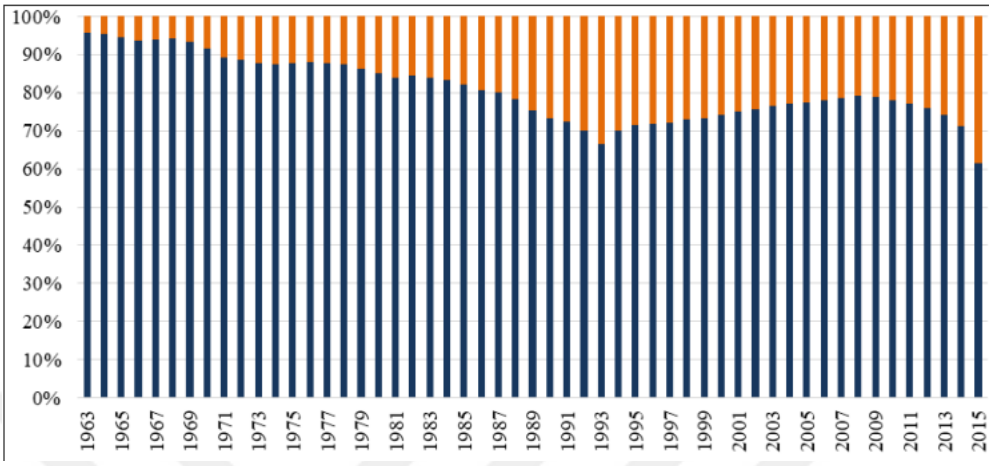


Figure 1: Distribution of crime rates in Germany according to foreigners and Germans

Crimes committed by Germans

Crime rates committed by immigrants

The graph shown in Figure 1 is taken from the publication "Geographical Description of Crime in Germany: Criminality, Immigration, and Spatiality," published by Temurçin and Gürlevik in 2018. With this graph, it is observed that the crime rates of immigrants arriving in Germany have increased from year to year.

In the study to be carried out, although the criminal rates in Germany are very important, it is also useful to draw attention to the crime rates of the target group, Turks. Figure II shows the graph showing the crime rates of Turks compared to other immigrants. This graph is again taken from the same article by Temurçin and Gürlevik. Although the findings given in the article in question were taken from the Bundeskriminalamt database in 2018, the same data is not currently available in the database. For this reason, the graphs given are taken from the article.

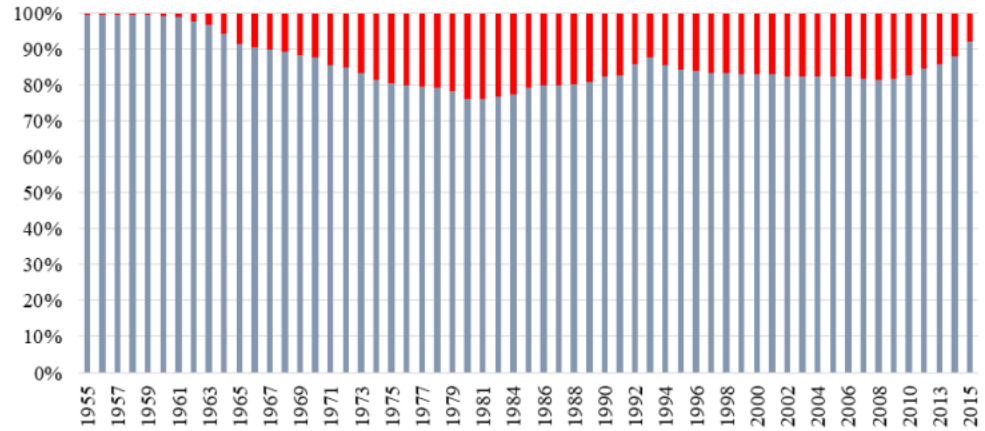


Figure 2: Crime rates of Turks and other immigrants in Germany since 1955

Crime Rates of other migrants

Crime Rates of Turkish People

This situation raises the question: How does the situation of immigrants affect the crime rate and types of crimes in the country? Although this research question has been the subject of many sources, the concept of crime rate, which is only understood by looking at the numbers in quantitative sources, depends on how evenly distributed it is in the country. Since the true reflection of these numbers is often unknown, attributing crimes occurring in the country to immigrants is not considered accurate.

While the answer to this research question has been the subject of many sources, the focus of this thesis and the research question is whether the assimilation effect of Germans on Turkish immigrants in Germany, or the inability of Turks to integrate has a more significant impact on the crimes they commit. In the first three sections, the study will first explain the theoretical concept and then address why Germany needs Turks and why Turks go to Germany and settle there. In the next section, by examining migrants who have chosen to settle in Germany, the focus will be on the position of Turks in crime incidents in Germany. In the section where the main research question will be understood, the study will conclude whether the main cause of these crime incidents in Germany is due to the German people assimilating and then marginalizing Turkish immigrants, or if it is because Turks are genuinely more prone to committing crimes.

1.THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CONCEPTS RELATED TO MIGRATION ISSUE

In this section, many important issues such as the concept of migration, which is an important dynamic in international relations, and the relationship between integration, assimilation, acculturation, migration and crime, will be discussed and how the theories emerged will be explained. The concepts of migration, integration, assimilation and acculturation will be explained in this section and interpreted according to different theorists. On the other hand, the concept of crime will be discussed and 'migrants' relations with crime' will be examined. There is one important point here which is a dilemma between immigration and migration are same or not, and what can be used for Turkish people in Germany.

1.1 Mainstream Migration Theory

Since the moment humanity first emerged, migration has been a part of humans and has caused humanity to leap forward in time. However, the concepts of migration and immigrant are terms that have different meanings both in social sciences and according to different social scientists. Migration has never been a term that emerged later. The reason for this is that animals migrated under different climatic conditions, including in the pre-human age. In the pre-human age, migration was shaped by many reasons such as glaciers, global temperature, and the orbit of solar energy, and the foundations of migration were laid by these events. However, with the first appearance of Homo-Saphiens 200,000 years ago, human history began, and, in a sense, migration began. While humanity's discovery of speech, ability to communicate and especially the formation of societies distinguishes humans from other mammals, the foundations of migration were laid not only due to climatic conditions or the search for food, but also for many other reasons, as in mammals. (Manning& Trimmer, 2020). Migration spread from the centres to the periphery, and nomadic societies changed places and left their traces everywhere. In this context, migration primarily reaches from Africa to Europe, to the East, to America and Australia, and there is no land left unexplored in the world. Especially in the Middle Ages, the regions that different nations unknowingly

discovered with the aim of achieving wealth caused migration to those regions, and while the world population increased, the resulting land masses made migration permanent(Livi- Bacci, 2018).

The concept of migration has long been a subject of debate and has been subject to distinctions based on different perspectives. It is incorrect to approach migration from a single standpoint because migration, which encompasses various elements, can occur both in the long and short term, within national borders or beyond. It can arise from economic reasons as well as discretionary desires. Despite the variations in these conditions, migration, with its ultimate purpose being 'movement,' occurs for different reasons and results.

In the literature of international relations, migration theories are divided into two main groups: permanent migration and temporary migration. They further branch out based on their causes and consequences. One of the most prevalent theories among these migration theories is the Neoclassical Macro Migration Theory. This migration theory, which stands at the forefront of all theories, emerges from economic motives and factors and takes into account supply and demand. It emphasizes that international migrations arise from income inequality. In other words, the wage gap between capitals is the main trigger for international migration. While the macro dimension of neoclassical migration theory operates in this manner, its micro dimension focuses on individuals rather than international factors. Individuals decide to migrate based on their own calculations of profit. (Bozdağ & Atan,2009).

In addition to the neoliberal migration theory, which combines economics with migration, there is also the push-pull theory in migration literature that emphasizes the role of individuals and circumstances. According to the theory proposed by Everett Lee, factors causing migration are expressed as push factors (-), while pull factors are expressed as (+), and the intensity of pull factors plays a role in the initiation of migration movements (Vats & Bhardwaj, 2022). This theory is shaped by the conditions in the current location and the destination country.

William Petersen, while acknowledging Everett Lee's Push-Pull Theory, argues that the factors within the push-pull theory can vary. Petersen, who divides migration into different groups based on why individuals migrate, also argues that migrants'

individual perspectives and decisions are significant factors influencing the migration process (Erkan, 2021).

One theory in migration literature that brings together the interests of migrants and the receiving country on a common ground is the 'intersection of opportunities theory.' This theory, proposed by Samuel Stouffer, suggests that the proportion of migrants is similar to the opportunities available in the destination where they migrate. According to him, the job opportunities available in the destination place are all part of the intersection for individuals. Not only employment, but also factors such as marriage, shopping, contribute to migration and intersect with opportunities (Demir, 2023).

Raventshein's long-ago definition of migration has entered the literature as displacement and is an expression that expresses the mobilization of humanity (Greenwood & Hunt, 2003). This concept, which will not be limited to just changing places, has enabled the formation of cultures with the traces left behind by each migrating tribe and community. Because although migration today refers to the movement from small rural areas to big cities, it reflects the continuity of mobility in the world by enabling other communities to migrate to the root places that some have abandoned. Migration is a mobility that takes different forms. It is wrong to equate the history of 200 years ago with the reasons for migration. The different evolution of technological changes, industrial developments, individualization, wars and economic crises have also shown that migration is classified differently and that it is a movement that changes from time to time (Tilly, 1976).

As a student researching within the scope of migration theories for this thesis, I find it incorrect to classify the reasons for migration solely as individual or solely as societal, even if they stem from any micro reason. Migration is a concept with many sociological aspects, and within this concept, improving one's well-being and living conditions is one of the most important factors. However, this should not imply that a person cannot migrate for simple reasons. In my opinion, if a person cannot find contentment in their current location due to internal or external factors, migration is the most logical option. Just like Everett Lee's push-pull theory, these push and pull forces that contribute to migration, while I am not sure how sufficient they are in

explaining migration, at least provide us with a concrete basis for "why should we migrate?"

On the other hand, terms that are often confused with migration, causing difficulty in distinguishing them, are migrant, refugee, and asylum seeker. According to international law, a person referred to as a migrant is someone who moves from their own country to another for one or more reasons, even though there may be challenges in providing an international definition (Fansa,2021). A migrant can move voluntarily as well as compelled by various reasons. The International Organization for Migration classifies anyone moving as a migrant. In contrast to the broadly expressed term migrant, the concept of a refugee refers to a person who has been 'forced' to leave their country due to different reasons and cannot or does not want to return. If an individual is subjected to discrimination based on race, religion, nationality, or belongs to a specific group and is under threat in their own country, after migrating to another country, that person assumes the status of a refugee. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, the term asylum seeker refers to a person who does not wish to stay in their own country and, therefore, seeks refuge in another country until a decision is made by the relevant authority. If their asylum request is rejected, they can be deported from the country (IOM, 2011)

These three terms are generally referred to as migrants, but this situation leads to many confusions, especially as states struggle to integrate these individuals. Because each migrant migrates for different reasons, and each migrant's desire to integrate varies. Therefore, a clear distinction must be made between these labels.

1.2 Integration Related to Migration Theory

The concept of migration refers to the individual's situation before migration, and integration, which follows and is a significant term in the literature, is a term that varies over time, from country to country, and even from person to person. Integration, especially in the final stage where immigrants are on the path to citizenship, plays a significant role in the process of acquiring citizenship status. Nation-states conduct different integration efforts for refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants within their countries.

Like nation-states, migrant individuals also endeavour to integrate in order to adapt. Especially in forms of migration where permanent settlement is evident, such as due to reasons like war, or migration types like finding work in another country for someone who cannot live in their own country, the individual, by taking a step towards permanent migration, also in a way enters the process of integration. Because short-term migrations, even though they may allow the individual to partially adjust most of the time, require the person to fully adapt over time, while long-term and permanent migration movements also necessitate full-time integration. Long-term migration can begin with an integration process such as learning the language and may extend to adapting to the culture of the local population in that country. (Şimşek, 2018).

The definitions of integration have been interpreted differently by many theorists. Although the term is used in various social sciences to mean bringing pieces together, its true meaning, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary in 1620, is to 'bring parts together.' In the context of migration literature, the concept is used to soften the meaning of assimilation, to prevent discord, and to facilitate the adaptation of immigrants by not making them feel culturally alienated (Muyan, 2019) and opening the way for them to adapt (Kaya, 2014).

According to the theory of modernization, integration encompasses a process that not only targets migrants but also includes the local population. This is because in the theory of modernization, there is a definition of urban individuals. According to this definition, everyone living in the city needs to integrate with the type of modern individual (Karasu, 2016). Integration is the noun form of the verb "integrate." The concept of integration, derived from the Latin word 'integutio,' which means bringing parts together and merging them, has taken on different meanings in various branches of social sciences (Urgancı, 2014). The most common definitions are used in migration and economic literature. While the integration theory discussed in the theory of modernization is as mentioned, integration in the migration literature includes different definitions, which means individuals adapting to the host country culture without neglecting their own culture. During this process, individuals adapt to the host country, and the host country meets their needs in parallel with their adaptation (Özgüler, 2018).

Integration, although sometimes seen as a solution and a way of bringing people together, may be confused with the concept of assimilation in some cases. Likewise, in migration policies, there are thoughts such as policies aiming to make migrants forget their own countries. However, this situation is debatable, and the concept of integration, which plays a role in ensuring the mutual adaptation of migrants and their social acceptance, is like Milton Gordon's theory explaining assimilation in gradual stages. Because no migrant can adapt immediately upon arrival in the host country (Çetin, 2016). To better understand the concept of integration, it is also useful to mention assimilation because these two concepts are often confused, leading to misunderstandings.

The concept of integration entails a process. Within this process, there are different stages, as the extent to which each migrant navigates this process and achieves integration can vary due to various factors. Not every migrant can achieve the same level of integration, and not every society approaches migrants with tolerance. The concept of tolerance holds a significant place within integration, as tolerance is the first step in integrating and being integrated. When the integration process begins to be harsh and coercive rather than tolerant, it inevitably transforms integration from assimilating migrants into coercing them. Because when tolerance, which should be prioritized, is applied in a limited manner and if intense pressure is exerted, that tolerance not only alienates migrants but also destroys the established integration (İnce, 2011).

The process of integration can vary from the initial years of migration to a certain period thereafter. A migrant may learn the language of the destination country later, adapt to its rules later, but none of these factors nullifies this process. The intensity of integration for each migrant can also manifest differently. For instance, there may be differences between the integration provided by a migrant fleeing from war and entering another country through irregular means and the integration of a migrant coming to another country to improve their living conditions. Berry (2001) views integration, which involves migrants adapting, learning, and implementing mainstream cultures in their lives, primarily through social-cultural adaptation in the integration process. According to him, when migrants adapt to social and cultural behaviours, they begin to integrate(Berry, 2001).

The formation of the concept of integration is not just about the unity of nations but encompasses every aspect within society. Over the years, the 'spill over' effect increases to initiate and spread this concept, which unites different societies. With this spread, changes occur in almost every area of societies. As expressed in Haas's book "Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization," the concept of integration is found not only in societal peace and harmony but also in every aspect of society(Haas,2008). Especially, economic integration, over time, facilitates political integration within nation-states, making integration even more feasible. However, authoritarian power is essential to ensure this integration.

Describing the concept of integration with simple definitions is misleading due to its multifaceted nature, as expressed by Pennix (2003), integration involves both individual self-recognition and recognition within a group. As it signifies a process, it varies from person to person. Not only individuals but also the effects of the place where migrants move to have an impact on integration. Just as not every country can achieve integration, not every migrant can fully adapt. Integrating on the path towards citizenship holds great significance. Apart from the benefit of obtaining citizenship for the individual, migrants also play a role in establishing social order by adapting to the rules and norms of the country they migrate to(Pennix, 2003). Therefore, it can be said that the concept of integration is the most influential concept for migrants.

1.3 An Important Concept for Migration: Assimilation Theory

The concept of assimilation in migration literature is a term sometimes confused with other concepts, and it is occasionally perceived either positively or negatively. The concept of migration has been present throughout human history, but the academic consideration of assimilation is relatively recent. America, being the country that has hosted the most immigrants, was the first and most intense experimenter of assimilation. The Chicago School, formed by renowned theorists, investigated how European immigrants settling in America assimilated and documented their findings. This led to the emergence of classical assimilation theories and propelled the United States to become a leading actor in the world as a destination for immigrants. Numerous theorists have defined the concept of assimilation throughout history, with

the most common definitions attributed to theorists such as Park and Burgess(1924) Burges and Gordon. Especially Gordon (1961), in his definition of assimilation, has described assimilation as a gradual concept, indicating that assimilation occurs slowly for each of these stages. According to him, assimilation is divided into stages, and the impact of each stage becomes noticeable in society. Gordon states that assimilation begins culturally in the simplest way. Cultural assimilation is inevitable for every immigrant because when immigrants come to a different country, they are more prone to forgetting their own culture. This makes cultural assimilation, or in other words, acculturation, the first stage of assimilation. According to Gordon and later theorists like Park and Burgess, acculturation will be experienced by every immigrant. After this assimilation, structural assimilation comes into play, occurring when close relationships are established with individuals living in that region. Marriage assimilation, also known as amalgamation, results from a person from the immigrant group marrying someone from the local population(Gordon,1961). According to Gordon, after acculturation, all assimilation levels require a certain process. Identity assimilation, attitude assimilation, behavioural assimilation, and citizenship assimilation make the immigrant an integral member of the place they now live (Alba, Nee, 2003).

Table 1: Gordon's Explanation about Assimilation Theory

Subprocess or condition	Types or stages of assimilation	Special term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on primary group level	Structural	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude-receptional	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior-receptional	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic	None

On the other hand Park and Burgess defines assimilation as the 'occupation of different cultures,' adding a different perspective to the literature(Park&Burgess, 1924). Park emphasizes that personal relationships are the most crucial aspect of assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2014). In short, the process of assimilation is defined as the adaptation of immigrants from outside the community to the characteristics of the community they entered, forgetting their own cultural values. After cultural assimilation, assimilation is more widely accepted through various influences, such as marriage, political participation, and identity acquisition, and the immigrant gains approval from the society they migrated to (Erdoğan & Vatandaş, 2020). Assimilation policies, on the other hand, refer to all laws and rules that states create for immigrants coming to their countries. Countries worldwide, for centuries, have tried to assimilate immigrants, establishing their superiority over them. An example of assimilation policies that Turkey has closely witnessed is in Bulgaria. Bulgaria, attempting to assimilate populations like Macedonians and Greeks, implemented assimilation policies for Turks, trying to make Turks forget their heritage. Especially by strictly prohibiting the Turkish language, Bulgaria closed Turkish schools, disregarding all diaspora activities carried out by Turks in Bulgaria, leading to a significant assimilation. In response to this situation, Turkey allowed the return of Turks living in Bulgaria to Turkey in 1989, and the assimilation process came to an end (Demirhan, 2019).

Another example related to the assimilation subject can be provided from Germany, which is a focal point in this study. Turks living in Germany have been working there for a long time, raising different generations in Germany with a history of 60 years. However, Germany, through its migration laws, is attempting to implement policies against Turks, labelling these policies as 'integration' (Şahin, 2010). In response, Turks show various reactions to these laws, especially by demonstrating a serious attitude towards the restriction of the use of the Turkish language, indicating that they will not adopt any assimilation policy disguised as integration in response to these migration laws.

Assimilation, while holding a significant position in migration literature, is seen as a possible situation that every immigrant will encounter. It is a known fact that assimilation varies between generations. Due to various reasons, the inclination of later generations to assimilate is higher, while older generations show more attachment to their home countries. A study conducted by Birsen Şahin in 2008 explained the integration levels of Turkish immigrants in Germany through generations, revealing that the lowest loyalty belongs to the last generation through quantitative studies (Şahin,2008). However, it is impossible to explain this situation with the same data since the study was conducted in 2008. In another study conducted by Demirağ and Kakışım in 2018, the term assimilation is stated to be different for First, Second and Third-Generation Turks. The third-generation is more exposed to assimilation without being aware of it, knowing less about their roots, while first-generation Turks, even though they go to Germany to work, are more attached to their home country (Demirağ & Kakışım, 2018).

Assimilation is a concept that varies from person to person. While some immigrants are more prone to assimilation, others prefer to remain more attached to their own people, adopting a firm stance against assimilation. The assimilation policies implemented by each country manifest differently for every immigrant and/or immigrant group. It is a well-known fact that migration, one of the few phenomena that never ends, is the biggest source of mobility after birth and death. Assimilation, while being a fundamental subtopic of migration, is inevitable, as expressed by Park and Burgess and similar thoughts by Gordon.

Another theory that should be mentioned regarding assimilation is the melting pot theory. According to Gordon, through the 'biological' blending of immigrants into Anglo-Saxon society, an American structure emerges within immigrant groups. This theory has been referred to in the literature as the melting pot theory, as it involves the melting away of their own cultures. In his study, Gordon discusses how immigrants living in America attempted the assimilation method known as the "melting pot," within the framework of Anglo-Conformity, where they were required to adapt to American life and ethnicity. The reasons for the emergence of this method stem from the efforts of various immigrant groups settling in America to promote their own cultures and especially their languages, resulting in a slow acquisition of English and the emergence of different cultures within American society. This, in turn, influenced American policymakers to develop the "melting pot" method as a non-coercive yet influential approach to assimilation(Gordon, 1961)

1.4 Acculturation Theory

Migration, containing various concepts and interpreted in different ways within its literature, introduces the concept of acculturation in this section, which entered the literature later compared to concepts such as assimilation, integration, immigrant, and refugee. When there is a hierarchy between the immigrant group and the dominant group in the region, states implement assimilation and integration policies. However, if there is no hierarchy between the immigrant group and the dominant group, and these two groups are in cultural interaction with each other, this is referred to as acculturation (Uzun, 2021). Although the concept of acculturation, like integration and assimilation, is often confused, it is based on softer relationships and social inclusion. While integration and assimilation occur between immigrant and dominant groups with a hierarchy, acculturation, in contrast, occurs more gently through an exchange. An example of acculturation is when a Turkish immigrant opens a kebab shop in Germany, and the German people show demand for this kebab shop. Similarly, a Turkish migrant beginning to learn German in Germany is also one of the initial steps of acculturation. Acculturation, or also known as cultural exchange, occurs in two ways. The first is the One-Dimensional Acculturation Model. Gordon, who made significant contributions to the migration discipline, is the one who introduced the

One-Dimensional acculturation model. As mentioned in previous sections, assimilation levels progress for immigrants. One of these levels, acculturation, occurs when the immigrant loses their essence and fully adapts to the place they migrated to (Gordon, 1961, p.279). In the Two-Dimensional Acculturation, the immigrant adapts to the place they migrated to while continuing to maintain their attachment to their own culture. Berry's model, presented in contrast to Gordon's model, seems more plausible, as there is no country where every value compatible with Gordon's model is unique. To understand the concept of acculturation, it is beneficial to look at the table created by Berry in his 2005 publication "Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures." There are studies criticizing and directly refuting both theories. However, acculturation has been developed and persisted to the present day thanks to authors like Gordon and Berry(Berry,2005).

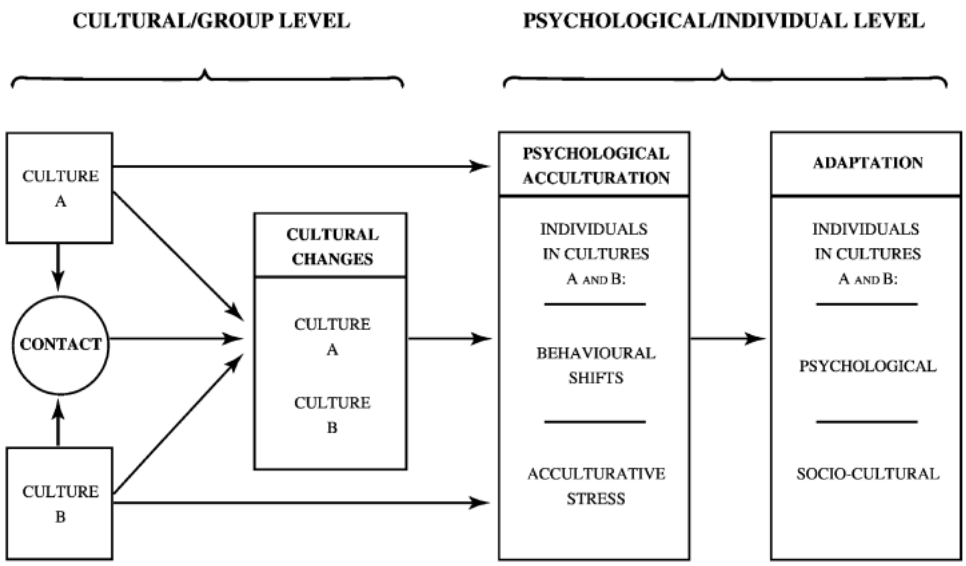


Figure 3: A general framework to understand Acculturation

When it comes to acculturation, one of the pioneers of this idea, Schumann, should come to mind because Schumann, with his ideas proposed in 1986, expresses that the phenomenon of acculturation involves learning a new language. Learning the language of the country where the immigrant goes adapts them to that country. Similarly, Schumann also states that with acculturation, immigrants do not lose their attachment to their own culture. However, Schumann links this to certain conditions. Is the immigrant person compatible with the society, integrated, connected, or is there

superiority between these two groups? Different variables like these can influence acculturation between the local community and the immigrants. The most common area of cultural exchange is related to learning a foreign language. As immigrants go to new countries, they gradually stop using their native language and start using the dominant language they have learned, eventually adapting to the dominant country. On the other hand, immigrants who continue to use and remember their language experience a two-dimensional acculturation (Schumann, 1986).

1.5 Diaspora Definition

The term diaspora, which does not have a precise meaning and constantly evolves in the context of international relations, originates from Greek roots, carrying meanings of dispersion and scattering (Yaldız, 2013). In the literature of international relations, diaspora refers to migrants who cannot live in their home country but maintain connections and citizenship activities for their home country in the countries they migrate to (TUIC - Gender Studies, 2021). The term diaspora, originally used alongside Jews until a certain time, gained a new dimension when Dubnov, in 1931, provided a definition of diaspora that separated it from Jews, thereby expanding the scope of the concept. Since that time, diaspora has been used not to refer exclusively to the dispersed communities of Jews, but rather to describe any community living outside their homeland anywhere in the world (Sağlam, 2019). Despite migration, individuals do not completely sever ties with their home country through these activities. Diaspora is sometimes a celebration and sometimes a method of resistance. With an estimated 300 million migrants worldwide at present, according to the United Nations 2020 report, there are 281 million migrants living in various parts of the world .Diasporas formed by migrants striving to lead similar lives in different places significantly strengthen their attachment to their home countries and, at the same time, create communication with compatriots in the host country, mitigating the most common problem they face: 'isolation.'

While the term diaspora holds a significant place in the literature of migration and international relations, there are different theories about diasporas. The theories have evolved over time, especially in the last century when migration has rapidly increased. Classical diaspora considers the process starting with the Jewish diaspora and

progresses through different nations such as Jews and Armenians, while modern diaspora does not take any specific nation as its basis. Gradually moving away from its ethnographic meaning, diaspora can also be seen as a resistance to assimilation policies implemented by migrants in host countries. Especially in the last decade, diaspora, with its changed meaning, has become more politicized and is now a fundamental bond that helps migrants integrate into their host countries (Ulusoy, 2017). Additionally, one of the most famous theories, Robin Cohen, suggests that diaspora changes from country to country and that the strong connections of the homeland create a solid diaspora, while new connections developed based on the new country create a liquid diaspora (Ben-Rafael, 2013).

The connection between diaspora and migrants is strongly aimed at not leaving migrants alone and developing them. One of the pioneers in the field of diaspora, Sheffer, says that the concept of diaspora is used more for individuals who have settled in the country they migrated to, rather than specifically for migrants. However, this does not mean that migrants are not related to the concept of diaspora. Many migrants also engage in diaspora activities by participating in the existing diaspora activities in the countries they migrate to, in order to carry out their own citizenship activities. Celebrating their own holidays, national days, opening their own businesses, and speaking their own languages are diaspora activities that migrants and individuals who were formerly migrants and later became citizens engage in (Yaldız, 2014).

When describing the term diaspora and its content, some examples are frequently used. The most common examples are Jewish and Armenian Diasporas. Jewish diasporas are particularly prevalent in the United States and Palestine. Similarly, the Armenian diaspora is one of the most well-known diasporas in Turkey. Migrants in this diaspora strive to maintain their culture in the host country while showing adaptation to the host country, ensuring satisfaction on both sides of the situation.

1.6 The Relation Between Migration and Crime

Migration and criminology are two fundamental concepts that hold a significant place in legal literature. The relationship between these concepts, if any, and how this relationship is manifested in practice has been a subject of research among both legal

professionals and theorists, leading to the generation of various ideas. Migrant groups expressed in societies with words like guest, unwanted guest, or a threat have, in some countries, caused specific migration crises, creating an undesirable situation globally in the context of migration. The definition of xenophobia has been an existing phenomenon worldwide. Exploitation movements and enslavement carried out before the definition of the nation-state in international relations have led to the misconception that certain races are superior to others. Dominant races, through movements of enslavement, have incited great anger, exclusion, and even false accusations leading to punishment against foreigners who arrived in their countries. However, the question of whether migrants are prone to crime or more likely to commit crimes is also a debated issue.

To examine the relationship between migrants and crime, it is worthwhile to look at the histories of different countries and their current migration policies. In 19th-century France, young migrant men working in the country became one of the greatest sources of fear of that era. Looking at present-day France, a country with a higher number of migrants compared to other countries, it cannot be said that the perspective on migrants has changed. Migrants still have a negative connotation in the eyes of the French people, especially due to being Muslim, creating a perception that migrants are associated with terrorism, Islamism, and a coercive crowd (Yağbasan & Örsoğlu, 2017). This section will discuss whether the dominant population or the migrant population is more responsible for the formation of this perception.

Searching for any connection between criminology and migration is not possible without evidence. However, it is a recognized fact that migrants, especially change the demographics and order in the places they go to. One notable evidence of this is that in the early 20th century, migrants in Chicago increased the crime and arrest rates in that area. Similarly, the increasing crime and violence rates in Latin areas are also evidence in this regard (Bui, 2009). It might be wrong to limit the evidence only to the United States because committing a crime is also dependent on socio-cultural, economic, and environmental factors. For example, is it possible to say that the same migrants would commit the same crimes in a socio-culturally and economically advanced country?

In fact, this is the main research question of the current study. Is a migrant inclined to commit a crime even in ultra-developed conditions? Or, are the factors pushing them towards crime environmental and socio-cultural factors? The relationship between crime and migration has led to the emergence of different theories. Within the framework of these theories, questions such as how prone migration and migrants are to committing crimes and whether being a migrant is the cause of committing crimes have also arisen. Merton with his theory, revealed that crime rates are higher in minority groups due to their positions and environmental factors, stating that the majority of these minority groups consist of migrant groups, thus establishing a correlation between migration and crime(Merton, 1968).

While the Strain Theory expresses this, Durkheim, on the other hand, argues that crime is normal and that the reaction against crime in society is necessary. With his theory called Anomie, Durkheim establishes a relationship between society and crime, making reference to migration as well (Aslan & Erdağı, 2018).

The relationship between immigration and crime dates to years, but especially during the Soviet period, this migration movement was perceived as a threat. One of the main reasons for crimes involving immigrants is the desire to find a job. In line with this desire, the rates of involvement in crime are higher, especially for people who are less equipped or have no qualifications compared to others (Arslan & Taş, 2020). It is undeniable that there is a connection between immigration and crime, but this in no way means that every immigrant is prone to crime.

1.7 A new Concept: Crimmigration

The concept of Crimmigration appears in the literature as a term formed by the combination of the concepts of crime and migration. In essence, it is used as a concept that investigates the crimes committed, especially by illegal and undocumented immigrants, combining both criminal law and immigration law. The first person to use this term was Prof. Stump in the USA in 2006. Stump used this concept to illustrate how immigration law and criminal law intersect (Koster & Reinke, 2017).

Although the concept of Crimmigration is relatively new compared to other concepts, those who use this term, such as Strumph, van der Leun, aimed to address two different points when combining the concepts of migration and crime. The first point was the increasing intertwining of immigration law and criminal law, and the second was the resemblance between immigration laws and criminal laws over time (Hafner, 2023). The concept of Crimmigration can generally be described as associating the arrival of immigrants with the reasons for crimes in a country, making living conditions for immigrants in that country even more challenging. While describing the Crimmigration definition in this way, Strumph also expresses the idea that the reason immigrants are pushed into crime in many countries is adopted as a method to overcome the difficulties they face in the host country (Sever, 2015). The worsening living conditions of immigrants may drive them to commit more crimes, and the bias of host countries and their citizens against irregular migration waves can be attributed to the impact created by Crimmigration(Meeteren, n.d.).

The table below draws attention to the crime rates of immigrants in the mentioned countries in 2010. It illustrates the intensity of immigrants committing crimes in countries that host the highest number of immigrants worldwide.

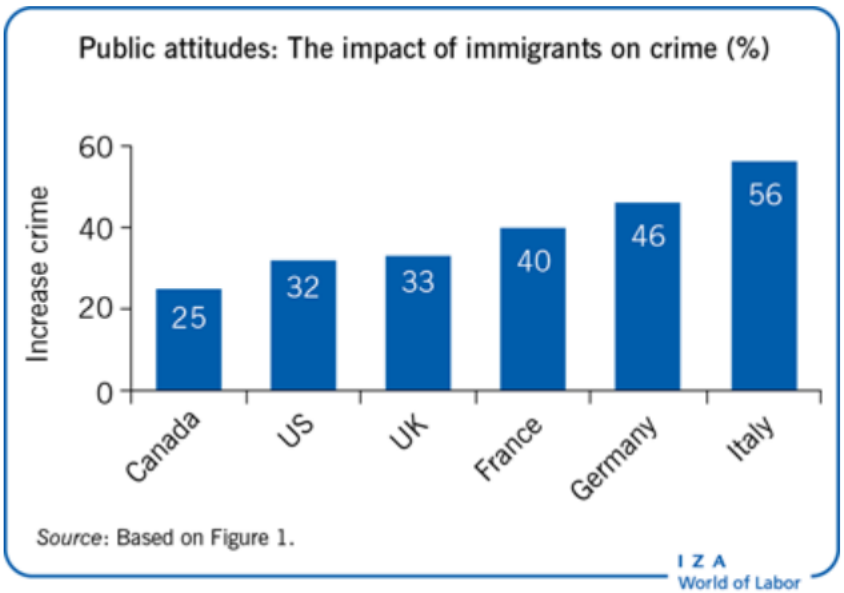


Figure 4: The Impact of Immigrants on Crime

1.8 A Focus on Immigration, Migration, Emigration

Academic terms, although appearing the same, often carry different meanings. Due to these differences, people may think they are receiving information correctly when they are actually getting it incomplete. In migration literature, terms such as migration and migrant are named differently in sources. While migrant, refugee, and asylum seeker distinctions have been mentioned earlier, these are not the terms referred to here. The concept of migration is referred to as migration in different sources, and the migrating individual is termed as a migrant, while some sources also use immigrant concepts. Alternatively, the term emigrant, which is completely different from these, is often found in sources. Distinguishing the difference between these three terms will guide the usage of migrant, immigrant, and emigrant in the English translation of this text when using migration and migrant terminology in studies.

Although the concepts of migrant and immigrant are not often distinguished in migration literature, they carry different meanings. The main reason for this is the distinction made by social scientists regarding permanence, especially concerning migrants and immigrants. Social scientists base permanence on the immigrant concept. Therefore, when the immigrant concept is used, it implies a permanent migration situation. If a migrant permanently moves to the country they are going to, it is called immigration (Saurez-Orozco, 2003). Dictionary definitions also illustrate the difference between migration and immigration in this way.

Another concept, emigration, represents not where the individual is going but where they are leaving from. Thus, what matters for a migrant is not which country they are going to but where they are coming from. Despite the similarity in sound, the confusion between these three concepts is further complicated by their close meanings. In summary, these three terms depend on perspectives. Depending on where the individual is migrating to, they are either an emigrant, meaning the one who leaves, or an immigrant or migrant, depending on whether they are going to the host country. If the individual is a permanent migrant, they are an immigrant, but if they are a temporary migrant, they are called a migrant (What is the difference between Emigration and Immigration, 2019). Since the focus of the study will be Turkish

workers, it would be appropriate to use the term migrant, especially for migrant workers.

2. TURKISH PEOPLE IN GERMANY

2.1 Germany's Labor Needs and Initial Calls

Towards the second half of the 20th century, numerous events and developments occurred that changed the course of world political history. While the foundation of these developments was laid during World War I, especially with World War II, fundamental actors emerged globally, and the subsequent Cold War shaped the positions of these actors. World War II, which took place between 1939-1945, stands as the most compelling evidence showing that the political order should be established through compromise rather than war. This war demonstrated not only the role it played in the decline of the world population but also directly showed that countries should not invest all their human and material resources in war.

The establishment of the United Nations, based on the principles of 'peace and stability,' following World War II, and the formation of the European Economic Community in Europe, along with the tense atmosphere during the Cold War, the Oil Crisis, Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, and events such as the United States' defeat in Vietnam, collectively emphasized that war brought nothing but destruction and highlighted the need for collaboration rather than conflict to strengthen. Given that the focus of the study is on Turks living in Germany, it is beneficial to delve into why Germany needed Turkish workers and why Turks wanted to live there.

The Second World War was a massive devastation that affected almost every country in the world. The negative effects of the war, causing significant population losses in countries, delayed their recovery, and the impact of the resulting economic crises also led to a market collapse. To revive production, many countries, especially European countries, necessitated the 'importation of labor' from other countries to fill the void left by the young and skilled population lost in the war. During this period, Western

Europe, hosting many guest migrants, provided them with employment and attempted to rectify their economies while trying to compensate for the human capital lost after World War II. The migrations to Western Europe were not limited to a single country but involved migration movements affecting the young population of many countries. In the migration literature, micro, medium, and macro-level migration movements corresponding to the levels of migration describe both the market and employment, encompassing medium and macro-level migration movements, defining the dimension of migration movements to Western Europe (Yamanlar, 2020).

There are various reasons for Western Europe's need for immigrants. In this migration flow where the Push-Pull Migration Theory predominates, although the effects of World War II were deeply felt in many countries, Western Europe, which lost a significant portion of its young population, needed many young individuals for unskilled and cheap labor (Altan & Budak, 2023). Simultaneously, the spread of neoliberalism and a free market in these countries during the same period intersected with the new job opportunities sought by migrants. In this context, sending countries took the first step in this process by signing agreements with Western European countries within the framework of 'certain conditions and certain periods.'

Germany, being one of the main actors of World War II and paying the price for its inhumane genocide during the war with the loss of human resources, compensated for the loss of human capital. The aftermath of the war extended beyond the death of 5.5 million people and the disability of 6.5 million people in Germany alone (Çelik, 2012). Additionally, during Germany's surrender after the war, 12 million people, known as 'Heimatvertriebene,' were forcibly migrated from Germany (Altan & Budak, 2023). Following this migration, Germany, entering a period of decline, found a solution in seeking labor from different countries. These labor demands were not limited to Germany alone. Everywhere affected by the consequences of the war, countries such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, especially by granting direct citizenship to migrants from North Africa, sought to ensure that they stayed in these countries (Aykaç & Yertüm, 2016).

The reason for Germany's significant need for labor was not only the reconstruction of the destruction caused by World War II but also the shortage of labor and efforts to

increase production capacity, with the added advantage that the expenses for foreign immigrant workers were less than those for a normal citizen. This also became one of the factors increasing Germany's need to import workers. Moreover, Turkey's willingness to send workers also had several reasons. The most common of these was the inability to provide balanced employment and the constant rise in unemployment rates. Additionally, the local population of Turkey wanted to send money (remittance) to their families by going to Germany. This way, they would live more prosperous lives when they returned. Another reason for the desire to leave was the low literacy rate, making it even more difficult for the Turkish population to find jobs, and learning professions in Germany, which they could practice upon their return (Schöning, 1978). These are the macro expectations of Turks and the Turkish government when migrating to Germany. Besides, there are many micro expectations. These mutual thoughts are the factors that expedited the clauses in the agreement signed between Turkey and Germany.

Germany faced the consequences of World War II in the most severe way. Although Germany tried to compensate for its losses in various ways, this compensation method eventually made Germany an attractive destination for immigrants, and currently, Germany is one of the first destinations for immigrants. Although Western Europe provided job opportunities for many people during that period, their main goal was to rearrange their own balances and send back the workers they had hired when the time came. For this reason, some countries like Germany, France, the Netherlands entered into agreements with different countries, conducting searches differently. In line with these searches, Western European countries prepared agreements with potential countries that would meet their labour needs and favoured countries that were not as devastated as Western European countries due to World War II (Genel, 2014).

As a result of these agreements, the table in Figure 6 shows the number of people working in Germany on a yearly basis. As seen in the table, despite the arrival of numerous workers from Mediterranean countries and Yugoslavia, Turks took the lead, surpassing half a million people in 1972.

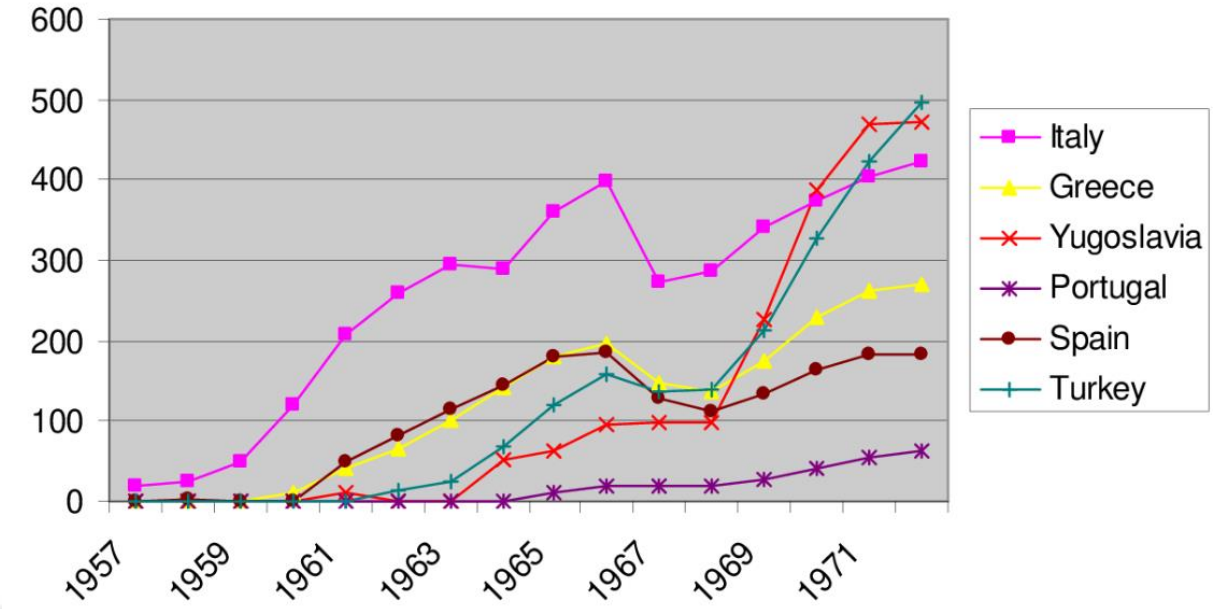


Figure 5: Foreign Workers in Germany, by country of origin (in thousands)

2.2 First Agreement- German – Turkish Employment Contract

Germany and Turkey are two countries that have had close relations for approximately 60 years. The Turkish workers who played a role in establishing these relations, albeit indirectly, still influence diplomatic, political, economic, and tourism relations between the two countries. Similarly, with the influence of the children and grandchildren of the first-generation of Turkish immigrants, these relations have gained new dimensions and progressed over time, sometimes in a positive and sometimes in a challenging context.

Turkey, as a result of Germany's demand for labour, is the country with which an agreement was reached and, in this context, the one that sent the most workers. During this process, Germany did not directly convey its labour search to Turkey. The then-president of the Democratic Party, Adnan Menderes, valued the German diaspora in Turkey and, by visiting Germany, contributed to creating a favourable atmosphere. Before this cordial period, Federal Germany was not very enthusiastic about obtaining workers from Turkey. However, Menderes taking warm steps during this process and Turkey's NATO membership are factors that indicate Germany gave Turkish workers a chance (Genel, 2014).

The arrival of Turks in Germany began with the 'Germany-Turkey Recruitment Agreement,' signed on October 31, 1961, and this migration flow ended in 1973, the official end date of the agreement. The terms "Gastarbeiter" for Germany and "Misafir İşçi" and "Gurbetçi" for Turkey began to be used during this period (Ünver, 2003). With Germany's request, health checks completed, especially young and agile migrants slowly started migrating to Germany 'temporarily.' However, this process later extended, becoming the subject of many research studies.

Although the agreement made at that time is shown in Figure 5, the guest workers who came under this agreement were not viewed as permanent; it was thought they would return within a short period. However, guest workers who had now migrated from Turkey gradually established themselves as permanent workers in Germany and sought ways to bring their families with them.

Although the Turks going to Germany were composed of different ethnic groups, the majority consisted of Sunni Muslim Turkish men (Worbs, 2003). Turkish citizens, who set out with the hope of saving money and initially planned to return, after living there for a while, despite not adapting well, started considering staying and making plans to bring their families with them. The beginnings of Turks living in Germany and continuing to live up to the third-generation, with the slow emergence of the fourth-generation, were formed through this labor migration.
However, an important question arises in this section. Turks migrated to Germany at a time when Germany had not yet recovered itself. They lived in very difficult conditions, were marginalized, and went through a challenging process. Despite all of this, it is unusual for Turks to want to stay. Although the number of Turkish migrant workers exceeded 200,000, not even a German course was opened for Turks. Attempts were made to isolate Turks from society, suggesting that they should return. Despite this, many people chose to stay there.

The Oil Crisis of 1973, which holds an important place in the discipline of international relations, caused the price of oil to increase by about 200% throughout the world. Many countries extensively used their resources for oil. Alongside this, the significant increase in inflation rates in the country limited investments within the countries, leading them to focus largely on oil. Like other countries, Federal Germany initiated

the process to halt labor recruitment during this period, terminating agreements with the countries from which it received migrant workers. During this process, Germany prohibited any migrant worker from working within its borders if they were from outside the EEC. Turkey was one of the countries adversely affected by the Oil Crisis. Particularly, external debts, left-right conflicts, coup attempts both before and after the crisis significantly affected Turkey. The Turkish Government, due to the halt in labour migration during this period, called its citizens back to Turkey. During this process, around 605,000 Turkish citizens were in Germany as guest workers, and some of these individuals considered returning, while others sought ways to settle permanently in Germany (Dağ, 2020).

Turks began their journey to Germany through labour migration. A significant portion of the first-generation who went there chose to live there, bringing their families from Turkey or establishing a family in Germany and raising their children there. Some even facilitated their direct acquisition of German citizenship. While labor migration continued in fluctuating waves between 1961 and 1973, political crises and coups in Turkey during this period led to many people seeking asylum in Germany. These individuals, aware that they could not live freely under the shadow of a harsh regime in Turkey due to their political imprisonment, attempted asylum routes to Germany. As indicated in the table, especially during periods of instability in Turkey, there is a concentration of asylum applications. However, even during periods of labor recruitment, a significant number of asylum requests from Turkey can be observed.

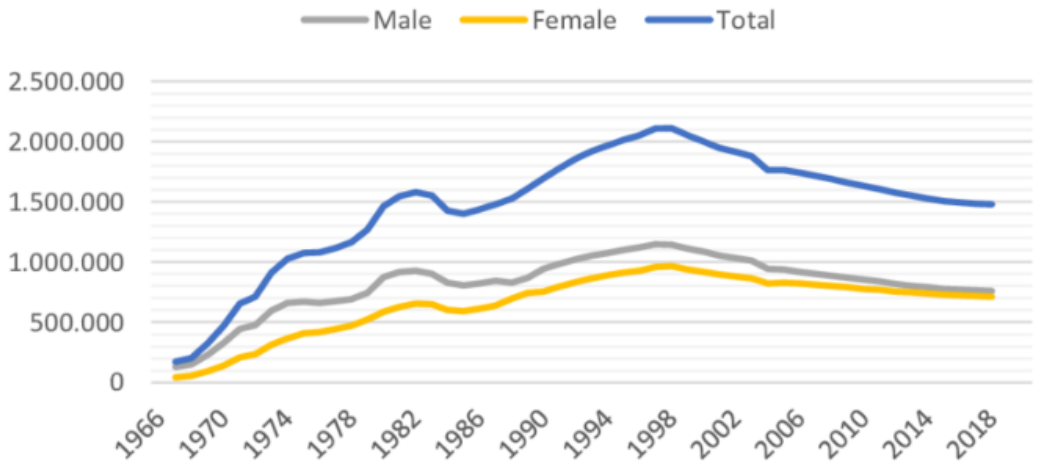


Figure 5: The Growth of the Turkish Migrant population living in Germany (Federal Statistical Office, 2020)

2.3 The First Look of German People to Turkish People

Germany and Turkey's relations can be traced back to the period before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Germany at that time. Sometimes having fluctuating, sometimes balanced relations, these two countries participated together as allies in the important headlines of the 20th century, such as World War I. Throughout this alliance, the Ottoman Empire and Germany, which fought on the same front and supported each other, completely severed their relations with the signing of the Treaty of Mondros, following the defeat of the Allied powers in the war. Subsequently, in terms of international relations, the two countries, following peaceful policies, signed a friendship agreement between them, dispelled the cold atmosphere, and revived the severed relations. The coming to power of Hitler during this period elevated relations further by economically supporting Turkey. However, Germany's and Hitler's warlike and threatening policies, despite causing Turkey to cool towards Germany, Turkey did not dare to become an enemy of Germany at that time. Although Germany's policies at that time and Turkey's pursuit of alliances with other nation-states irritated Germany, Turkey, with its middle-of-the-road policies, stood between the two sides, leaning towards a peaceful policy.
While Turkish-German relations continued in this way before the war, when the war broke out, Turkey, led by then-President İsmet İnönü, who pursued peaceful policies and, in line with Atatürk's principle of 'peace at home, peace in the world,' signed agreements with all sides in the war to prevent the war from spreading to itself and remained out of the war (Karataş, 2019). With these policies, Turkey was among the least affected countries by the war. While political relations continued like this until the post-war period, the relations between the two peoples also continued in parallel with political relations. In this sense, these two nations, who never severed their relations with each other in the post-war period, lived as minorities in each other's countries.

After this process and the end of World War II, Germany, experiencing destruction, quickly took action to revitalize its collapsed infrastructure and industry. The inadequacy of aid from the OECD and the EEC, and Germany's need for human resources, were indicative of the main need. Germany, not indifferent to Adnan Menderes' offer during the period of labour recruitment, allowed Turkish workers to

migrate and work. During this period, Turkish-German relations gained a new dimension. Labor migration, starting with trains departing from Sirkeci in 1961, became one of the turning points in relations between the two countries.

After 1961, the rapidly increasing Turkish population in Germany did not affect the Germans much; the German people looked at the Turks as if they would 'already leave.' The level of integration, varying from generation to generation among the Turks, sometimes triggered the German people. Especially the events in Turkey in the 1990s affected German public opinion and increased the existing prejudice against Turks and Muslims (Hekimler, 2009).

Looking at Turkish-German relations from the labor agreement signed in 1961, the German government and the German people, in a way, displayed a positive outlook towards the Turks extending a helping hand at that time. They maintained a good relationship, thinking that the Turks would eventually leave. Despite this relationship, Turks, due to both unfavorable living conditions and language, could not fully integrate with the Germans, as the German government did not provide these opportunities to Turks. The Oil Crisis of 1973 and Germany's economic weakening required Turks to return, but many Turks, using the Family Reunification offered by the Germans, brought their families with them and tried to establish themselves in Germany. During this period, realizing that Turks were not temporary guests but migrants trying to be permanent, Germans, who had maintained a soft attitude towards Turks, set aside their lenient approach and adopted a tougher stance. Because during this period, the idea that the German people were the only ones in Germany and the only people who had to live there, led to further exclusion of Turks in Germany (Çınar, 2017).

2.4 Turks' Early Years and Living Standards in Germany

In 1961, approximately 500 Turks, who encountered celebrations upon their arrival in Düsseldorf by train from Haydarpaşa Station, had set out with the hope of saving money and returning to their homeland. However, fate and circumstances forced many of them to establish a life in Germany. Turks going to Germany were generally

individuals residing in rural areas and struggling with harsh conditions in their lives. Especially the lack of water and the lack of infrastructure in the roads in these regions created difficult times for Turks living there, and Turks, who dreamed of better living conditions, found refuge in Germany.

There are many studies on Turks living in Germany. These studies generally provide concrete examples to the reader by examining qualitative/quantitative research methods. In a study conducted by Çelikoğlu and Atış in 2022 focusing on Zonguldak, they interviewed Turks who went to Germany, discussing why they went, under what conditions they worked, and why they returned, shedding light on the lives of these expatriates. Individuals in the target audience also talked about how they lived in Germany while narrating their own lives. (Çelikoğlu&Atış, 2022).
The migration of Turks to Germany since 1961 has made Germany an attractive place for Turkey. Since the beginning of migration, many people have sought ways to migrate to Germany and wanted to migrate. However, there is also a backstage to this migration. In the following items, the difficulties faced by migrants from Turkey will be addressed.

2.4.1 Language Problem

Federal Germany, knowing that Turks are hardworking and disciplined, changed the destiny of many Turks by signing a labour agreement. Turks, who found themselves in Germany very quickly, faced a language problem while trying to understand the experience that seemed like a dream to them. The foreign language was perhaps the most essential thing for Turks at that time because a foreign language, an important tool for integrating into a country, would allow individuals to adapt to Germany, enabling them to enter society and social environments more comfortably. However, Turkey did not take any measures and adaptation studies for the migrants it sent, and Germany did not open a language course for the workers either (Genel, 2014). Some social associations, although they seemed to provide language education for the purpose of helping immigrants, fell short of expectations, and Turks could not go beyond the few German words they knew (Demirağ, Kakışım, 2018).

The language problem not only created significant issues for Turks in the years they went but also caused significant problems for them later. Especially there are many differences in terms of language between the First-Generation they are in and the Third-Generation, who will be their grandchildren. Unlike the first-generation Turks, the second-generation Turks born in Germany, when dimensions in Gordon's assimilation theory are considered, not only achieved a cultural level like their ancestors but also had the opportunity to establish themselves in civil life. Although this gain of the second-generation made them appear more adaptable to German society compared to the other generation, the negativity in the attitudes of Germans towards immigrants did not cease; on the contrary, during these periods (1980 and onwards), many racist attacks against Turks occurred.

The language issue has been one of the significant problems for Turks since 1961. Looking at this 60-year history, although living together for so long may seem unwilling, it shows that these two nations need each other. Another important issue related to language is that, due to the adaptation they provide to the place they live on the one hand and their desire not to neglect Turkish on the other hand, Turks living there speak a mixture of Turkish and German (Turkendeutch) to express themselves. This Turkish-German mix can be explained as a blend of both Turkish and German (Watzinger-Tharp, 2004).

2.4.2 Religion Issue

With the migration of many Turks living in different cities of Turkey, who had not even had the chance to travel outside those cities until then, to a country like Germany, which is both distant and has an entirely different culture, another issue that emerged for Turks was the matter of religion. Religion is an inherent part of every country's culture and a guiding force for society. Diverse cultures formed in different settlements shape religion, keeping each community distinct. The fact that every Muslim society is not the same is due to the influence of culture and social norms on that society. Moreover, although the religions of majority and minority groups in each country may differ, they do not serve as a divisive element for societies content with each other.

Germany, besides being a country predominantly of Christian faith with majorities in the Catholic and Orthodox sects, is also a country where Islam, the religion of a significant portion of its minorities, is widespread. Germany, which hosts the largest number of minorities and immigrant groups in Europe, has a cosmopolitan structure concerning religion. The diversity in this country, as a natural outcome, also influences the dynamics within the country, increasing the biases of Germans towards other religions. The fact that Germany has a large number of immigrants and minorities plays a crucial role in the extremities of its social structure. Within this diversity, religious differences also affect the dynamics inside the country, amplifying the prejudices of German individuals towards other religions.

The majority of Turkish immigrants who have established themselves in Germany since 1961 lead their lives as Muslims. However, Turks, who maintain their religion within their diaspora, have been shaping the Germans' perspective on Islam for 60 years. Especially the events caused by Turks and their more conservative attitudes play a significant role in determining this understanding. Germans specifically perceive Turkish women as conservative and consider the Turkish perspective on women as harsh. They believe that the view Turks had on women in the 1960s persists. Additionally, the lack of knowledge of foreign languages by religious leaders and imams who come from Turkey, their inability to communicate with Germans, also creates negativity in Germans' perspective towards Turks (Çelik, 2008).

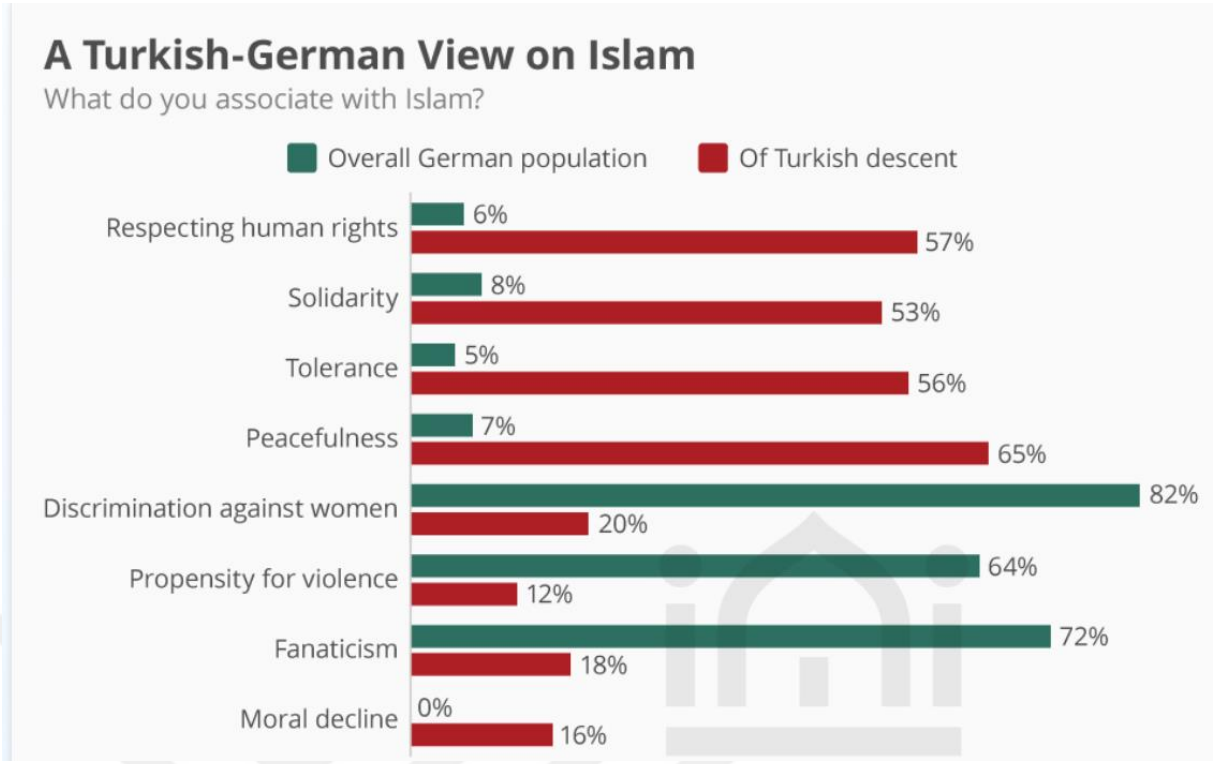


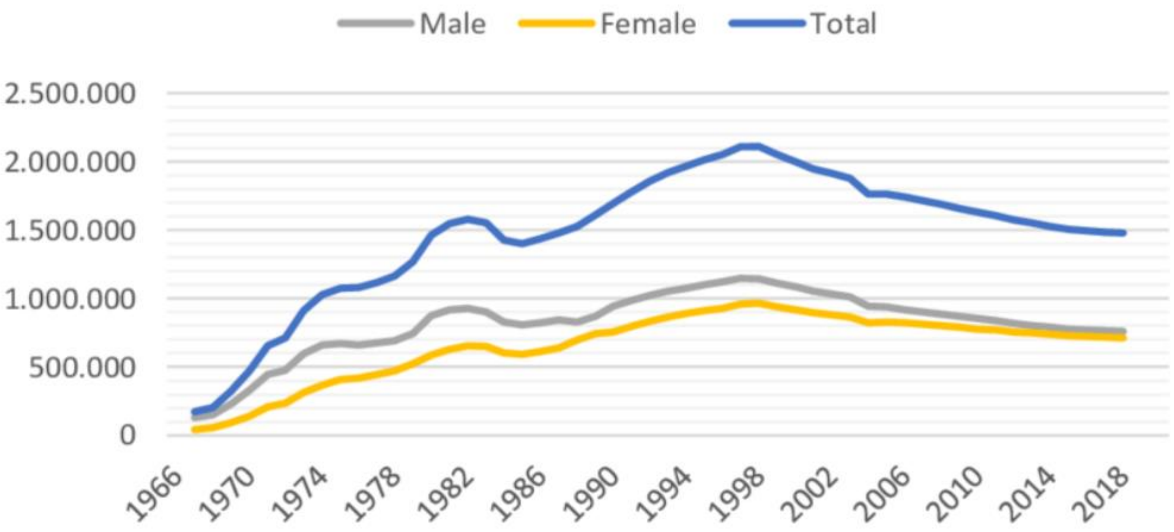
Figure 6: A Turkish-German View on Islam

Above, the graph revealed by Dyfed Loesche in 2016 is presented. This graph has brought forth certain results by asking Turks and Germans about their alignment with Islam on specific values. According to the outcomes, Germans argue that respect for others, showing tolerance, and not discriminating against women are in line with Islam. On the other hand, Turks believe that peace, unity, and respect align with Islam.

2.4.3 Turks' Living and Working Conditions

Turks, who set off from Turkey to Federal Germany with great hopes, would they have been so eager to go if they knew the difficulties they would face? Despite such challenging working conditions, why did Turks choose to continue living in Germany when the agreement ended? These two questions are research questions to be addressed in this section. The first-generation of Turks going to Germany from Turkey was qualified, but later arrivals were recorded as less qualified. Looking at the working and living conditions in Germany, one likely reason for Turks not integrating may be

their shift from qualified jobs to those requiring only physical strength. Since the beginning of the agreement, Germans took the first steps to employ Turks in difficult and undesirable jobs. Before Turks arrived, health examinations were conducted, and the healthiest and strongest individuals were selected, as they would be employed in strenuous jobs. These jobs varied from mining, iron-steel, roads, to brick factories. These jobs were both physically demanding and low paying. While men were generally employed in physically demanding jobs, women performed simpler tasks like cleaning, which Germans did not want to do (Dertli, 2018). Germans categorized Turkish women in hiring according to certain criteria, with the most prominent being small hands and speediness, as there was a need for someone to rapidly assemble motor parts. Germany preferred women with small hands for this role. This was reflected in the Turkish press with the slogan "Manicured Hands, Will Wind Electrical Coils in Germany" (Nocera, 2018). With such working conditions for both men and women, the hierarchy in Germany deepened further with the arrival of Turks. Turkish women, due to their jobs and difficulties in adapting, became one of the most oppressed classes at the bottom of the hierarchy.



The Growth of the Turkish Population in Germany. Source: (Federal Statistical Office, Germany 2020).

Figure 7: The Growth of the Turkish Population in Germany. Source: (Federal Statistical Office, Germany 2020).

The graph provided in Figure 7 above examines the number of migrants to Germany from 1966 almost to the present, considering gender and illustrating the difference between them. Upon inspection, although there is no significant gap between the proportions of women and men, there has been a continuous increase until the millennium.

2.4.4 Education Issue

In the initial years of Turkish migration, Turks migrated individually. The reason for this was their primary goal of accumulating savings to return to their homeland. However, contrary to popular belief, this situation, in fact, paved the way for Turks to establish a life in Germany, leading them to bring their families along. Turkish men and women (though in small numbers) first stabilized their jobs and then, returning to Turkey, brought their spouses and children with them. Especially after the complete termination of the agreement in 1973, Turks secured the option to stay in Germany by bringing their spouses through "family reunification." While this allowed Turkish children to receive education in Germany, it also brought along various challenges. The child, burdened by the hardship of not knowing the language, struggles to understand lessons and cannot communicate with peers. Moreover, unable to establish communication with teachers, the child ends up isolated at school, caught between the worlds of their parents and the German education system. Unable to receive assistance from non-German-speaking parents at this stage, the child undergoes lower-quality education compared to German children, hindering their personal development (Köktağ, 1966).

2.5 The Termination of the Recruitment Agreement and The German Public Pressure Regarding Turkish People Returning to Their Homeland

In 1961, when Turks laid the foundations for their life in Germany, they went there as a minority group. Following these initial migrations, the idea of living in Germany became attractive to Turkish workers, leading to a more intense wave of migration. However, beyond this, the previously existing idea of accumulating savings to return home gave way to thoughts of permanent settlement. Consequently, Turks, working in

conditions they never thought of, took different steps to both adapt there and bring their families.

The Oil Crisis, which erupted in 1973 and led to a significant global crisis, caused financial difficulties for almost every country. The starting point of this crisis was the Arab-Israeli war that broke out in 1973. The invisible support of the United States to Israel, present in the Middle East, led Arab countries to use oil, a vital resource for each country, as a tool and impose embargoes on countries (Öztürk & Saygın, 2017).

OPEC, consisting of 13 member countries today, is an international organization formed by the coming together of oil-rich countries. The main reason for the establishment of the organization is to prevent low oil prices in countries coming together at the common point of oil. First established in 1960 with five member countries, OPEC now has 13 member countries. Another significant reason for the establishment of the organization was to show the dominance of countries coming together in terms of oil and open the way for the use of oil as a tool. Unlike OPEC, another special international organization, OAPEC, including Egypt and Syria, two other countries rich in oil, was formed with similar aims to OPEC. The purpose of this oil embargo was to demonstrate how essential oil was for the world during the Arab-Israeli War in 1973 (Nakhleh, 1985). Both OPEC and OAPEC set the goal of giving a warning to more powerful but oil-poor countries as a fundamental principle.

This oil crisis that emerged in 1973 became quite distressing, continuing with oil-exporting countries acting against many countries in terms of oil. The oil-producing countries, by significantly increasing oil prices, made it difficult for countries by complicating their work, causing them to allocate more budget to oil in their countries. The increase in costs in countries, enabling the enrichment of countries producing and exporting oil, also played a role in the economic decline of countries importing oil. Along with economic imbalance, foundational elements such as social welfare levels and political balance were shaken, forcing these countries to take urgent measures for this situation. Germany, receiving its share from the Oil Crisis, was one of the European countries experiencing hardship during this period. Germany, heavily feeling the effects of the oil and economic crisis, found a solution by unilaterally terminating the agreement with the Turks. With this termination in 1973, ending the

Turkish-German Worker Agreement, Germany took steps to plan the return of Turks to their own countries. However, since Turks were no longer a minority but a majority due to their influence on the population, their return became more difficult. Unlike political governments that did not take steps, the CDU/CSU right-wing party, which came to power in 1982, made plans to send Turks from Germany and, in the following year, in 1983, enacted the "Rückkehrförderungsgesetz," known as the Return Promotion Law. This incentive law was created to expedite the departure of Turks from Germany. However, the initiatives in this regard did not yield positive results, and generally, they resulted in outcomes against the Germans. At that time, the number of Turks decreased by about 200,000; however, the return of these 200,000 Turks did not occur through coercion but through financial payment (Ünver, 2014)

Table 2: Numbers of Turks in Germany from 1960 to 2023

YEARS	Total Turkish People
1960	2.700
1970	469.200
1975	1.077.100
1980	1.462.400
1985	1.400.400
1990	1.694.649
1995	2.014.311
2000	1.998.536
2005	1.764.041
2010	1.629.480
2015	1.506.113
2020	1.461.910
2021	1.458.360

2022	1.487.110
2023	1.548.095

The above data is derived from the information published by Yıldırımoğlu in the Kamu-İş Journal(Yıldırımoğlu, 2005). Due to the limited data until 2000, the data between 2000 and 2023 was obtained from the website of the German statistical institution. According to these data, Germany experienced an almost annual increase in the Turkish population from 1960 to 2000, and this population growth also intensified its density in the general population. After the Incentive Law enacted in 1983, nearly 200,000 Turkish workers who returned to Turkey took their place in the table. The number of Turks living in Germany, which experienced fluctuations at short intervals, peaked in 1995. It has since remained on a similar course.

However, this was not what either the German public or the CDU/CSU party, which came to power, desired. Their goal was to ensure the complete and definitive return of Turks from Germany. Because Germany perceived Turks and indirectly Muslims as a 'society not open to integration,' and they did not want anyone who could not integrate to be present in Germany. In this process, both heavier and more painful ideas and activities were carried out to prevent Turks from staying in Germany. Despite Germany stopping the recruitment of workers, a significant reason for the increase in the number of Turks is through family reunification. While this has produced favourable outcomes for Turks, steps have been taken to encourage Turks, in numbers that would discomfort both the German government and the German public, to return to Turkey (Çınar, 2017).

2.6 Cultural Comparison of Two Nations

The differences between individuals migrating from Turkey to Germany for cheap labor and the local German population, shaped by their life conditions, are not negligible. However, despite these sharp distinctions, there are significant reasons why both nations continue to coexist and even thrive together. In this section, we will first discuss the cultural differences between the Turkish and German populations,

followed by explanations of how these two nations have adapted to living with each other.

Germany did not initially consider taking laborers from Turkey, a country with which it had no common history during World War II, and which differed significantly in terms of religion and culture. However, due to population losses in Europe and the warm approach of the existing regime in Turkey towards Germany, there arose a need and an opportunity to initiate labor migration. The cohabitation of these two distinct cultures under one roof first occurred around 1961. The Turkish migrants who came to Germany in that year were generally illiterate, mostly from rural areas, conservative, and resistant to change(Kartal & Alptekin, 2015). Women, in particular, had lower literacy rates, were more dependent on rural life, and tended to be more religious. The inward-focused Turkish community was hesitant to adopt even Latin script, let alone learn another language, which contributed to their alienation in Germany. Their closed lifestyle hindered their integration and contributed to mutual estrangement between the two peoples. Religion and worship were paramount for Turks, and the lack of adequate places for worship in Germany often led to dissatisfaction. Changing attitudes among Germans towards Turks over the years further reinforced Turkish isolation, as many Turks felt alienated and desired to return to Turkey after achieving financial gains. For many Turks, the dream was to earn enough in Germany and then return to their homeland, as they struggled to adapt to German culture and lifestyle. Feeling like outsiders and unable to satisfy their religious and national sentiments, the European lifestyle in Germany held little appeal for them. This situation would later influence the diaspora community among Turks, shaping their religious and national activities(Yasil & Bakır,2022).

Another sensitivity of Turks going to Germany is their differing views due to the importance they attribute to women. Both religiously and due to newly introduced women's rights from the Ottoman era and through the Civil Code, these are new concepts for them. Therefore, the place of women in society and men's place are different. Women are more passive in the workforce. They are more religious and also have a more conservative style of dress. When looking at the gender differences among the first people to migrate to Germany, it is possible to see this difference. The number of women who first migrated as workers to Germany was 46, while the number of men

was 1430 (Yaprak, 2013). On the other hand, the reason why women are more alienated in society is that they moved from village life in Turkey to a more modern city life without adapting to another country. This situation became more prominent after migration. When looking at Turkish women who stayed in Germany, it is also very common for women to be excluded from society in many areas, and they remain among their neighbors in the neighborhoods they create. Therefore, they are more antisocial (Kılınç, 2014).

During that period, Germans living in Germany differed significantly from Turks both socio-economically and in terms of societal values. Despite being heavily impacted by wars, especially between World War I and World War II, Germany rapidly developed its infrastructure and quickly recovered despite suffering extensive damage. However, Germans underwent significant changes not only in terms of infrastructure and urban planning but also in their thoughts and ideologies. The influence of Nazism imposed by Hitler on the German people is still evident in certain regions, highlighting cultural differences between immigrant workers from different societies and the German population.

Germans initially displayed varied attitudes towards the arrival of Turkish workers and later as well. Planned to stay for a limited number of years, Turks ended up staying longer than expected and influenced society in different ways. Germans, known for their cold northern climate and a warrior identity, as well as their disciplined army and national structure during wars, viewed immigrant workers who came to their country as being beneath them and found it acceptable for them to do jobs Germans did not wish to do. Moreover, immigrant workers who migrated for such low-quality jobs were considered uneducated and undisciplined compared to Germans.

The behavioral differences within society, which have been the primary source of conflict between Germans and Turks, also find their cultural and religious roots in the warmer demeanor of Turks and the more rigid nature of Germans as a society. Germans were also displeased with Turks integrating into their society, as they perceived Turks as being less disciplined and educated than themselves.

When looking at the differences between German women and Turkish women, it is possible to see the cultural values of the two societies. Unlike Turkish women, German women are less religious, and the absence of hierarchy between men and women in society has further distanced these two different nationalities of women from each other. Unlike educated German women, Turkish women who have come to Germany either to work or with their husbands are not as active in both public and social environments as Turkish men. While Turkish men work in industries such as mining, construction, and factories when they go to Germany, Turkish women are employed as cleaners in kitchens or toilets(Ulutaş, 2013). Even in their modes of work, integration as immigrants has differed between men and women. Especially for Turkish men, spending many hours outside through work allows them to integrate into society, although Turkish women who do not leave their small family buildings or neighborhoods created by fate remain alone. They are aloof, preferring to avoid both Turkish and German family life. Their roles in society and at home are restricted, and they are regarded as non-European and therefore unable to accommodate the European lifestyle. Moreover, their role in society and at home has been limited(Can, 2008).

The reflection of German-Turkish lifestyles in art is another indicator of the cultural dimension. Although the Turks living in Germany were not much affected by the popular movements at that time, they also included this situation in their works of art because they were homesick. In their poems and in the songs they composed, the Turks who were longing for Turkey reflected their desire to return to their homeland, and used the music genres that were newly fashionable at that time. and they remained alien to literary movements. Below is a poem written by a person who immigrated to Germany as a worker.

Mahmut, Hasan, Mehmet were their names.
They took their suitcase, reciting the Basmala.
They eagerly entered the German province,
They became strangers to its language,
Entangled in the vastness of foreign lands.

(Mahmut'du, Hasan'dı, Mehmet'di adı.
Besmele çekerek bavulu aldı.
Girdiler iştahla Alman iline,
Yabancı oldular onun diline
Takılıp yekpare gurbet yeline.)

Above is the poem titled 'First Friends' by the expatriate poet named Halil Gülel. Written in Turkish, the poem, in terms of its meaning, mentions that the Turks who went to Germany willingly felt like foreigners and were homesick(Yeşilçiçek, 2001). To give another example in the context of art, when many people went to Germany and were illiterate, they took refuge in folk songs and found both a sense of longing and solidarity by singing folk songs. For example,

They made you forget your mother tongue,
We married the bride to the machine,
We've stooped down, they'll break your waist,
Return to the homeland, hey sister, return to the homeland!

(Unutturdular sana ana dilini
Makinaya nikâhladık gelini
Çöktük aha bükecekler belini
Yurda dön hey bacım yurda dön yurda!)

When looking at this folk song, the Turks expressed their pain, their struggle to live in Germany, the difficulty of living in a life they did not want, and their longing for home in the cultural elements they created, just as they expressed in their poems. These types of artistic works were a reflection of the difficult and lonely times of the Turks in a way that the Germans did not understand(Öztürk,2004).

When looking at the differences between Turkish and German cultures, celebrations emerge as a significant factor. Turks in Germany have established their diaspora by celebrating important dates such as national and religious holidays, which are significant in Turkey's history. Unlike Germans, who perceive Turkish celebrations as "noisy and disrespectful," Turks have been placed differently in society due to their festive customs. Not only do they celebrate national and religious holidays commemorated during the founding of the Republic of Turkey, but they also conduct traditional wedding processions, post-wedding festivities, and henna nights. However, these customs have led to fines for wedding processions in Germany due to noise complaints, as Germans consider them disruptive and disrespectful to others. Consequently, Turks have been unfavorably compared to other immigrant groups in German media and society for their perceived lack of consideration for others' living spaces(Koçak, 2011).

When Germans recruited migrant workers, despite their need for laborers, they selected individuals who possessed physical strength suitable for their needs, rather than accepting all types of physical capabilities. Therefore, they subjected migrants to rigorous health checks before admitting them to Germany, excluding especially those with heart and lung problems, missing or decayed teeth, missing limbs, asthma, or chronic illnesses (Acar, 2023). This situation has created a cultural dimension that distinguishes between Turks and Germans. Turks, particularly during the National Struggle period, have always worked unless severely hindered by disabilities, age, or gender, facing various hardships in their work life (Ayhan, 2008). In contrast, everyone Germany employed as both soldiers and workers during World War II were quite healthy individuals. Moreover, driven by Nazi ideology, which rejected any health issues or disabilities within the German race, they committed numerous atrocities to eliminate such conditions (Cohen, 2010). This significant difference has deepened the rift between the societies.

Culture, as a phenomenon, is highly diverse. What one nation may reject as cultural elements, another may embrace enthusiastically. Not every culture assigns the same meanings to every value, and this diversity is not only expected but also essential. Religious elements, national sentiments, and gender roles hold different meanings across cultures, which can be resistant to change. According to existing sources, Turks

have struggled to positively reflect their cultural elements in Germany, impacting their living standards and status there.

The concept of crime, influenced by various factors, including cultural elements, has also shaped Turkish society. Cultural elements becoming subject to criminalization, albeit rarely, such as fines for wedding processions in Germany, have been viewed as offenses by Germans. This situation has hindered the complete integration of the two communities for over 60 years, despite some limited examples of cultural adaptation (Jescheck & Önder, 1982).

3. REMAINING TURKISH PEOPLE AND TWO-DIMENSIONAL LIFE

3.1 Turkish People Staying in Germany According to Migration Theories

The concept of migration and an individual's decision to migrate cannot be explained by a single theory. The migrant who decides to migrate and engages in this process connects and takes steps based on the influence of various circumstances. Among these circumstances, there are many reasons ranging from economic factors to family issues, from education to curiosity. Initially, the reasons for Turkish migrants who have migrated to Germany or are still migrating were mainly to replace the employment opportunities in Germany and achieve their own dreams. However, over time, this situation transitioned from temporary migration to permanence due to different reasons, and various migration theories have been attempted to explain this situation.
The Turkish community in Germany, referred to as EuroTurks (Kaya, 2015), took steps towards Germany in a type of migration called labor migration, while trying to rebuild Germany's deteriorating economic structure, they desired to fulfill their dreams with the income they earned in the places they went, known as remittances. Although it may initially seem that this situation is based on labor migration theory, the migrants mentioned in the labor migration theory belong to a qualified group. However, the fact that Turkish people in Germany do not have any qualifications and instead work in jobs that generally require only physical labor also removes them from the qualified class. Ravensthein, in his book "Migration Laws," provides a logical basis by linking migration to different reasons. According to Ravensthein's theory, the reason for Turks

migrating to Germany is that long-distance migrations are made to major commercial and labor centers. Although Germany may have collapsed with the Second World War, it is still an important state and a country with a strong labor market gap. Although this situation validates a part of Ravensthein's theory, explaining this migration with a single theory is quite insufficient. On the other hand, Stouffer's Theory of Intersecting Opportunities may also be inadequate in describing Turkish migration. This theory holds that by keeping distance and migration together, it directly sheds light on the reason for migration. The number of opportunities available at the destination is directly proportional to the number of people migrating. In other words, the more opportunities there are, the more people will migrate and demand for that place will increase. Although this situation may be effective in the later years of Turkish migration, it is not very meaningful to mention this at the beginning. This is because migrants have indirectly gone to Germany through agreements and government channels, not directly by their own will. It can also be said that the influence of this theory can be seen in their long stays and their unwillingness to return and bringing other people with them later on (Akyıldız, 2016). During the early years of Turkish migration to Germany, based on this migration theory, where these situations are intensively observed, they went. Just as Lewis mentions in his migration theory, a migrant group that will ensure development by going to a place where labor is intensive invests in themselves with better 'financial' opportunities than their homeland. This migration theory is very popular nowadays and successfully explains the arrival of many labor forces from underdeveloped countries to developed ones (Gezgin, 1991).

3.2 First-Generation and Second-Generation Turkish People

The group classified as first-generation Turks refers to Turkish immigrants who initially started out as a very small minority. As a continuation of this minority, an increasing number of Turks find a place in Germany every year and start working in difficult living conditions. These Turks, who constitute the first of the generations, lived more conservatively and closed to different cultures than other generations. One of the reasons for this is that they do not think of a permanent life there and devote themselves to the purpose of being there, while their children and grandchildren, who are not like them, are less dependent on Turkish and Islamic cultures than their parents,

due to the effects of living there from birth. The first-generation feels a strong sense of longing for their homeland because of spending certain periods of their lives in Turkey. This longing for their homeland even led them to produce literary works. Of course, there are corrupt people among the Turks who are loyal to their homeland and whose sole purpose is to earn the money necessary to maintain a good life in Turkey. These people went beyond the purpose for which they came and stepped into different lives as life in Germany became more comfortable for them and encountered unexpected endings. Unlike their children and grandchildren, since they were not born in Germany or did not come here at an early age, they were not good at learning the language and for this reason they could not pay much attention to their own children. Likewise, children with different languages and cultures have become estranged from their families. On the other hand, the tools used by families to inculcate their culture in their children (speaking Turkish, sending them to Quran courses, living in Turkish neighborhoods, etc.) have wrongly affected both families and children. Because children are stuck between two cultures at an age when they cannot even fully comprehend the phenomenon of culture and have not been able to embrace their own identities very much. This situation has caused families to be more conservative regarding their children. (Zarzavatçıoğlu, 2014).

The Second-Generation Turks present in Germany today are the children of the first-generation Turkish workers. Those in the second-generation are either born in Germany or are individuals who migrated from Turkey to Germany under Germany's family reunification law. Second-generation migrants, while leading relatively easier lives compared to the first-generation, according to the accounts of authors, may not know about their ancestors and culture if no one tells them. This is because they were either born in Germany or arrived in Germany at such a young age that they cannot remember. This lack of knowledge about Turkey and less attachment or no attachment at all to Turkey compared to the First-Generation may result from this (Çıkı & Kızanlıklı, 2021). However, the Second-Generation Turks are not entirely disconnected from their roots because it is not possible within the traditional family structure. Turks who migrated to Germany adopted a traditional family structure and tried to maintain their family ties in contrast to the individualistic perspective adopted by Western societies, thereby attempting to pass on their roots to their children and prevent them from being completely assimilated into the culture they find foreign. One

of the important ways to achieve this has been to adopt an authoritarian and rigid family structure. This is a type of intervention made by the First-Generation Turks to prevent their children from getting lost in the unfamiliar German culture. One of the significant gains of the Second-Generation Turks in this regard has been their greater knowledge of their own culture compared to the subsequent Third-Generation. In a modern society like Germany that operates with an individualistic understanding, trying to maintain both being migrants and traditionalism has emerged as a consequence of the living conditions of the First-Generation Turks, and this has ensured that the children of the Second-Generation Turks maintain their own culture. Alongside preserving the Turkish family structure in foreign lands, Second-Generation Turks, who grew up with their families' authoritarian attitudes, have remained more attached to their own values and family structures when they themselves become parents, compared to the more relaxed Second-Generation Turks. The reason for this value attachment is generally that individuals see living conservatively, as taught by their families, as more suitable (Güngör, 2014).

Like the first-generation Turks, second-generation Turks also face problems. Although these problems seem to be less common than those faced by the first-generation Turks, the situation is actually different. When Turks came to Germany, what they had in mind was to ensure the success of their material expectations by remaining within themselves and not being left out of society too much. However, the children of Turks, who suddenly transitioned to a permanent life decision, either born in Germany or arrived at a very young age, are different from the First-Generation Turks in many ways. The most important measure of this is language (Ertem, 2013). First-generation Turks took care to speak Turkish at home, especially in regions where the Turkish diaspora is widespread, to ensure that their children do not alienate themselves from their own culture. Therefore, although families took care to speak Turkish at home, it was not as easy as it seemed, despite the necessity for their children to learn German due to their education and social life outside. Second-generation children, who encountered two languages at home and outside at a young age, became confused and did not know which culture they would be closer to. These second-generation Turks, neither excessively attached to Turkish culture and social structure like the first-generation nor distanced from their main culture like the third-generation. It is thought

to be the main reason for not knowing which culture to embrace among these second-generation Turks(Asutay, Çarıkçı, 2015).

The perspective of Germans towards Turks has changed over time. In the early years of Turks' arrival, although they faced prejudices and sharp disturbing attitudes from Germans, Germans were not uncomfortable with Turks. This is because there was an economic downturn in the market at the time, and the solution to this economic downturn was providing employment. There are many jobs in the market that the German people did not want to do themselves. Since they did not work in these jobs themselves, Turks who did these heavy and laborious jobs did not harm them. However, as the children of the first-generation Turks, who did not want to share the same fate as their parents, improved their education levels and adapted to Germany, they also created competition in the markets for the jobs that Germans did. This competition became disturbing to many Germans during this period. Despite these events, there have also been years where mutual tolerance has been adopted. Nevertheless, even today, it is seen that Turks still face identity and adaptation problems in Germany (Aksoy, 2010). Such problems began from the moment Turks first arrived and have been passed down through generations, along with how each generation has coped with these problems, how they have adapted to society, or failed to adapt, thanks to the writings of immigrants, reaching up to the present day (Akça, 2015).

3.3 Third-Generation Turkish People

The grandchildren of the Turks who set foot in Germany in 1961 constitute the Third-Generation Turks. This generation, which shaped the third generation in Germany during the 1990s and 2000s, is known for being very different from their ancestors. This generation is the one in which the effects of integration efforts carried out by Turkey in Germany since the Turks' first steps into Germany are most intensively observed. Unlike the first and second generations, the third-generation has formed a different bond with the German people. This is because everyone from this generation has been directly immersed in German society by being born in Germany. They have spoken German from a young age, both in school and in social life, adopted German living standards, and formed more friendships with German individuals. The

difference of Third-Generation Turks compared to other generations is that they were born there and adapted to the social dynamics and structure of Germany faster than their parents (Demirağ & Kakışım, 2018). However, despite advancing in terms of adaptation, third-generation Turkish youth also face many problems. Although they do not experience these problems as concretely as their families do, these problems sometimes lead the third-generation to question their identity by creating problems in their lives. The problem of education takes the lead among the reasons for this identity crisis. Because while it was not thought that the first-generation would stay in Germany for long, integration efforts towards them remained simple. Additionally, Turks who did not expect to stay long themselves also avoided seeing German as a necessity. Each of these situations has affected their children and grandchildren in future generations. With this language problem inherited from their ancestors, the third-generation also could not 'be sufficiently German' in their own time. This situation has sometimes led to their isolation from society and identity crises (Schmidt, 2011).

Although studies vary, the number of Turks who consider themselves Turkish or German among generations also varies. This also reveals whether they speak German and Turkish well enough. Especially for the third-generation Turks to be accepted by the German people, it is also said that one reason for speaking German better than the first- and second-generation Turks is this. Also, exposure to German culture contributes to their language learning levels. None of these fully explains the language levels of the third-generation because factors such as the structure of their families, their ties to Germany, how many years they have lived there, and the education status of their parents all affect language use (Kulaksızoğlu, 2008).

3.4 Differences between Generations

Turks living in Germany are currently raising the fourth-generation. The beginning of these generations dates to 1961 and has become more complex with the ongoing migration movements. Turks, who did not consider staying in the early years and did not make much effort to integrate into Germany, eventually had to integrate during the settlement process. As a result, the children of the first arrivals moved in different directions and adopted different understandings towards both German culture and

society. The distinct differences between the generations have been shaped over time. The intense feelings felt by the first Turks, revolving around economic hardships, homesickness, and the desire to return home, while the main problems among the second-generation, who came later, include education and the political atmosphere in Turkey. The subsequent third-generation, despite struggling with issues related to identity and integration (Ermağan, 2013).

In response to the problems faced by three generations, the perspectives of the German government and society towards Turks have also changed. Germany, deeply affected by the negative effects of World War II and urgently in need of recovery, welcomed the arrival of Turks who would come mostly unskilled to work in heavy jobs and contribute to the restoration of Germany's deteriorating infrastructure. However, Germany did not attach much importance to the adaptation of Turks, considering their presence temporary, and did not develop many policies. However, as the Turkish population increased over time, some repatriation policies were put in place as of 1973, and integration policies became necessary after the failure of these policies. Unlike the assimilation policy implemented by the US government for immigrants, Germany, which adopted a policy of acculturation towards immigrants, has occasionally facilitated the adaptation of Turks to German society without forgetting and embracing their own culture through some integration efforts (Uzuner, n.d.). However, this has not been completely successful. Not achieving the desired result in every generation, there have been times when events have unfolded against Germany's interests.

Today, especially the loyalty to Turkey and the integration issues of the first-generation Turks in Germany are among the main problems. Along with this, the decisions made by Turks in Germany regarding the political atmosphere in Turkey and the manifestation of the side they support in election results are perceived in the German government and media as evidence that Turks, unlike other immigrants, cannot detach themselves from Turkey and its values, even after living in Germany for many years (Yılmaz, 2023).

3.5 The Complex Issue: The Differences between Assimilation and Integration

Integration and assimilation have roots in Durkheimian understanding and the French school of thought, interpreted differently by different societies as it is not possible to treat every society under the same conditions. These two concepts emerged simultaneously with the thoughts of Park and Burgess based on the adaptation shown by individuals migrating to Chicago. The extent of immigrants' adaptation has been analyzed, and as a result, they have seen assimilation as the path to reaching the future in the migrated location (Aykaç & Karakaş, 2022).

When we think of immigrants, one of the first things that come to mind is their integration. In order for immigrants to lead a harmonious life in the country they migrate to and minimize their difficulties, it is necessary for them to participate in integration efforts or integrate themselves into society. These forms of integration range from learning the local language of the country they migrate to, to obtaining a respected position there. Since it would be very wrong to separate all the factors brought by migration and the resulting cultural amalgamation by sticking only to the definition of relocation, it is necessary to first look at how the definition of integration affects Turks in Germany.

With Turks having a 60-year history in Germany, integration is not possible without it. Even now, Germany keeping its doors open to Turks regarding labour needs is not coincidental. While there is a significant demand worldwide, especially from underdeveloped countries to developed countries, for unskilled labour migration, Turks with a 60-year history still rank among the leading immigrant communities in Germany today. Therefore, the integration of Turks in Germany needs to be analysed.

Turkish immigrants, although not always smoothly integrating during their time in Germany, have attempted to achieve this integration by learning German and participating in economic activities, thus paying taxes. Especially in terms of language, Germany has tried to bring Turkish immigrants to at least level B1 by offering various courses and, particularly with the influence of education and social life in subsequent generations, this effort to adapt them to society has found success. Integration efforts have not been limited to just language learning; migrants who prove their German

proficiency have also been subjected to orientation courses. These courses cover various subjects such as German history, immigrant rights, and behaviours conducive to societal integration, paving the way for Turkish immigrants to achieve maximum levels of adaptation. Germany's efforts towards immigrant integration have sometimes been successful. These policies, which do not have the same effect on every Turkish individual, have brought different issues to the forefront and, especially for Turks longing for their homeland, integration efforts have turned into policies that have not yielded much result.

The concept of assimilation has become intertwined with the concept of integration in migration literature and sometimes even confused with it. The term "assimilate" simply means to lose one's essence, and some countries use assimilation rather than integration methods to adapt immigrants. For example, Bulgaria attempted to Bulgarianize many Turks through Population Exchanges carried out in the past. Many people suffered under this policy. The religion, culture, and names of Muslim Turks were forcibly attempted to be changed. Anyone who resisted experienced severe hardships (Akgün, 2005).

Asimilasyon ve entegrasyon kavramlarının ortak olarak ele aldığı bazı benzerlikler mevcuttur. Bu benzerlikler toplumda göçmenlere yer açmak iken, asimilasyon konusunda bu durum daha sıkı ve kendi kültürünün de önüne geçerken, entegrasyon göçmenin kendi geldiği yere de bağlı kalmasında yardımcı olur. Almanya'nın Türkler için uyguladıkları göçmen politikalarına salt asimilasyon demek yanlış olur. Çünkü Almanlar, zamanında Bulgarların Türklere uyguladığı gibi baskı ve şiddet yoluyla kendi kültürlerini benimsetmeye çalışmak yerine, Türklerin toplumunortak alanlarında Almanya kurallarına uygun olarak yaşamalarını sağlamıştır.

4. TURKISH PEOPLE AND CRIME

The subject of migration has a multidimensional structure. This structure enables its investigation and interpretation not only in the field of international relations and migration but also in many other disciplines such as sociology, economics, law, and health. A migrant not only contributes to population growth in the country they go to but also shapes the sociological situation of that country. Since the beginning of

history, every mass and individual migration movement has changed the structure of both the origin and destination countries, giving migration different meanings. One of the most significant structures among these influential and influenced ones is the concept of crime. The relationship between immigrants and the formation of crime has been the subject of many studies. Karasu, in his research, addresses the relationship between migration and crime by focusing on Şanlıurfa, highlighting the unease caused by migrants and refugees in Turkey. In the study, the author conducted surveys among Turkish residents in Şanlıurfa about Syrian immigrants to confirm the city's security. The findings indicated that the local population was uneasy and had developed a fear of crime following the influx of migrants(Karasu,2016). Another study discusses the factors influencing immigrants' involvement in crime, emphasizing that social exclusion, poverty, and alienation are factors that drive migrants to commit crimes(Güçlüten, Cereci, 2021). Especially in recent years, irregular migration, which has been increasing even more, has caused concern among both the local population in both Turkey and Europe and has raised suspicions about potentially altering the general structure of society. Within this framework, the expressed thoughts suggest that immigrants affect crime rates and even increase the crime rates in the country they go to, depending on the country. The biggest trigger for this is irregular migration. Because irregular migration can mean undocumented migration and enable many undocumented migrants to live illegally in that country. The absence of any record of the illegal immigrant living in that country also plays a role in not being sanctioned if the immigrant commits any crime or according to the laws decided under immigration law. Just as there are many differences between a migrant and a citizen, the sanctions applied to them are not the same. Thus, this entire process creates a connection between migrants and crime, leading countries to take measures on this issue.

4.1 The Role of Turkish People in Crimes Committed in Germany

In order to shed light on the crimes committed by immigrant individuals within the borders of Germany, it is useful to first look at the races living there and the density of these races. According to data from the German Official Statistics Site, the number of immigrants in the last 3 years according to different countries is as follows.

Table 3: Number of immigrants by nationality in Germany in 2020-2021-2022

Country of origin	2020	2021	2022	Change 2021 vs. 2020	Change 2022 vs. 2021
Türkiye	1,461,910	1,458,360	1,487,110	-3,550	28,750
Poland	866,690	870,995	880,780	4,305	9,785
Syria	818,460	867,585	923,805	49,125	56,220
Romania	799,180	844,535	883,670	45,355	39,135
Italy	648,360	646,845	644,970	-1,515	-1,875
Croatia	426,845	434,610	436,325	7,765	1,715
Bulgaria	388,700	410,885	429,665	22,185	18,780
Greece	364,285	362,565	361,270	-1,720	-1,295
Afghanistan	271,805	309,820	377,240	38,015	67,420
Russia	263,300	268,620	290,615	5,320	21,995
Iraq	259,500	276,925	284,595	17,425	7,670
Kosovo	242,855	262,005	280,850	19,150	18,845
Serbia	228,580	239,630	251,365	11,050	11,735
Hungary	211,460	212,735	214,695	1,275	1,960
Bosnia and Herzegovina	211,335	222,065	233,775	10,730	11,710

Germany has become one of the most ideal countries not only for migrants but also for refugees and asylum seekers, with its diverse ethnic backgrounds. Just like in the post-World War II period, where migrants preferred European countries, mostly Germany, for better living conditions, refugees see Germany as a country to seek asylum. As in any country, this situation changes the entire national agenda, and the atmosphere directly focuses on migrants. For example, among the most prominent results of the Arab Spring, which made headlines worldwide in 2010, was a significant escape from Arab countries to Western countries, with Turkey being one of the countries most affected by this war. The fact that Syrian refugees initially had guest refugee status in Turkey, then started having children, finding jobs, and eventually settling in Turkey with temporary identity cards indicates a search for a new life after fleeing from war. Just like Turkish migrants who have been migrating to Germany regularly since 1961 and who think of living there besides making money, it keeps alive the basic idea of migration, which is to achieve better living conditions.

However, in recent years, migrants, especially those who are victims of war, have been changing the internal dynamics of the countries they go to. This also shows that Turkish migrants living in Germany, like Syrian refugees and migrants living in Turkey, sometimes change the internal structure of Germany. Just as Alejandro Portes expressed, "Migration is, of course, change and it can lead, in turn, to further transformations in sending and receiving societies."

The difficulties experienced by Turks in their migration journey of more than 60 years also affect their lives, alienating them in German society. Because, even if issues such as language and education are overcome, the problem of identity experienced has become one of the main problems of Turks, especially after the first-generation. This identity problem, turning into a turmoil that goes beyond generations, has led them to behave contrary to some societal norms. Being perceived as having a foreign culture and religion in German society, not being liked by Germans, has also played a significant role in Turkish youths proving themselves and showing that they are powerful, leading to their tendency towards violence. While it is a known fact among the basic definitions of the crimmigration concept that marginalized and struggling migrants are pushed towards the concept of crime, it is quite normal for the desires of young migrants to change the balance to result in crime. According to research by the Bundeskriminalamt Germany Statistics Site, every year, many migrants from various backgrounds commit different crimes. The table below provides the percentage rates of crimes committed by Turks from 2015 to 2022.

Table 4: Number of crimes committed by Turkish immigrants by year and their change over the years

YEARS	THE NUMBER OF CRIMES	RATE
2015	1.844	+2.49 %
2016	2.174	+17,8 %

2017	2.719	+25,06 %
2018	4.099	+50,8 %
2019	4.404	+7,4 %
2020	4.319	-1,9 %
2021	3.845	-11,0 %
2022	4.452	+15,8 %

When the table created according to Bundeskriminalamt data is examined, we see that the crime rate of Turks is unstable and constantly fluctuating. In the comparison to be made in the next section, comparing the crime rates of Turks and other nations will actually provide easier information about the lives of Turkish individuals in Germany.

4.2 Crime Rates of Turkish People compared to Other Immigrants

The crimes committed by migrant communities who have been living in Germany for a long time are recorded every year, and information such as the increase or decrease in crime rates and the types of crimes committed is kept. With data obtained from the Federal Criminal Police Office, which is the statistical institution in Germany, the crime rates of different countries' migrants in Germany are provided in the table below to reveal the differences between Turkish migrants and others. Furthermore, a comparison will be made between the crime rates of Turks and the countries with the highest crime rates based on the available three years' data from 2020 to 2022. It should be noted that Turkish-origin individuals who are German citizens are not included in the table; only non-citizen migrants are included.

Table 5: Known crime rates by nation in 2020-2021-2022

Years/Countries	2020	2021	2022
Syria	27.561	26.396	28.303
Afghanistan	14.750	13.463	14.565
Irak	9.835	9.315	9.511
Iran	5.353	4.253	4.147
Turkey	4.319	3.845	4.452
Nigeria	5.329	5.350	4.269
Algeria	3.641	4.440	5.440
Georgia	3.188	3.333	5.614
Morocco	3.320	3.636	4.017
Ukraine	1.992	1.621	9.234

According to the given table, the first thing to note is how much the crime rates of Turks have increased in recent years, as mentioned in the previous section. Additionally, in recent years, countries from the Middle East and Africa have remained at the top in terms of crime rates, with Georgia and Ukraine also having high numbers. Ukraine stands out notably in 2022 with a +469.6% increase rate, marking the highest value in terms of percentage. The major impact of this increase is attributed to the Russia-Ukraine War that started in 2014 and reignited in 2022. Due to this war, many Ukrainian refugees sought asylum in Germany and attempted to stay there. The Ukrainian population exceeding one million in 2022 is the most plausible explanation for the increase in the number of offenders.

The fact that Turkish individuals have a longer history with Germany compared to other countries does not seem to have a significant effect on them. When looking at the overall situation of countries, it is incorrect to equate the situation of Turkish migrants with that of migrants from the Middle East and North Africa, especially considering the migrant population these countries have in Germany. However, when looking at the results, Turkey has similar crime rates to undeveloped or developing

countries where migrants originate. Besides the differences in crime rates among societies, the identities and sense of belonging of migrants can also vary. Especially migrants who struggle with their identity, combined with loneliness and negative habits, may turn to crime. Committing a crime can sometimes be seen as a form of defense or retaliation. The exclusionary attitudes towards migrants in the host country play a role in both preserving their identities and contributing to the increase in crime rates (Başkurt, 2009).

4.3 The Reaction of Germans and the Press to This Situation

The efforts of immigrants to settle in the places they migrate to, their struggles with adaptation, and racist experiences can lead to their social isolation and weakening within the society. However, beneath all these experiences lie many reasons. Both the immigrant community and the attitude of the native population in the host country shape these situations. The Arab Spring, which caused great turmoil worldwide in 2011, and the subsequent Syrian civil war led to an influx of many immigrants to Turkey. Initially, the Turkish people, harbouring a hospitable policy, began to adopt a different attitude as different nationalities found their place in this migration influx. Inadequate border security, immigrants causing problems in the areas they come from, especially immigrants from countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, and North Africa, engaging in disturbing acts such as harassment, theft, and attempted murder, led to a change in the attitude of the local population. This situation does not reflect the attitude towards all immigrants in Turkey, but in recent years, this trend has become noticeable. While the summary of the situation described in the first sentence is from the perspective of Turkey, not only these events but also the Ukrainian migration following the Russia-Ukraine war has led to negative perceptions towards immigrants and subsequently refugees. Hence, one of the reasons for this attitude towards immigrants is their large numbers and the potential disruptions they may cause in the places they come from. It may not be accurate to lump together the Turks in Germany with the refugees and immigrants in Turkey in recent years, as Turks in Germany have a significant history that cannot be underestimated. While immigrants in Turkey face such situations, experiences of racist remarks and humiliations among Turkish immigrants in Germany have also become the subject of media and academic studies. For example, in a study, the German people perceived Turkish Muslims as prone to

violence. Not only violent but also the number of those who interpret them as 'too wild to integrate, too attached to their roots to adapt' is not negligible. Among the reasons for this, Germans' individual experiences hold an important place, but one study showing that 15% of children in juvenile correctional facilities were Turkish in 1998 also substantiates this situation. Germans initially welcomed the arrival of Turks positively, but later receptions turned negative. For example, for the first 25-30 years of their arrival, Turks did not face concrete situations where they were unwanted apart from the discriminations of fascist Germans. However, in the following years, especially with the continuation of Nazi ideology, incidents such as arson attacks on their homes and subsequent immigrant murders prove how this situation turned into racism. Especially the incidents of Turkish families' homes being set on fire in Mölln and Solingen are clear propaganda of Germans not wanting Turks. However, because this propaganda is not humane but a vicious attack, it has caused a rift between Turks and Germans (Kutay, 2022). The real question to be asked in this part is as follows: Were Turks unwanted because they were not adapting, or were Turks not wanted due to Germans' right-wing approach? It is beneficial to look into several ources to answer this question. Acar (2014) discusses the integration process of Turkish immigrants in Germany and also mentions ethnicity and foreign discrimination. Thus, the sole reason for the adaptation problems faced by immigrants is not the problems they bring from their own country but also the racist attitudes towards immigrants in the host country. Therefore, the perspective towards Turks affects their coexistence among themselves, and it is noted that the negative perception of many Turks towards Germans is also reflected. In another study by researcher Ayhan Kaya, Kaya refers to Turks living in Germany as EuroTurks, and also discusses the spiritual values and religious sensitivities that Turks bring with them when they come to Germany. Although these sensitivities sometimes lead to different polarizations within Germany, Turks entering the country and those living there do not disturb Germans as much as before. In fact, it is noted that Turks who adapt well often find a place in the higher echelons of society(Kaya, 2015). Solaker and Gündüz conducted a thought-provoking study by examining the book "The Lowest of the Low" by Günther Wallraff, a highly influential author in both Germany and Turkey, to question the lives of Turks living in Germany. In this study, the authors delved deep into the events experienced by Wallraff, a journalist in Germany who consciously acted as a Turkish worker, to highlight the low living standards of Turks and the mercilessness of the German people towards them.

Despite the fact that this situation dates back in time, the racist attitudes of Germans towards Turks and their explicit statements of unwelcomeness have persisted to this day, creating gaps between the two communities in some places. The authors also indicated that one of the reasons for Turks not being wanted stems from the general racist tendencies of Germans(Solaker&Gündüz, 2023). Nevertheless, the existing integration policies in Germany have begun to play a role in fostering greater harmony between the two communities and bridging the deep gap between them. In essence, various studies have been conducted on this subject, different perspectives have been put forward, and over time, the German perception of Turks has changed. Turks are not the same as when they first arrived and are more adaptable. However, research shows that the integration of Turks has still not been fully achieved, and Germans have not fully embraced Turks.

5. METHODOLOGY

This section explains the reasons and methods for conducting the research component of the study. In the research section of the main title "Turks in Germany," participants will be subjected to a semi-structured interview, thus providing a concrete basis for the legal and criminal experiences of Turks living in Germany.

5.1 The Problem and Objective of the Research

Since 1961, Turkish citizens who migrated to Germany, forming the fourth-generation by 2023, continue their lives there. Hosting Turks for a very long time, Germany has ensured that Turks are the largest immigrant group living there. Apart from Turks, Germany, especially after World War II, has demanded immigrants from many countries within and outside Europe to meet its labour needs, but there is an unaccounted factor, which is the desire of immigrants to settle permanently in Germany. Along with this situation, including Turks, many immigrant groups have preferred to live in Germany. The increase in the immigrant population not only signifies a decrease in the native population in Germany. The increase in the immigrant population has affected many areas such as politics, economy, social issues, and

religion. One of the fundamental concepts affected by this is crime. The concept of crime generally progresses parallel to the increase in immigrants. As seen in the tables mentioned in the Introduction section of different immigrant groups in Germany, having different crime rates also indicates that we need to examine migration and crime concepts according to nations.

As stated above, the main aim of the research is to shed light on the reasons for the crimes committed by Turks during their stay in Germany and their effects on Turkish immigrants. In this context, the problematic aspects of the research can be listed with the following points:

- Does the number and situation of Turkish immigrants in Germany affect the crime incidents in Germany?
- Is the reason for the increase in crime rates in Germany is due to the repressive and harsh policies of Germany towards Turks, or is it due to the generally angry and prone to crime nature of Turks?
- Do the repressive policies towards Turkish immigrants in Germany, both implemented and to be implemented, reduce the crimes committed by immigrants?

Within the framework of these questions, the main objective of the research is to analyse the share of the Turkish community living in Germany in the crime incidents in Germany and to examine the impact of this situation on the Turkish diaspora they have formed. In investigating this situation, analysing Germany's policies towards Turks will also help to better understand the subject. However, there are also sub-objectives of the study. Among these are understanding the migration of Turks to Germany through migration theories, tracking integration policies towards Turks, and many other objectives that constitute the subject of the article.

5.2 The Methodology of the Research

Although social sciences shed light on generalizable truths with their various theories, breaking individual experiences and generalizable truths is also one of the main components of social sciences. Each exception does not negate the existing reality, but the significance of these exceptions should not be overlooked. Among the scientific

research methods proposed so far, the most important methods are quantitative and qualitative research methods. This study is based on qualitative research, focusing on participants answering 16 open-ended questions within certain criteria. The target audience to answer the questions were consist of 30 individuals who were born in Germany or have lived in Germany for a certain period. The questions directed to the 30 individuals will be specific to them but will be asked confidentially. The questions are as follows. The average response time for answering the questions is expected to be around 20 minutes, and the information obtained will be compiled into a table.

1. Year of Birth: .....
2. Gender: .....
3. Marital Status: .....
4. Education Level: .....
5. Are you employed? .....
6. Were you born in Germany or did you migrate to Germany later?
7. In your opinion, how do Germans view Turks?
8. Can Turks live their lives as they wish in Germany?
9. What do you think of Germany's immigration policies?
10. Do you classify yourself as a Turkish immigrant or as a German?
11. How does the German media portray Turks?
12. Has there been an incident where you or someone in your circle was involved in a crime in Germany? If so, what type of crime was it?
13. After this crime was committed, was anyone in your circle subjected to any sanctions?
14. Have you ever been falsely accused of a crime by Germans?
15. After the allegations, did you or someone in your circle have to return to Turkey?
16. Did the attitude of Germans towards you or the person in your circle who committed the crime change after the crime was committed?

5.3 Ethical Issue

The concept of crime in the social sciences does not seem to be an extensively studied area compared to other subjects in the literature. Similarly, the relationship between immigrants and crime appears to be regionally limited and consists mostly of studies based on public data, far from research techniques. Among the reasons for this are the lack of theories between the concept of crime and immigrants, and the sensitivity of the topic, as it is not an area where immigrants would readily engage in conversation. Initially, the target population considered for the study on migration and crime was 100, but this number was later reduced to 30. This decision was made because it became apparent during the process that reaching the target of 100 through announcements was not feasible, whereas reaching a number like 30 was thought to be easier. Although the study consisted of a semi-structured interview method, to be answered entirely anonymously, some participants still discontinued their participation or felt uncomfortable.

These factors contributed to limiting the target audience of the research and resulted in a small amount of data obtained. The study was designed to reassure participants that they could leave the interview at any time and that their data would never be used without their permission. The study was completed with 18 number of participants, and the data section is written in the following section. In the conclusion section, the experiences of crime among Turkish immigrants living in Germany are explained in the context of immigrants' living conditions, attempting to determine whether the causes of crime among immigrant’s stem from the conditions in the host country or from the immigrants' inability to adapt.

5.4 The Restrictions of the Research

Within the scope of the research, a target of 30 individuals was set, and the number of reached participants is 18. The primary reason for this is that the research consists of questions pertaining more to legal matters than social inquiries. These questions may not be ones that every migrant wishes to answer, and despite the emphasis on confidentiality, participants may still have concerns due to the sensitivity of the topic.

The inclusion of questions in the interview that require participants to recall their past experiences and negative memories has led to several individuals abandoning the interview midway. Consequently, difficulties were encountered in reaching the targeted number. However, participants were reached through social media, particularly by posting announcement texts on popular platforms such as Facebook and Telegram, and participants filled out the interview through this method.

One of the reasons why it was difficult to access data in the study was this. Reaching the participants through social media and the form link sent gave them distrust. Because the false links and false news circulating widely on social media caused the participants' trust to be broken and caused them to distrust the interview. Therefore, since there were many people who did not want to answer via the link, a limited number of interviews were held, although the participant target was 30.

5.5 Data Collection

PARTICIPANTS' PERSONAL INFORMATIONS

As part of the research, a 16-question semi-structured interview was conducted with Turks living in different cities of Germany to gather information about their involvement in crime and the perception of Germans towards Turks. Participants' age, gender, and personal information are provided in Table 6, while the section regarding participants' lives in Germany and their criminal activities is presented in the anecdotes provided below the table.

Table 6: Personal characteristics of the participants

	Birth Year	Sex	Marital Status	Education Level	Working Status
Participant 1	1990	Man	Single	Bachelor	Yes
Participant 2	1993	Man	Single	Bachelor	No

Participant 3	1984	Man	Single	High School	Yes
Participant 4	1980	Man	Single	High School	Yes
Participant 5	1979	Woman	Married	High School	No
Participant 6	1961	Man	Single	Primary School	Yes
Participant 7	2001	Woman	Single	Bachelor	No
Participant 8	1990	Woman	Married	Bachelor	Yes
Participant 9	1982	Man	Single	Bachelor	Yes
Participant 10	1986	Man	Divorced	High School	Yes
Participant 11	1992	Woman	Married	Master's Degree	Yes
Participant 12	1989	Man	Married	High School	Yes
Participant 13	1989	Woman	Married	Ausbildung	Yes
Participant 14	1973	Man	Married	Primary School	Yes
Participant 15	1999	Woman	Single	University	No
Participant 16	1998	Man	Single	University	No
Participant 17	1980	Man	Single	High School	Yes
Participant 18	1987	Woman	Married	High School	Yes

6. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The study, including the dimension of migration and crime, will evaluate and compare responses and personal characteristics, particularly in the context of crimmigration.

The semi-structured interviews included in the study were conducted with 18 Turks living in different cities of Germany. Findings from this research show a total of 11 men and 7 women participated. Among these individuals, 55.6% were single, 38.9% were married, and 5.5% were widowed. Looking at the age distribution of the participants, it is noteworthy that only 1 person was born after 2000. The others have birth years ranging from the 1970s to the 2000s.

In the study, the youngest participant is a 23-year-old woman currently living in Germany. Born in Germany, she appears to be well integrated into the society and gets along well with the local youth. Regarding criminal activity, this youngest participant has paid a fine for a traffic violation. On the other hand, looking at the oldest participant in the study, he is a 63-year-old man born in 1961 who migrated in 1970 to Germany. He argues that Turkish people living in Germany, especially in terms of gender, differ from Germans, and that these differences in attitudes towards women are also reflected in society. Concerning criminal activity, he reported that he was implicated in a crime because acquaintances, not himself, brought banned substances from Turkey to Germany.

It is noted that both the youngest and oldest participants in the study have experienced specific events related to crime. This observation does not definitively suggest that age is a significant factor in how Turkish people living in Germany experience the intersection of criminal law and immigration policies (Crimmigration). However, the 40-year span between individuals born in 1961 and 2001 may allow us to comment on how Turkish immigrants have retained certain characteristics from their initial arrival in Germany.

When we look at the gender distribution in the study, it is observed that there are 7 female participants and 11 male participants. Examining the responses to the questions, it is found among the study's findings that while women tend to be more adapted to life in Germany, men face more difficulties in living standards and also have more firsthand experiences with crime. However, half of the female participants and half of the male participants frequently used negative expressions in evaluating how Germans view them, thus negatively assessing Germany's perception of them. This perception is evident in their responses regarding crime, which affects their lives as well. Because responses related to Crimmigration are limited and pose a problem for them as well (as evidenced by half of the 36 participants not wanting to participate in a study related to crime), participants who responded directly were able to articulate what constitutes a crime in this context. This situation has also influenced their emphasis on the negative conditions of living in Germany.

The participants' self-perception as either German or Turkish, and its connection to Crimmigration, can be understood from the following responses. Those who identify themselves as German (4 individuals + 1 who sees themselves as German but remains loyal to Turkish culture) answered 'no' to all questions related to crime, showing their identification as German and their distance from Turkish culture. This actually reflects how Turks who have gone to Germany see themselves as German, moving away from their Turkish identity, and quickly showing that they will not make any attempt that would bother the German people.

Among the participants, the majority are immigrants to Germany, with over 80% of participants having migrated later in life. There are only 3 participants who were born in Germany, among whom 1 has been directly involved in crime. Among the 15 participants who migrated to Germany later in life, 1 person has been directly involved in crime. This situation can be explained as follows: Turkish immigrants who arrived later in Germany may find it more challenging to adapt to life there and may behave more cautiously to avoid legal issues and ensure they can stay, whereas Turkish individuals born in Germany and holding German citizenship might feel more at ease. This is because Turkish individuals with German identity know that if they commit a crime, they will be punished as German citizens, whereas Turkish immigrants (especially those who arrived through asylum or illegal means) may feel they need to be more careful to continue living in Germany.

The perspective towards Turkish people differs between individuals born in Germany and those who migrated later. One of the most striking aspects apparent in the results is that some Turks dissociate themselves from their Turkish identity and perceive themselves entirely as German. Despite having two individuals born in Germany, nearly half of those surveyed acknowledge their German identity, with some even claiming to be directly German. While three immigrant German citizens express that they perceive themselves as barbaric, unadopted, and unable to integrate, two immigrants believe that Germans view Turks as cheap labour and think that as long as they adapt, they do not pose any problems. Along with these results, there are twelve individuals who express that the perspective of Germans towards Turks is good or average. When we look at the results, the individual numbered 1 responded to the question about the German perspective towards Turks as follows:

"We are not exposed to any discrimination in our daily lives due to our ethnic origin. They see us more as a workforce coming to the country." On the other hand, Participant 3 stated, "This situation is changing a lot. While some Germans are very friendly, some have hatred towards Turks, and this situation is unlikely to improve," indicating that Germans themselves are divided on this issue.

Participant 6's response to this question was, "We are now a high society. Germans are happy when they meet us because we think like them, and talk like them." This response indicates that Turks are starting to break away from the second-class treatment and attitude they initially received and now see themselves as citizens. Although the responses mostly appear positive, it can be said that there are still people in Germany who hold negative views towards Turks.

Similar variations were observed in responses to Question 11, which asked about perceptions of Turks in German media. While Participant 1's response was, "German media describes Turks as a hard-working and hospitable nation," Participant 2's response was short and straightforward: "Bad." Another response (Participant 6) referred to the merging of Turks with the professions they undertake, mentioning how German media sees Turks as "kebab sellers." But perhaps the most striking answer to this question comes from participant 18, the last participant in the survey. According to her answer, while Turks make headlines for days because they disturb society, it is very difficult to see Germans who kill Turks in the media. Two participants in the survey mention that Turks continue the convoy tradition in Germany. The reason why this issue is on the agenda is that the Turks disturb the Germans. While the Germans see the convoy as a crime that disturbs the society, the Turks see it as their tradition(Dervirgül, 2019).

Furthermore, among the participants asked about Germany's immigration policies, there were both those who found the policies appropriate and those who believed they needed correction. Participant 1 responded, "I think they are following a valid policy and deporting people who they cannot integrate into the system and those who insist on not adapting." In contrast, Participant 3 highlighted the differences between Turkish immigrants and immigrants from other nations in their response to this question. Participant 5's response emphasized the significance of their own history compared to

other immigrants, expressing concern about taking in too many immigrants and the resulting social problems. When we look at the responses to immigration policies, some find it standard and some are satisfied. It is also possible to see Turks who are not satisfied with the incoming refugees and asylum seekers. There are not many common answers to this question, and the answer to the question has changed depending on the date the Turks came.

The question of whether Turkish immigrants living in Germany and Turkish-origin individuals who German citizens are classify themselves as Turkish or German also received varied responses. While Participant 1 referred to themselves as a Turkish immigrant, Participant 2 stated, "*Neither German nor immigrant*." Many other participants also classified themselves as immigrants. However, the most interesting response to this question was from Participant 6, who said, "I am Turkish, but a Romanian or a Bulgarian begging in every corner disguised as a Turk is harming us," highlighting the desire of other immigrant groups not to present Turks in a negative light and not to tarnish the reputation of their own nationality. Almost half of the participants say that they are closer to their Turkish identity in this part, while the other half live with their German identity. The interesting situation is that two of the three people born in Germany emphasized that they were of Turkish origin. However, among those who immigrated later, there were also those who directly stated that they were German.

When it comes to questions about crime, the responses varied. While immigrants generally do not directly involve themselves or their relatives in crimes, Participant 4 mentioned an incident involving a Turkish woman and a foreign husband (most likely German) in their neighbourhood. Participant 6, although not directly involved in any crime, mentioned the smuggling of drugs in the past and gold smuggling currently. Other participants were not unfamiliar with the concept of crime, even though they themselves were not directly involved. Younger individuals did not observe Turks directly involved in crime, but many older individuals pointed out different aspects. Participant 6's response also includes a reference to Turkish girls, indicating that cultural and religious differences play a significant role. Participant 7's response, "*Maybe if I were German, he wouldn't react that much.*" serves as concrete evidence that Turks still do not trust Germans regarding racism. The fact that Turks suffered

from discrimination and heavy violence from Germans when they first arrived is evidenced by a statement starting with "If I were German..." made by a person born in Germany. Upon inspection, this individual, having grown up with German culture and rules, has not kept themselves free from accusations against Turks; instead, it has fostered resentment within them. Participant 12, on the other hand, stated in response to this question that they brought their brother from Austria through illegal means and did not receive any punishment in terms of 'personal responsibility' for this act. This confirms the conclusions of other participants, especially in response to question 14. Because although they may not feel a strong allegiance to the German government and people, almost all participants expressed that Germans act fairly.

Another point to be mentioned regarding crime is the perspective of Turkish immigrants in Germany towards other immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Turks also seem to be disturbed by the entry of Arabs into the country. When we look at both the immigration policy question and the crime-related questions, it was stated by the participants that the Germans constantly import Arabs and that North Africans are prone to crime. Participant 5; she stated that in recent years, many nations have come as victims of war and that he is disturbed by the fact that the Turks seem to have come arbitrarily compared to them, and that she is disturbed by the arrival of other immigrants.

The number of Turks who have viewed Germany as an exit door for the past 60 years has steadily increased and continues to do so. In recent years, Germany has continued to open doors for many people to work. This situation has made Germany a country of immigrants and a place where Turks can also live. When considering whether the positive aspects brought by Turks outweigh the negatives, while the Turkish workforce pleases Germans, survey results show support for the arrival of Turkish individuals. However, this does not mean that they support the arrival of every Turk.

The main focus of the study, Crimmigration, includes questions where immigrants wrote shorter responses. Responses to questions directly related to crime were both brief and lacking sufficient information. Participants were reluctant to share their information due to insecurity, especially when clicking on the link used in the survey-based interview.

Although participants were aware that the survey prioritized reliability and confidentiality, it is still likely that among those who participated in the survey, there are individuals facing difficulties in residency and/or citizenship status. The short responses particularly provided by these individuals to the last questions summarize the situation. This is because nearly every citizen who entered Germany through illegal means experiences difficulties in this regard. Especially with Germany's border security being so stringent, and individuals entering the country illegally, it seems very challenging for them to carry out their activities here(Krieg et al.,2023).

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study is to focus on the adaptation process experienced by Turks in Germany, the country to which they have immigrated for many years, and to investigate how they developed their relations with the host country, Germany, over time. While not every adaptation process ends successfully, immigrants can reflect their material and spiritual deficiencies to society in different ways. As a result of this situation, 'Crimmigration' occurs, adversely affecting both the local population and other immigrants. The study attempted to research the conditions of life for immigrants, particularly the attitudes of Germany, which has engaged in racist activities in the past, towards immigrants by presenting a survey conducted on 18 Turkish immigrants residing in Germany for at least 5 years. In this context, Turks appear to be more adaptable compared to the past, and intergenerational differences also support this claim. However, the failure of the German government to conduct a comprehensive integration program for Turks, who have a 60-year migration history, deepens the gap between the two communities and hinders integration. Nevertheless, the perception of Turks as a workforce by the German population has decreased over time, as indicated by the survey results where Turks generally express positive connections with Germans. Although this study did not reach the intended target audience, it served as a step in providing insight to the readers. Looking at the literature, while studies on Turks who migrated in the early years were abundant, recent studies have shifted towards different migrant groups, limiting research in this area. I believe that more detailed research is needed on migration and crime. Future

research should address the existing gaps in the literature and involve a larger sample size. Conversations should be facilitated with individuals from both the immigrant and local communities to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges they face and the current conditions. Efforts should be made to enhance integration in both directions.

Germany, being Europe's largest migrant-receiving country, has seen an increase in migration not only from Turks but also from people of various nationalities, both legally and illegally, seeking to improve their circumstances. As these migration movements continue to increase, especially with the presence of people from different backgrounds, it will bring along its own set of challenges. Given Germany's favorable conditions for migrants in the service sector, authorities should strive to improve the existing and ongoing irregular migration movements.

Germany, offering better opportunities for immigrants, has become one of the countries receiving the most immigrants in recent years with its migration policies. The Turkish community still constitutes the largest immigrant group in Germany, partly due to the historical labor migration and political issues in Turkey, as well as recent economic downturns. Germany seems poised to continue receiving numerous immigrants in the coming years with its migration policies. Immigrants, who have been a significant part of the service sector in Germany for decades, contribute to filling the gaps and reluctances in the German workforce, thus making Germany heavily reliant on immigrants. Although the aim of the study is to explore the concepts of migration and crime and to work with Turkish residents in Germany, insufficient participation in the survey and the lack of 'Crimmigration' in the literature necessitate more rigorous fieldwork on this topic.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethic Committee Confirmation

TED ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İNSAN ARAŞTIRMALARI ETİK KURULU
ETİK KURUL KARARLARI
Sayı: 2024-30 Tarih: 30/04/2024

Toplantı Sayısı:	2024-30
Toplantı Tarihi ve Saati:	30 Nisan 2024 Saat: 12.30
Toplantı Yeri:	Zoom üzerinden yapılmıştır.
Katılanlar:	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Kıymet Duygu ERDAŞ - Başkan Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Duygu Onay Çoker - Raportör Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Çağla Öneren ŞENDİL - Üye Doç. Dr. Melike Ünal GEZER - Üye Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Elçin Emre AKDOĞAN - Üye Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Beril Türkoğlu DEMİREL - Üye
Raportör:	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Duygu Onay Çoker

GÖRÜŞME MADDELERİ :

G.15 : TED Üniversitesi, İşletme Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Şebnem Akipek Öcal'ın danışmanlığında, Handan Karakoç tarafından yürütülecek olan "Türkiye'den Almanyaya Göç Etmis Göçmenler" başlıklı çalışmasının araştırma etiğine uygunluğu görüşüldü.

Karar 2024-30/15 : TED Üniversitesi, İşletme Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Şebnem Akipek Öcal'ın danışmanlığında, Handan Karakoç tarafından yürütülecek olan "Türkiye'den Almanyaya Göç Etmis Göçmenler" başlıklı çalışmasına,

ONAY KARARI VERİLDİ.

Toplantı saat 15.00 sona erdi.

Question 7: What do you think is the Germans' perspective towards Turks?

Participant 1: *They see them as labour force coming to the country.*

Participant 2: *Barbarians*

Participant 3: *This situation is changing a lot. While some Germans are very friendly, some have hatred towards Turks, and this situation is unlikely to improve.*

Participant 4: *Super*

Participant 5: *Since I was born and raised here, I did not have any problems with the Germans. However, I have known people who were subjected to racism.*

Participant 6: *We are now a high society. Germans are happy when they meet us because we think like them, and talk like them.*

Participant 7: *We get along well with people our age.*

Participant 8: *They are very good towards those who are educated, but they see them as classic immigrants towards those who only immigrate.*

Participant 9: *Neutral and slightly biased.*

Participant 10: *If Turks work, they treat them well, but if Turks don't work, they say they should go to their own country.*

Participant 11: *They generally see them as barbarians.*

Participant 12: *Very good.*

Participant 13: *Neutral*

Participant 14: *When I was a child, their attitudes towards us weren't very good, but then they changed. Now they're better, and they're in need of us.*

Participant 15 : *I haven't faced any difficulties so far, but this could be because I was born here and also because I speak German well.*

Participant 16: *Although not all German citizens are the same, Turks are generally viewed as third-class citizens.*

Participant 17: *Very good. Better than the Turks.*

Participant 18: *Every German's perspective on every Turk is different. Some Germans are very good, they have embraced, but some behave as if we have not been with them for many years. It's even possible to see people who still support old racist Germany. As a Turk, it's necessary to stay away from them.*

QUESTION 8: Can Turks live their lives as they wish in Germany?

Participant 1: *Yes, those who are adapted here can live their lives as they wish.*

Participant 2: *Yes*

Participant 3: *Many yes, but newcomers have a hard time.*

Participant 4: *Yes, we are very comfortable. We know we can talk to anyone we want.*

Participant 5: *Yes, most of us do, but those who arrive first experience huge problems, especially with asylum. Because they are refugees, they are seen as lower class people.*

Participant 6: *Yes, we live comfortably and freely.*

Participant 7: *Of course, the Germans adopted us and one in every two Turks has a home and workplace here.*

Participant 8: *Most yes, those with many children have a hard time*

Participant 9: *Partially*

Participant 10: *Not as much as in Turkey. In Turkey, there is not much respect for the environment, neighbors and others. Here you have to be respectful from trees to animals. That's why people coming from Turkey have a hard time.*

Participant 11: *Yes, but it also depends on how they want to live. They are not free in every field. For example: Islam.*

Participant 12: *You can live better than you want.*

Participant 13: *Yes*

Participant 14: *Sometimes, we can face racist situations, but that's all in the past now. We don't struggle with it much anymore.*

Participant 15*: We live here, but I don't really know much about people living elsewhere.*

Participant 16: *If we consider the overall situation, I can say no.*

Participant 17: *Yes*

Participant 18: *Most of them yes, but there are still some who are struggling and not doing well. Those who are doing well are already investing in Turkey*

QUESTION 9: How do you find Germany's immigration policies?

Participant 1: *I think they are following a valid policy and deporting people who they cannot integrate into the system and those who insist on not adapting.*

Participant 2: *Standard*

Participant 3: *The policies they apply to us and other immigrants are different. Looks like they need us more.*

Participant 4: *Neither too good or too bad*

Participant 5: *I don't think it's right for it to take in too many immigrants. Turks are people who have been coming here for years. It is good for Turks to come, but there are always Ukrainians and Syrians, which creates social problems, and since other races are victims of war, Turks become people who leave their homeland for arbitrary reasons.*

Participant 6: *I find it positive, but if it doesn't work, no one should come.*

Participant 7: *Even though it is very good, there are more immigrants than Germans now, and this situation seems to cause problems for them.*

Participant 8: *I think it's good, immigrants mean economic power for them*

Participant 9: *Neither good nor bad. But they are trying something.*

Participant 10: *It's too simple for some, too heavy for others, I don't find it fair. It's all about luck. It depends on the mental problem of the judge and prosecutor that day. If the judge or prosecutor is good that day, they do not give very heavy sanctions.*

Participant 11: *Bad*

Participant 12: *Too soft, can be made a little harder.*

Participant 13: *There may be more rules.*

Participant 14: *Lately, they've been showing a lot of favoritism towards Arabs.*

Participant 15: *In general, they don't have problems with good, harmonious people. They try to adapt the incompatible ones.*

Participant 16: *Honestly, I think the policy of retaining skilled immigrants is the right one.*

Participant 17: *Very good.*

Participant 18: *In my opinion, it should be improved, not everyone should be taken. Yes, the share of skilled immigrants is very high, but that doesn't mean that everyone who is physically strong should be taken. Perhaps policies similar to the United States could be pursued. At least the United States educates immigrants to adopt its own culture and living conditions. Here, there are still many immigrants trying to preserve their own culture, which of course leads to deep differences between the German race and us immigrants.*

QUESTION 10: Do you classify yourself as a Turkish immigrant? Or as a German?

Participant 1: *I am a Turkish immigrant.*

Participant 2: *I do not classify myself as an Immigrant, nor do I consider myself German.*

Participant 3: *I came when I was a child. My Turkish is good, but I am also very close to the German culture. I love Germany.*

Participant 4: *Even if I introduce myself as a Turk, I now classify myself as a German because I don't think of returning to Turkey*.

Participant 5: *I am a German of Turkish origin. Even though my Turkish is very good, I have never had a Turkish identity.*

Participant 6: *I am Turkish, but begging in every corner is a Romanian or a Bulgarian disguised as a Turk, causing harm to us.*

Participant 7: *I am both German and Turkish.*

Participant 8: *I am Turkish.*

Participant 9: *Turkish immigrant*

Participant 10: *Since I'm working and I don't need the German state, I can say it's in between.*

Participant 11: *I am German.*

Participant 12: *As an immigrant*

Participant 13: *German*

Participant 14: *I'm like a German now, thankfully, but my Turkish and Turkish culture are still there.*

Participant 15 : *To be honest, I feel closer to Germany because I was born here. I'm even writing these things using translation. Both my Turkish and Turkish consciousness are weak.*

Participant 16: *I classify myself as a Turkish immigrant.*

Participant 17: *I am a German.*

Participant 18: *Of course I am Turk.*

QUESTION 11: How does the German media define Turks?

Participant 1: *German media describes Turks as a hard-working and hospitable nation*

Participant 2: *Bad*

Participant 3: *This question also changes from time to time because Germans are a more serious society than us. Especially when we behave like in Turkey, they feel uncomfortable with this situation and share it, for example, the Turks who made convoys became famous for a while.*

Participant 4: *A party chairman wanted to send the Turks, but ıf we send the Turks anywhere, our economy will fail. sometimes good, sometimes bad.*

Participant 5: *Sometimes they think we disturb them, sometimes they are right because some Turks are disrespectful, especially towards those who are not like them.*

Participant 6: *It's a doner restaurant, but they've adapted positively, they say our Turks are full of doner shops in Germany.*

Participant 7: *An immigrant on social media is like a maid in real life*

Participant 8: *I haven't come across many examples in the media, but looking at my wife and her family, I can say that they love Turks.*

Participant 9: *According to the media, there is a situation hidden behind political correctness, but in my opinion, this is just prejudice.*

Participant 10: *The media generally looks superficially and when it goes too deep, it becomes ignorant and cannot manage itself.*

Participant 11: *Barbarian*

Participant 12: *Regardless of whether you are from Turkey or another country, they interpret it according to what you do, so it is transparent.*

Participant 13: *It reflects the facts.*

Participant 14: *These things change over time, especially when we first arrived, there was a period when the press was bad, Turks were being portrayed very negatively. Now, only troublemakers appear in the press, but if it were done by a German, the press would cover it too.*

Participant 15 : *I haven't come across much in the media related to Turks.*

Participant 16: *They don't use very good adjectives about Turks.*

Participant 17: *I don't follow.*

Participant 18: *Newspapers and internet news are very variable. Especially recently, there was a family killed here. I didn't see much news about them. However, the news about Turks organizing convoys constantly appears in the media. According to them,*

our convoys are not humane, but for them, killing one of us is insignificant enough not to be news-worthy. That's why I don't find the media justified.

QUESTION 12 : Has there been an incident in Germany where you or someone from your circle was involved in a crime? If so, what kind of crime was this?

Participant 1: *It didn't happen*

Participant 2: *It didn't happen*

Participant 3: *Although I have been here for a long time, I have never met anyone involved in crime, I have only seen short-term fights, including Turks.*

Participant 4: *Two days ago, a Turkish woman and her foreign husband fought. towards the morning, the man cursed his wife and the Turks*

Participant 5: *Since I have been here for years, I have seen many Turks involved in crime. None of them were major crimes, but I did see theft. Also, the arson incident, but these are so old I don't remember much.*

Participant 6: *In every society, there are people involved in crime. In the Turkish society here, generally the Turks who commit crimes talk about honour and cannot accept the situation when it comes to girls from a German or another nationality. Especially in the past, Turks used to bring a lot of hashish, I witnessed them.*

Participant 7: *Yes, I had a small traffic accident and hit a German and he realized that I was a foreigner from my accent. Maybe if I were 100% German, he wouldn't react that much.*

Participant 8: *I have only seen crimes among Germans, but very minor crimes.*

Participant 9: *I had a friend.*

Participant 10: *Yes*

Participant 11: *Thanks God, no.*

Participant 12: *I took my brother from Austria illegally and was caught while coming to Germany.*

Participant 13*: No*

Participant 14: *Unfortunately, it happened. The uncles who came after us made a bad start; they got into fights with their neighbors here. We were somewhere else; they went to Düsseldorf, and at that time, there weren't many Turks there. They were left alone.*

Participant 15 : *It didn't happen. There are adapted Turks around us anyway, most of them are like Germans.*

Participant 16: *We got involved in an altercation, me and my friends. It was about a debt issue.*

Participant 17: *No*

Participant 18: *No, it didn't happen, but I saw many cases where immigrants came later. North Africans, in particular, are very incompatible people. Of course, these people also have a connection with the newly arrived Turks and the Turks can also get involved in crime.*

QUESTION 13: After this crime was committed, were you or anyone around you involved in the crime subject to any sanctions?

Participant 1: *No*

Participant 2: *No*

Participant 3: *Since the fights were small, no one paid much attention. During one fight, the police at the scene were harsh and it was obvious that they did not like the Turks in their actions, but there were no sanctions.*

Participant 4: *Yesterday ı watched a news. A person who kills a bee has to pay 50,000 €. Of course, every fight has a price. Since there was no camera in the fight yesterday, it could not be understand who was right. But Turkish women were exposed to many racist troubles.*

Participant 5: *I don't remember much because it was in the 90s, but I remember the Turks who were excluded for these crimes.*

Participant 6: *Not my relatives, but my acquaintances paid money or were kept under some supervision.*

Participant 7: *I just paid, it was a minor accident.*

Participant 8: *No, many people think I am German by appearance.*

Participant 9: *No*

Participant 10: *No.*

Participant 11: *No*

Participant 12: *I went to court and did not receive any sanctions because of my brother.*

Participant 13: *No*

Participant 14: *They were reported to the police, but it was quickly resolved.*

Participant 15 : *No, we are a respected family in our surroundings.*

Participant 16: *I didn't get caught, but two of my friends spent one years in prison.*

Participant 17: *No*

Participant 18: *I have not come across many immigrants who are subject to sanctions. They usually impose fines and exclusion from society.*

QUESTION 14: Have you ever been slandered by Germans for a crime you did not commit?

Participant 1: *No*

Participant 2: *No*

Participant 3: *No*

Participant 4: *No, they tell true things*

Participant 5: *I was not accused, but this may be due to the moderate nature of where I live.*

Participant 6: *No, German people are very sensitive about fair.*

Participant 7: *No*

Participant 8: *No*

Participant 9: *No*

Participant 10: *No*

Participant 11: *No*

Participant 12: *Never, they are so sensitive about it.*

Participant 13: *No, but if you are in a public place, you need to be more careful than a German person.*

Participant 14: *They're not heartless enough to accuse us of a crime we didn't commit, but there are still many prejudiced people. If a crime is committed somewhere, the first suspicion falls on Turks and Arabs. But it's not good at all for Turks and Arabs to be seen together. We've been here for almost 70 years.*

Participant 15 : *Never. Germans attach great importance to such sensitive issues. Honestly, they don't do anything wrong behind others' backs, not like other nations, even Turks. We have been on vacation to Turkey three times, and unfortunately, we experienced many unpleasant incidents. The perspective of our compatriots towards us was not good.*

Participant 16: *No.*

Participant 17: *No*

Participant 18: *Yes, unfortunately, we were excluded as Turks in the classroom because of something we didn't do in high school.*

QUESTION 15: After the accusations, did you or anyone around you who was involved in the crime have to return to Turkey?

Participant 1: *No*

Participant 2: *No*

Participant 3: *No*

Participant 4: *No, It depends on the severity of the crime*

Participant 5: *No, I was not accused.*

Participant 6: *No, Most Turkish people do anything to stay here*

Participant 7: *No, Turks do not return because of crime, they generally return because life is very cheap.*

Participant 8: *No*

Participant 9: *No*

Participant 10: *No.*

Participant 11: *No*

Participant 12: *No*

Participant 13: *No, but if there is an accusation, it is necessary to be very careful and not get angry. Otherwise they may send you to Turkey.*

Participant 14: *After the accusations, no one returned to Turkey, but aside from that, many did return. They couldn't keep up; they couldn't adapt.*

Participant 15 : *No, I don't have much interest in this question.*

Participant 16: *No*

Participant 17: *No*

Participant 18: *I have never come across such a big incident.*

QUESTION 16: After you or the person around you committed the crime, did the Germans' perspective towards you or the person around you commit the crime change?

Participant 1: *No*

Participant 2: *No*

Participant 3: *Again, to give an example from the fights, the attitude of the Germans, who were already very close to us, did not change, but even though my friend who was injured in the fight was from the Turkish side, the Germans at the scene saw the Germans as right.*

Participant 4: *Subject to German People Complain Immediately and Want Justice to be provided.*

Participant 5*: Yes, the Germans are already cold towards those they do not like. Even though the Turks have a history of 60 years, there are still many people who do not like them. Some Germans think that the Turks should go away.*

Participant 6: *The person who commits a crime sets himself on fire, I don't think it matters.*

Participant 7: *No, since it was an accident, no one found out and there was no problem.*

Participant 8: *Germans' attitudes towards Turks are not bad, no matter how unbalanced they were in the past years, they are good now.*

Participant 9: *No*

Participant 10: *No*

Participant 11: *No*

Participant 12: *The German people are very fair in these matters. Even if my father did it, they wouldn't reflect it on me, everyone is responsible for themselves.*

Participant 13: *I saw many lonely Turks here. German people probably don't want to talk to them because of the mistakes they made.*

Participant 14: *Yes, my uncles had to leave that area because they were already one of the few Turks living there, and they felt isolated. Under the unspoken pressure from their neighbors, they migrated to another region.*

Participant 15 : *My German friends from childhood are still my closest friends; their perspective towards us has never changed. Because we always acted harmoniously.*

Participant 16: *They started to keep their distance.*

Participant 17: *No, thanks for the survey.*

Participant 18: *Yes, this is a very normal situation. If you are Turkish, sometimes you can stand out even if you do nothing.*

Appendix C: Provisions included in the Germany-Turkey employment contract

TURKISH REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT AND FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT ON THE PLACEMENT OF TURKISH WORKERS IN GERMANY

The Turkish Embassy has the honor to confirm that it has received a note from the Federal Republic of Germany Government, proposing the arrangement of an agreement, in the form of a treaty, to regulate the placement of Turkish nationals seeking employment with employers in the Federal Republic of Germany. This note is referenced to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' dated October 30, 1961, numbered 505-83 SZV/3-92-42.

Article 1

With the aim of regulating the placement of Turkish workers to work in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal Employment Agency of Germany (hereinafter referred to as the German Agency) and the Turkish Employment Agency (hereinafter referred to as the Turkish Agency) will cooperate,and will utilize their local institutions to effectively carry out this task. The German and Turkish Agencies will strive to improve and simplify job placement within the framework of this agreement.

Article 2

To facilitate cooperation, the German Agency will establish a Liaison Office in the Republic of Turkey. The location, scope of activities, and duration of the Liaison Office will be decided in agreement with the Turkish Agency. The competent Turkish authorities will provide assistance as they deem appropriate to facilitate the activities of the Liaison Office.

The operating expenses of the Liaison Office will be provided by the German Agency. The Turkish Agency will provide the Liaison Office with regular office furnishings and necessary rooms suitable for medical examinations of candidates, free of charge.

Article 3

The Liaison Office and the Turkish Agency will regularly exchange information regarding job offers from employers in Germany to Turkish workers and corresponding requests for work. Requests for work in a particular industry by workers who have acquired special qualifications through training or long-term work may be submitted even if there is no job offer available.

Job offers will include precise information about the required professional skills of the worker, the nature and possible specifics of the envisaged work, and the probable duration of the job. Additionally, it will include other details that may influence the decision of the job seeker, such as current and future wages, as well as other facilities related to accommodation and subsistence.

Article 4

In addition to the facilitation of informing relevant workers, the Liaison Office provides comprehensive information in Germany regarding working and living conditions, as well as current wage examples for major job sectors. This information also includes deductions such as taxes, social insurance, and unemployment insurance premiums from wages, as well as significant instructions on social security and assistance in this field. This information may be revised according to changes in circumstances, if necessary.

Article 5

The Turkish Agency collects job applications through methods it deems appropriate, conducts the initial selection, and upon presentation to the Liaison Office, accepts the chosen applicants.

Applicants who have been convicted of a restriction of liberty penalty will not be presented to the Liaison Office. The same applies to individuals for whom Turkish authorities see objections to issuing passports.

Furthermore, the Liaison Office determines whether the candidates presented by the Turkish Agency meet the health and professional requirements for the envisaged job and whether they are suitable for residence in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Article 6

For each accepted Turkish worker, a contract of employment will be drawn up in German and Turkish, as attached hereto. This employment contract will be signed by the employer or authorized representative on one side and the worker on the other side and stamped with a "seen" stamp by the Turkish Agency and the Liaison Office.

Article 7

Turkish authorities will issue a passport valid for at least one year from the worker's entry into Germany. Turkish Consulates will endorse the passport if necessary, one month before the expiration of its validity.

The Liaison Office provides the worker with a free identity card. This identity card, valid for up to one year, serves as a substitute for the permit (work permit) that non-German workers are obliged to obtain according to the instructions related to their jobs, and exempts its holder from the obligation to obtain an entry visa during its validity period. Additionally, the worker must possess a document indicating their marital status issued by the competent Turkish authorities.

Article 8

In cooperation with the Turkish Agency, the Liaison Office organizes the travel of Turkish workers from agreed departure locations (usually Istanbul) to the places where they will work in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Turkish Agency ensures that workers are present at the departure location on time. The Liaison Office provides workers with provisions or an equivalent amount of money adjusted according to the travel time. The travel expenses from the agreed departure locations to the places of work, including provisions expenses, will be covered by the German Agency and reimbursed to the German Agency by the respective employer, typically through a lump sum payment. The recommendation for return expenses is subject to agreement between the employer and the worker as per the existing agreement.

Article 9

Upon arrival in the Federal Republic of Germany, workers must apply to the competent local authorities and, within three days at the latest, and preferably before starting work, request a residence permit from the authorities responsible for foreign affairs in

that locality. If a worker intends to work in the Federal Republic of Germany for more than one year, they must, one month before the expiration of the validity period of their identity card, apply to the competent Employment Agency of the place of residence for a work permit. The granting of this permit is subject to the provisions of the general instructions regarding the employment of non-German workers. The worker is also obliged to apply to the competent authorities responsible for foreign affairs for the extension of the residence permit. This permit shall not be granted for a period exceeding two years. The local organization of the German Agency will provide general information and assistance to Turkish workers, especially during the initial adjustment period.

Article 10

The Government of the Republic of Turkey, under this agreement, will repatriate workers who have entered the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany without formalities at any time, provide them with the necessary travel documents for return, and obtain the necessary transit visas.

Article 11

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, unless otherwise stated to the Government of the Republic of Turkey within three months from the entry into force of the agreement, this agreement will also be valid for the Land of Berlin.

Article 12

This agreement will enter into force on September 1, 1961, covering the past, and will be concluded for one year, automatically extending for another year if not terminated by either of the two Governments at least three months before the expiration of the validity period.

The Turkish Embassy has the honor to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it has declared the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with the proposals of the latter. Accordingly, this response note (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Placement of Turkish Workers in Germany) constitutes the response to the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs' note dated October 30, 1961, numbered 505-83-SZV/3-92,42.

The Turkish Embassy seizes this opportunity to express its highest regards to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.