

# THE INTEGRATION OF THE TURKS INTO GERMAN SOCIETY: TURKS ON THEIR WAY TO PARALLEL SOCIETIES OR TO TRUE INTEGRATION?

*Türklerin Alman Toplumuna Entegrasyonu:  
Türkler Paralel Toplamlar mı Oluřturacak, Doğru Bir Entegrasyon mu  
Gerçekleřtirecek?*

Moritz ORENDT\*

## Abstract:

Created as a nation-state in the beginning, Germany is not very prepared to deal with an increasing amount of people with different ethnic background. The largest group of non-German people is the Turkish one. Influenced by the media, many people doubt the possibility of true Turkish integration into the German society coexistence for mutual advantage in Germany. The subject of this essay is the examination of Turkish integration in Germany. First, the history of Turkish migration to Germany will be scrutinized in order to understand how the people, who live there now, initially came to Germany. Second, Turkish life in Germany will be examined and what moved them to stay. Third, we will look at the concept of integration and how it could be measured as objective as possible. Forth, the integration of the Turks in Germany will be evaluated referring to the concept from the section before. Finally, some proposals will be introduced in order to improve the Turkish integration which is actually in a bad shape.

**Keywords:** *Turks, integration, Turkish integration, Germany.*

## Özet:

Bir ulus-devlet olarak kurulan Almanya, farklı etnik grupların yönetimi konusunda hazırlıklı bir ülke değildir. Almanya'daki Alman olmayan unsurlar arasında en büyük grup Türklerdir. Medyanın etkisi altında kalan pek çok Alman, Türklerin Alman toplumunda karşılıklı faydaların bir arada var olabileceği tam bir uyum gerçekleştirebileceğine şüpheyle bakmaktadır. Bu çalışma Almanya'daki Türklerin entegrasyonunu incelemektedir. İlk bölümde, Almanya'da yaşayan Türklerin bu ülkeye nasıl geldiklerini anlamak için, yapılan göçün tarihi ele alınacaktır. İkinci adımda, Almanya'daki Türklerin yaşam şartları ve neden kalmayı tercih ettikleri analiz edilecektir. Üçüncü bölümde entegrasyon kavramı üzerinde durulacak ve entegrasyonun nasıl objektif bir şekilde ölçülebileceği sorgulanacak ve bu kavram üzerinden Türklerin Almanya'daki entegrasyonu değerlendirilecektir. Son olarak da Türklerin hâlihazırda kötü durumda olan entegrasyonunun geliştirilmesi için bazı öneriler sunulacaktır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** *Türkler, entegrasyon, Türklerin entegrasyonu, Almanya.*

---

\* Moritz ORENDT is currently a student in the department of Philosophy & Economics at the University of Bayreuth.

*Workers were called, and human beings came.  
Max Frisch, Suisse writer*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Integration is a controversially discussed topic in Germany. Opinions differ a lot, what exactly is meant by the expression. Consequently, Erdogan's speech which was addressed to the people with Turkish roots in Germany during his visit in Germany in February 2008 caused very different reactions from the political parties and the government officials. Erdogan chose clear words to call upon the Turks to preserve their culture. Moreover, he suggested establishing Turkish schools, which was disapproved very strongly by huge parts of the German public and the German officials. His proposal to establish Turkish schools was rejected as well. Officials from the Christian Social Party even proposed to stop the negotiations with Turkey about its EU-accession, because "Erdogan advocated Turkish nationalism on German earth which is highly anti-European". Not everybody was as upset as the Christian Social Party but the vast majority was convinced that there is no pressure in Germany for assimilation.<sup>1</sup> However, to learn the German language was seen as the precondition for participating in the German society. The German government tried to calm down the issue by emphasizing the positive aspects of his speech. It was the first time that a Turkish prime minister called his fellow countrymen for integration in Germany. Erdogan stressed the importance of German language skills in order to integrate in the German society and that education is essential for social upward mobility.<sup>2</sup> The emotions raised by this issue show clearly that German politicians and the public are very sensitive concerning the Turkish presence in their country. Since Germany was founded as a nation-state, many Germans are confused by the growing amount of people with another

---

<sup>1</sup> "Union formiert sich gegen Erdogan," *Focus*, 11.02.2008, read online: Accessed: 03.03.2010,

[http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/integrationsdebatte\\_aid\\_237430.html](http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/integrationsdebatte_aid_237430.html).

<sup>2</sup> "Bundesregierung verteidigt Erdogan," *Sueddeutsche*, 13.02.2008, accessed 09.03.2010, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/116/432865/text/>.

*The Integration of the Turks into German Society:  
Turks on Their Way to Parallel Societies or to True Integration?*

ethnicity. The biggest group of people with another ethnic background is formed by Turks. Due to the initial conception of a nation-state, it is very unclear how Germans and Turks will form their relationship in Germany. Will there be one society in which both of them are participating equally or will there be more societies which live more or less autonomous from each other?

Due to their pure size, it is easier for Turks to stay among each other than for other migrants. In fact, it is possible to live in some parts of Germany and speak only Turkish all day. Since there are so many Turkish shops and restaurants, German is not necessary for the day-to-day activities. Especially in Berlin, these kinds of neighborhoods face huge problems. Nearly every second Turk able to work is unemployed in Berlin. Poor education of the second generation and no willingness to further education at work are believed to be the main reasons. More and more Turks are giving up and do not resist to unemployment any more. Due to the Turkish Union in Berlin-Brandenburg, the reasons for this situation are various. Parents are often not aware of the importance of education for the future life of their children. They do not know enough about the German education and training system. Moreover, politics put too less effort on the help for these people.<sup>3</sup>

However, it is too easy to deduce from the situation of some Turks in Berlin to the one of them all over Germany. The subject of this essay is the examination of Turkish integration in Germany. First, the history of Turkish migration to Germany will be scrutinized in order to understand how the people, who live there now, initially came to Germany. Second, Turkish life in Germany will be examined and what moved them to stay. Third, we will look at the concept of integration and how it could be measured as objective as possible. Forth, the integration of the Turks in Germany will be evaluated referring to the concept from the section before. Fifth, the impact of an improvement of the Turkish integration in Germany's international relations

---

<sup>3</sup> "Türken in Berlin: Beruf: Arbeitslos in der dritten Generation," *Tagesspiegel*, 16.03.2001, accessed 09.03.2010, <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/art270,2219142>.

will be estimated. Finally, some proposals will be introduced in order to improve the Turkish integration.

## **1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH IMMIGRATION TO GERMANY**

In the 1950s, Germany experienced a shortage of workers during its so called “economic miracle” due to the huge losses in the Second World War. Moreover, better pension schemes and longer training shortened the working life. The German government initiated working force agreements with several countries in order to secure the economic growth. It started with Italy in December 1955.<sup>4</sup> Global flows of people have grown rapidly since then.<sup>5</sup> On the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1961, such a contract was also signed by Turkey.<sup>6</sup> The Turkish government encouraged emigration because it tried to alleviate its unemployment problem and, at the same time, to improve its balance of payments by the worker’s remittances. The idea of the German government was to benefit from the cheap labor and then send the worker back home when the labor shortage is over. This view is reflected by the term “Gastarbeiter”, which means guest worker and includes by the term “guest” the idea of temporary stay. Most of the Gastarbeiter were single, between 20 and 40 years old and had grown up in rural, economically underdeveloped areas. The conditions of immigration and the treatment of the Turks in the first years are seen as one reason for the bad integration nowadays.<sup>7</sup> A first immigration stop was caused by the economic recession in 1966. However, the economy recovered and Germany needed more labor. In the period from

---

<sup>4</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale: Zur Lage der Integration in Deutschland* (Berlin: Institute for Population and Development, 2009), 12, accessed 09.03.2010, [http://www.berlin-institut.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Zuwanderung/Integration\\_RZ\\_online.pdf](http://www.berlin-institut.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Zuwanderung/Integration_RZ_online.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> John Eade, Yordanka Valkanova, *Accession and Migration* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2009), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Faruk Sen, “Forty years later: Turkish immigrants in Germany,” (2002), 28, accessed 09.03.2010, [http://www.tusiad.us/content/uploaded/pw11/Turkish\\_Immig\\_Ger.pdf](http://www.tusiad.us/content/uploaded/pw11/Turkish_Immig_Ger.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Duran Akbulut, *Türkische Moslems in Deutschland* (Verlag Ulmer Manuskripte: Ulm, 2003), 28.

*The Integration of the Turks into German Society:  
Turks on Their Way to Parallel Societies or to True Integration?*

1967 until 1971, the majority of the new Gastarbeiter were poor farmers of East Anatolia. Consequently, the amount of Turkish people exceeded the one of Italian people for the first time in Germany.<sup>8</sup> After the Oil Crisis in the 1970s, Germany stopped to recruit new migrant worker and made it more difficult to get a working permission. However, Turkish immigration did not stop afterwards. Many migrants stayed in Germany because they feared to have to stay outside if they leave, due to the difficulties in getting a new working permission. Instead of going to their country of origin, many Gastarbeiter let their families join them. This was possible because of the new foreigner law from 1965. Therefore, the composition of the Turkish population changed: from the one of mostly male contract workers to a normal population with women and children. However, many Turkish women were poorly prepared for a life in Germany. They often came with no qualifications, no language skills and sometimes even illiterate. Consequently, these women were completely isolated from the German society. Family reunification was formally finished in the 1980s. However, the trend of immigration through family formation is still continuing. Turks from the second and third generation living in Germany are still looking for spouses in Turkey and bring them over. Nowadays, it is the most common way of immigration from Turkey and the easiest way to get over the barriers from restrictive immigration policy. In the 1980s, many left wing political refugees escaped to Germany during the military regime in Turkey. Many Turkish guest workers decided against the return to Turkey and preferred staying in Germany. There were several reasons for their decision: Germany enables them to guarantee for a better education for their children. They lack both, an economic foundation in Turkey and savings, which would enable them to start afresh. Also the negative experiences of some returnees deterred them. Moreover, some changed themselves due to their different cultural and social environment and preferred to stay. Furthermore, the changes in telecommunication technology reduced the distance between the host country and the country of origin. Turks in Germany can watch the some TV channels as in Turkey and the phone calls to Turkey are much cheaper and easier than before. Furthermore, the huge amount of Turks who is already

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 13.

living in Germany was always one more reason for a decision to stay permanently here. Therefore, they can create their “little Turkey” in the middle of Germany with an infrastructure for their special needs and demands.<sup>9</sup>

## **2. PEOPLE WITH TURKISH ROOTS IN GERMANY**

Turks did not have an easy start in Germany. Due to the initial conception of Gastarbeiter, German governments did not put any effort in integration policies. When the Turks delayed their return more and more and finally brought their families to stay longer, Germany still refused to accept the reality that it became an immigration country. Besides the missing integration, the structural change in economics made the situation worse.<sup>10</sup> Since business always discharges the low skilled first, many Turks became unemployed. Consequently, many of the Turkish children grew up in a bad environment for future success in the German society. They came in public schools which were not prepared for supporting them.

Before we start with the examination of the Turkish situation today, there is some clarification necessary. This paper scrutinizes the life not only of the Turkish citizens in Germany but also the German citizens which are descendants from Turkish immigrants. To all of them will be referred as Turks in the following sections as well as all people which have other ethnic roots will be named migrants.

Nowadays, 2.8 million people of Turkish origin are living in Germany. Therefore, Germany is the country with the most Turks living – except Turkey, of course. Only the half of them immigrated while the rest was born in Germany. The vast majority is already for a long time in Germany: 86% have been living here for more than eight years. Since the law of citizenship was reformed at the end of the 1990s, the naturalization of Turks increased sharply. However, more than two third still have only the Turkish

---

<sup>9</sup> Sen, “Forty years later:” 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 13.

citizenship. The population of the Turks is very young comparing with the one of native Germans: The half of the Turks is less than 27 years old and 28% are even younger than 15 years comparing to only 12% of the Germans. By looking at the households, it is still possible to recognize that most of them came from rural and conservative areas. With an average of 3.2 persons, Turks live in the statistically biggest households, even comparing to other migrant groups. They live together with their families which are numerous. In Germany, the share of families in which two or more generation live in the same house is very high comparing with other parts of the German society. Only two percent of the couples with children live unmarried. Also the amount of single parents living with their children is very low.<sup>11</sup>

### **3. A CLOSER LOOK AT INTEGRATION**

Before the Turkish state of integration in Germany is analyzed, in this section the meaning of integration will be examined. The German government defines integration as follows: “Integration is a long-term process. Its aim is to include everyone in society who lives in Germany on a permanent and legal basis. Immigrants should have the opportunity to participate fully in all areas of society on an equal standing. Their responsibility is to learn German and to respect and abide by the constitution and its laws.”<sup>12</sup> However, for a long time nobody really tried to quantify and measure integration in order to evaluate it. In 2009, the Berlin Institute for Population and Development developed an index for the measurement of integration out of 20 indicators: two of them deal with the assimilation between migrants and natives, four measure the education, seven the participation in the working life, two the financial situation and the five so called dynamic indicators try to measure the improvements between different generations of immigration. These criteria will be evaluated on a scale from

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Integration Encyclopedia*, (Federal Office for Migrants and Refugees, 2010), accessed 09.03.2010, [http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de/cln\\_117/nn\\_282400/SubSites/Integration/EN/04\\_Service/Lexikon/Function/glossar-catalog.lv2=282428.lv3=419560.html](http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de/cln_117/nn_282400/SubSites/Integration/EN/04_Service/Lexikon/Function/glossar-catalog.lv2=282428.lv3=419560.html).

one “failed integration” to eight “successful integration”. It should be clear that with such an index it is only possible to clarify the current state of integration not its backgrounds or causes.<sup>13</sup>

Assimilation describes the cultural convergence between immigrants and natives. It is not absolute necessary but it makes it much easier. The first indicator is the share of persons with German citizenship which shows identification with Germany and willingness to integrate. It is also precondition for legal equality. The second indicator deals with bicultural marriages. Family foundations across ethnic and cultural borders are very strong signs of convergence.<sup>14</sup>

Good education is in a highly developed industrialized country the prerequisite of societal recognition, financial independence and quality of the job. Amount of income and societal commitment are strongly correlated with the level of education. The third indicator is dealing with the amount of people without any educational qualifications. They have very few opportunities to work in a good job and gain societal recognition. The fourth one reflects the students of the highest classes of high school which are the precondition to study at college. They reflect the potential of this group since these students have the best opportunities to choose well-paid and respected professions. The people who managed to get the entrance requirement for university are depicted by the fifth indicator. If Turks have got the entrance requirement, it shows they were able to find their way around the German education system and therefore in the German society as well. The amount of graduated people is measured by the sixth indicator. A graduated person is often more open-minded, innovative and socially active than normal educated ones. Moreover, they often influence the image of the whole migrant group in a positive way which makes integration easier.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 28.

<sup>14</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 29.

<sup>15</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 29.



*The Integration of the Turks into German Society:  
Turks on Their Way to Parallel Societies or to True Integration?*

The performance of an immigrant in his working life shows to which extent he is willing to participate in the economic and thereby also in the social life. Furthermore, it indicates the openness of the receiving society to migrants since discrimination could be one reason for huge unemployment among migrants. Consequently, the seventh indicator deals with the unemployment rate. Employment is an important prerequisite for participation in society. Unemployed people get easily into isolation and it is very difficult for them to get out of it. The eighth indicator measures the amount of persons who are actually working or looking for work. A high amount is desirable for fiscal and economic reasons. The next indicator depicts the unemployment rate among young people. If they are unemployed for a longer period, they even get faster into social and economic difficulties. The tenth indicator evaluates the quota of housewives. Housewives with a migration background often experience difficulties to get in contact with the natives. The share of people who are self-employed is depicted by the eleventh indicator. They make the effort to live independent and they proved the ability to deal with the German bureaucracy. Moreover, the establishment of the own business means an investment in the future in this country. The twelfth indicator examines the amount of employed migrants in the public service. They have a safe income, a claim on social services, thereby future prospects and societal recognition. The last indicator of this section pays attention to a similar topic: the amount of people working in professions of high societal recognition like doctors, lawyers, police men or teacher.<sup>16</sup>

The next group of indicators scrutinizes the financial success. People with their own income have more room for maneuver in the society. Moreover, the economy is benefiting from their private consumption. One indicator examines how many immigrants depend on the public authorities. They do not contribute to the national income but cause only costs. Furthermore, these people are very limited in their room for maneuver. The other indicator depicts the personal income. A high income enables to maintain a good standard of living. It also is one source of societal recognition.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 30.

<sup>17</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 32.

Probably the most important indicators are the dynamic ones. Immigrants came from different countries with different motives and out of different reasons. Therefore, it is only natural that their characteristics differ a lot among each other and especially comparing to the natives. These differences can vanish only very slowly and partly, even if the person stays for a long time in Germany. However, this fact does not apply to the in Germany born children. They have access to the same opportunities as the German children in the same area. Thus, the true result of integration should be evaluated regarding the development of the second generation. Five indicators measure in different areas how much the performance between the immigrants and their in Germany born children differ: dynamism people with German citizenship, dynamism bicultural marriages, dynamism people with entrance requirement for university, dynamism unemployment rate, and dynamism dependence from public authorities.<sup>18</sup>

#### **4. THE CONDITION OF TURKISH INTEGRATION**

Due to the index of the Berlin Institute for Population and Development the Turks are integrated very badly. The institute divided the migrants with different ethnic background into different groups and compared them among each other. On the scale from one “failed integration” to eight “successful integration”, they reach a 2.4, which is in comparison to other people with migration background the worst result. The second worst group, the Africans, reach at least 3.2. The German government should be especially concerned about the high amount of people without any educational qualifications and the high unemployment among the youth. In none of the areas, integration goes well. Instead, they partly isolate themselves in own social communities. Less than one third chose the German citizenship. The naturalized ones are remarkable better integrated. The amount of bicultural marriages stays at five percent which is a very low result. One explanation for this small number is the different religions since the migrants from other Muslim countries show the same. No other ethnic group has more people without any educational qualifications and less graduated ones. The level of

---

<sup>18</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*, 33.

*The Integration of the Turks into German Society:  
Turks on Their Way to Parallel Societies or to True Integration?*

education improved a little from the first to the second generation. However, the latter one is still worse than any other second generation. At the labor market, the Turks are not able to catch up on their educational deficits. It is very alarming that the improvements between the first and the second generation are so little. Turks are rarely self-employed, work scarcely for public authorities or have hardly a profession with high societal recognition. The rate of housewives remains high. Only the unemployment rate among young people decreased a little.<sup>19</sup> There are particular reasons for the difficulties of the Turkish migrants: The huge amount of Turks living in Germany diminishes the necessity for integration. Moreover, the group of the Turks is relative homogenous: The majority came as low educated worker or as a spouse for a low educated worker to Germany. Consequently, the intellectual elite is missing which could smooth the way between native Germans and Turks.<sup>20</sup>

Due to this integration study referring to quantifiable characteristics, Turks still have not arrived in the German society. However, it would be interesting what the Turks themselves feel about Germany. The Centrum for Turkey Studies of the University Dresden-Essen enquires each year the Turkish feelings regarding identity, society, politics and media via a questionnaire. 60% of the in Germany living people with Turkish roots have a mixed identity with conflicting feelings as being attached to their roots and the desire to get a German passport. Only 17% orient themselves clearly to Turkey while around 25% possess a German identity. 61% want to stay for their whole life in Germany and at least 54% are attached to Germany. Regarding the criteria of Thomas Meyer, 87% do not live in parallel societies since 90% have contact to Germans and 43% even have friendships to German natives. 72% experienced discrimination by the German society. In Germany living Turks are generally not very interested in politics. 41% would not vote even though the majority would support the Social Democrats. 88% use both German and Turkish media. German media is generally thought to be more trustable and credible. However, the German

---

<sup>19</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*,36.

<sup>20</sup> *Ungenutzte Potenziale*,82.

media is criticized as well: too less reports about migrants and their living situation as well as too less reports about Turkey.<sup>21</sup> All in all, the Turks seem to estimate their situation not as bad as the integration index from the Berlin Institute. The same conclusion is made by another study from the “Konrad Adenauer Stiftung” which explored the Turkish sentiments in a similar way. Due to its enquiry, the majority feels very well in Germany. They are even more content with the German social order than the Germans themselves. 90% of the Turks agree that we live in a fair society compared to 50% of the native Germans who agree. Most Turks are convinced supporters of democracy and trust in German institutions. Their religious attitude is characterized by a high status of religion but by tolerance and a trend to secularization as well.<sup>22</sup>

It seems that the Turks do not feel as bad about their situation in Germany as the results of the integration index suggest. However, perhaps the results of the questionnaires distort the reality a little. Probably, the questions are only answered by people who are more or less integrated and are open-minded enough to take the time for an enquiry. Moreover, the real implications of the studies are difficult to estimate. Is it a good or a bad result that 43% have German friends? Without a control group of migrants with another ethnic background, the conclusion stays unclear.

Regarding to the definition of the German government, Turks are clearly not integrated in Germany although they seem to appreciate the German society and its system.

---

<sup>21</sup> Martina Sauer, “Türkeistämmige Migranten in Nordrheinwestfalen und in Deutschland: Lebenssituation und Integrationsstand,” (2009), 11, accessed 09.03.2010, <http://www.zft-online.de/UserFiles/File/NRW-Mehrthemenbefragung%202008.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> Ulrich Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, “Türken in Deutschland: Einstellungen zu Staat und Gesellschaft,” (2001), 16, accessed 03.03.2010, [http://www.hosgeldiniz.cdu.de/doc/tuerken\\_deutschland.pdf](http://www.hosgeldiniz.cdu.de/doc/tuerken_deutschland.pdf).

## **5. THE IMPACT OF THE STATE OF INTEGRATION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The state of integration of the Turks in Germany also has an international dimension. If the Turkish integration improved, also the relation between the Turkish and the German government would improve as well. If the Turks in Germany are not integrated in the society, it is not clear who can speak for them. Then commotions can develop like it happened before Merkel's visit at the end of March. However, if they were clearly a part of the German society, no tensions could evolve because everybody would agree that Merkel is their chancellor. The second big topic in international relations about Turkish integration is the chance of Turkey to join the European Union. Germany is more reluctant about the Turkish EU-accession than most other member states: Although public support for Turkish EU-membership has never been very strong in Germany, since spring 2005 it has even decreased about five percent in less than one and a half years.<sup>23</sup> The reluctance about Turkey membership is partly caused by the general skepticism against EU-enlargements. According to the last Europoll-report which referred to the public opinion about Turkey's EU-accession, the German mood is 15% worse than the EU-average. 54% of the Germans think that Turkey belongs geographically at least partly to Europe. Only 35% believe that the Turkish history is a part of the European history. More than 70% are against a membership of Turkey because "the cultural differences between Turkey and the member states of the EU are too big for the accession to make sense". One explanation for this particular German unease is the integration problems of many Turkish migrants. Then it is asked how Turkey could succeed to integrate in the European Union if so many Turks fail to integrate in Germany. Many Germans connect Turkish migrants rather to forced marriages, honor killings, imported brides, failures at school and unemployment than to the positive examples of integration. If the Turkish

---

<sup>23</sup> *Public Opinion in the European Union* (Eurobarometer, 2006), 28, accessed 24.05.2010, [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66\\_highlights\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66_highlights_en.pdf).

people in Germany manage to refute the prejudices and integrate themselves better, they can act as Turkish ambassadors for the EU-accession. If the Germans as the biggest EU-power are convinced, the Turkish chances are increasing. Moreover, with the EU-membership, the EU-citizenship is allocated.<sup>24</sup> If many Turks prove that there is no reason why they cannot integrate in a European society, many skeptics about Turkish membership will vanish.

## **6. THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILED INTEGRATION AND WHAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT COULD DO**

The receiving society can benefit a lot from immigration. As workers and as consumers, they pay taxes to the government and increase its income. In the best case, they even possess the qualities and professions which are needed in the receiving society. Cultural diversity promotes innovation which is very important in the information society.<sup>25</sup> However, immigrants without their own income produce costs for the state if the welfare state has to take care of their basic needs. The guest worker in the sixties provided Germany with cheap labor and had their own share of economic success.<sup>26</sup> Everybody who came with a labor contract, was young and without relatives. Consequently, they did hardly cause any costs. However, today the world has changed and due to the structural change in the German economy, there is no need for cheap labor anymore. Consequently, the qualities of the guest worker do not ensure them jobs. Their unemployment rate is more than double than the one of the German population. Because of the bad shape of the education and the further trend to knowledge intense business, this trend will even get worse.<sup>27</sup> Even today, the cost-benefit analysis is negative. Together with the high fertility of the Turks, the failed integration will be more and more expensive for the German society. If an increasing number of Turkish children grew up in parallel societies, they would be highly disadvantaged when they enter

---

<sup>24</sup> Christiane Lemke, *Internationale Beziehungen* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 175.

<sup>25</sup> "Ungenutzte Potenziale," 74.

<sup>26</sup> "Ungenutzte Potenziale," 74.

<sup>27</sup> "Ungenutzte Potenziale," 79.

*The Integration of the Turks into German Society:  
Turks on Their Way to Parallel Societies or to True Integration?*

school because their resulting poor language skills. With a bad start in school, most of them would remain low-educated cost-producers with poor chances at the labor market. Besides the economic reasons, one more argument is social peace which can be ensured by good integration. Consequently, Germany should prevent the construction and extension of Turkish parallel societies and enable the Turkish children to experience the same life opportunities as their German counterparts.<sup>28</sup>

The most important challenges for the German integration policy are the prevention of parallel societies and the provision of good education for young Turks. The exchange between Turks and Germans has to start as early as possible. Preschool should be obligatory and for free to ensure that all children start school at the same level. One example is the French “*ecole maternelle*”, in which nearly all French are prepared for school. Better educated and especially for intercultural communication qualified teachers should be employed there. During the adolescence school partnerships with Turkey and class trips should be organized in order to increase mutual understanding.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the German educational system should be reformed: Schools should be planned as integration centers because they are the only institutions which reach everybody. Every child has to go to school and via their children the parents can be approached as well. Therefore, schools should provide not only transfer of knowledge but also care for integration and social competence. To be able to achieve these tasks, school should be more than just studying. It should provide consulting services, offers for further training, leisure activities and project work and the integration commissioner should work there as well. Parents can attend language courses. School would be a service center which is open all day and does not close at holidays. The staff should be mixed as well as the attending pupils. By mentor-programs, positive examples with migration background can be developed.<sup>30</sup> The talent of Turks can be furthered by special scholarship programs.

---

<sup>28</sup> “Ungenutzte Potenziale.”

<sup>29</sup> “Ungenutzte Potenziale,” 85.

<sup>30</sup> “Ungenutzte Potenziale,” 84.

## **CONCLUSION**

The state of Turkish integration in Germany seems very improvable. Right now, the 2.8 million Turks living in Germany are the worst integrated group compared to other migrant groups. According to the criteria of the Berlin Institute for Population and Development, Turks are not assimilating, not reaching remarkable achievements in education or employment, and neither experiencing a lot of financial success. However, the worst result is the low number of the dynamic indicators because it shows the very little improvement between the generations. A better integration of the Turks in Germany would improve Turkey's EU-accession perspectives. Therefore, one can conclude that German policy did not succeed in integrating the Turks into the society even though they appreciate the German society and its system. If the bad integration of the Turks is their own fault or the fault of the German society and its policy, does not matter: Without a better integration policy, Germany will suffer because of the consequences like high unemployment rates among Turks and the resulting costs. To benefit by the diversity in the country, German integration policy should focus on education: By an obligatory preschool, every child will start elementary education at the same level. Schools should be transformed into integration centers where also the parents will be offered some help like language courses. Moreover, Turks should be promoted by special mentorship-programs.

With this bundle of measures, Turkish people can be prevented to live in parallel societies which would be a major success for integration efforts. In a "Little Istanbul" in the middle of Germany, Turks would not have the same life chances like in a mixed society because they would not be able to speak German as good as it is necessary in the knowledge society. Consequently, both Germans and Turks should deny the development of parallel societies and instead agree to the enrichment of the German cities by elements of Turkish culture.



## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

“Bundesregierung verteidigt Erdogan.” *Sueddeutsche*, 13.02.2008. Accessed 09.03.2010. <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/116/432865/text/>.

“Türken in Berlin: Beruf: Arbeitslos in der dritten Generation.” *Tagesspiegel*, 16.03.2001. Accessed 09.03.2010 <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/art270,2219142>.

“Union formiert sich gegen Erdogan.” *Focus*, 11.02.2008. Accessed 03.03.2010. [http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/integrationsdebatte\\_aid\\_237430.html](http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/integrationsdebatte_aid_237430.html).

Akbulut, Duran. *Türkische Moslems in Deutschland*. Ulm : Verlag Ulmer Manuskripte, 2003.

Eade, John and Yordanka Valkanova. *Accession and Migration*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

*Integration Encyclopedia*. Federal Office for Migrants and Refugees: 2010. Accessed 09.03.2010. [http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de/cIn\\_117/nn\\_282400/SubSites/Integration/EN/04\\_Service/Lexikon/Function/glossar-catalog.lv2=282428.lv3=419560.html](http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de/cIn_117/nn_282400/SubSites/Integration/EN/04_Service/Lexikon/Function/glossar-catalog.lv2=282428.lv3=419560.html).

Lemke, Christiane. *Internationale Beziehungen*. München : Oldenbourg Verlag.

*Public Opinion in the European Union*. Eurobarometer, 2006. Accessed 24.05.2010 [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66\\_highlights\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66_highlights_en.pdf).

Sauer, Martina. “Türkeistämmige Migranten in Nordrheinwestfalen und in Deutschland: Lebenssituation und Integrationsstand.” 2009. Accessed 09.03.2010 <http://www.zft-online.de/UserFiles/File/NRW-Mehrthemenbefragung%202008.pdf>.

Sen, Faruk. "Forty years later: Turkish immigrants in Germany." 2002.

Accessed 09.03.2010.

[http://www.tusiad.us/content/uploaded/pw11Turkish\\_Immig\\_Ger.pdf](http://www.tusiad.us/content/uploaded/pw11Turkish_Immig_Ger.pdf).

*Ungenutzte Potenziale: Zur Lage der Integration in Deutschland.* Berlin-Institute for Population and Development: 2009, Accessed 09.03.2010.

<http://www.berlin->

[institut.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Zuwanderung/Integration\\_RZ\\_online.pdf](http://www.berlin-institut.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Zuwanderung/Integration_RZ_online.pdf).

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Ulrich. "Türken in Deutschland: Einstellungen zu Staat und Gesellschaft." 2001. Accessed 03.03.2010.

[http://www.hosgeldiniz.cdu.de/doc/tuerken\\_deutschland.pdf](http://www.hosgeldiniz.cdu.de/doc/tuerken_deutschland.pdf).

## **BİLGE ADAMLAR STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ**

Türk tarihi incelendiğinde geçmişteki başarıların arkasında iyi yetişmiş bilge adamların bulunduğu görülmektedir. Ancak günümüzde olayların çok boyutlu olarak gelişmesi ve sorunların karmaşıklaşması, birkaç bilge kişinin veya aydının gelişmeleri zamanında ve doğru olarak algılamasını ve alternatif politikalar üretebilmesini zorlaştırmaktadır. Gelişmelerin yakından takip edilmesi, gelecekle ilgili gerçekçi öngörülerin yapılabilmesi ve doğru politikalar üretilebilmesi için farklı disiplinlere ve görüşlere sahip bilge adamlar ile genç ve dinamik araştırmacıların, esnek organizasyonlar içinde sinerji sağlayacak şekilde bir araya getirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Dünya'daki ve yurt içindeki gelişmeleri takip ederek geleceğe yönelik öngörülerde bulunmak; Türkiye'nin ikili ve çok taraflı uluslararası ilişkilerine ve güvenlik stratejilerine, yurt içindeki siyasi, ekonomik, teknolojik, çevresel ve sosyo-kültürel problemlerine yönelik bilimsel araştırmalar yapmak; karar alıcılara milli menfaatler doğrultusunda gerçekçi, dinamik çözüm önerileri, karar seçenekleri ve politikalar sunmak maksadıyla Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (BİLGESAM) kurulmuştur. BİLGESAM'ın vizyonu, amacı, hedefleri, çalışma yöntemi, temel nitelikleri, teşkilatı ve yayınları <http://www.bilgesam.org/tr> web sitesinde sunulmaktadır.

## **BİLGE STRATEJİ DERGİSİ**

Bilge Strateji; hakemli ve bağımsız bir dergidir. Bilge Strateji, Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (BİLGESAM) tarafından yayınlanmaktadır. Yayın politikası ve bilimsel kriterler, bağımsız editörler ve Yayın Kurulu'nca tespit edilmektedir.

Alanında Türkçe ve İngilizce makaleleri yayınlar. Güz ve Bahar dönemlerinde olmak üzere yılda iki kez yayınlanmaktadır. Bilge Strateji, uluslararası ilişkiler başta olmak üzere tüm sosyal bilimler konularında makaleler içerir.

Bilge Strateji'nin temel amacı sosyal bilimler alanlarındaki farklı düşünen yazarların fikirlerinden oluşan sinerji ile yurt içi ve yurt dışında sosyal bilimler literatürüne katkıda bulunabilmektir. Özellikle, sunacağı farklı bilimsel düşüncelerle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin siyasi, ekonomik, çevresel ve sosyo-kültürel problemlerine çözüm üretebilmektir.

## YAZARLARA BİLGİ NOTU

1-Bilge Strateji Dergisi ulusal hakemli bir dergidir. Bilge Strateji Dergisi'nde yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale daha önce herhangi bir yerde yayınlanmamış olmalıdır.

2-Yazarlardan gelen makaleler alanında yetkin iki hakeme gönderilir. Hakemlerden rapor alınır ve rapora göre yazarlara geri dönüş yapılır. Yazarın hakemlerin raporları doğrultusunda ilgili düzeltme, değişiklik ve eklemeleri yapması durumunda makaleler yayınlanır. Makalenin yayınlanması konusunda hakemlerden biri olumsuz diğeri olumlu değerlendirme verirse, makale üçüncü bir hakeme gönderilir. Üçünü hakemin verdiği değerlendirmeye göre makalenin yayınlanmasına karar verilir.

3-Makale dili Türkçe veya İngilizce olmalıdır.

4-Makale; yazım stili, anlatımda akışkanlık, dilin doğru kullanımı, yazının planlanması, dipnotlar ile yazı arasındaki uyum, dipnotlardaki bilgilerin eksiksiz ve doğru olması, dipnotların yeterliliği, yazı ile ilgili yeterli kaynağın kullanılıp kullanılmadığı, çalışmanın bilim dünyasına katkısı, orijinalliği, yazarın iddialarını savunmadaki yeterliliği, yazının derinliği ve kalitesi gibi noktalarda tutarlı olmalıdır.

5-Makale 4.000 kelimedenden az, 10000 kelimedenden fazla olmamalıdır. Kitap inceleme çalışmaları ise 1500-2000 kelime arasında olmalıdır.

6-Makale ile birlikte 80-110 kelimeyi aşmayan özeti (Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak) ve yazar hakkında 5-6 satırlık bilgi notu da gönderilmelidir.

7-Makale, Times New Roman formatında 11 puntoda ve 1,15 satır aralığında yazılmalıdır. Dipnotlar için Times New Roman formatında 10 punto kullanılmalıdır.

8-Makalenin başlığı Türkçe ve İngilizce olarak metne uygun kısa ve açık ifadeli olmalı; başlık ve alt başlıklar **kalin harflerle** yazılmalıdır.

9- Ana başlıklar ve alt başlıklar rakamlarla numaralandırılmalıdır. Ana başlıklar büyük harflerle yazılmalıdır. Takip eden alt başlıklar ise, kelimelerin ilk harfleri büyük diğer harfler küçük olacak şekilde düzenlenmelidir.

## 1. ANA BAŞLIK

### 1.1. Alt Başlık

#### 1.1.1. Alt Başlığın Bölümü

10-Alıntılama Alıntılama Chicago Manual of Style sistemi kullanılmalıdır. Ayrıntılı bilgi için bakınız.

[http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).

Örnek:

- Kitabın dipnot olarak gösterimi;

Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 99–100.

Pollan, *Omnivore's Dilemma*, 89.

- Kitap içindeki bölümün dipnot olarak gösterimi;

John D. Kelly, “Seeing Red: Mao Fetishism, Pax Americana, and the Moral Economy of War,” in *Anthropology and Global Counterinsurgency*, ed. John D. Kelly et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 77.

Kelly, “Seeing Red,” 81–82.

- Akademik dergi makalesinin dipnot olarak gösterimi;

Joshua I. Weinstein, “The Market in Plato’s Republic,” *Classical Philology* 104 (2009): 440.

Weinstein, “Plato’s Republic,” 452–53.

- İnternette alınmış dipnotun gösterimi;

Fatih Özbay, “Türkiye-Rusya İlişkilerinde Üçüncü Dönem,” 11.05.2010, erişim tarihi 08.11.2010,

[http://www.bilgesam.org/tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=677:turkiye-rusya-iliskilerinde-ucuncu-donem&catid=104:analizler-rusya&Itemid=136](http://www.bilgesam.org/tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=677:turkiye-rusya-iliskilerinde-ucuncu-donem&catid=104:analizler-rusya&Itemid=136).

- Kaynakça gösterimi;

Pollan, Michael. *The Omnivore’s Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

Weinstein, Joshua I. “The Market in Plato’s Republic.” *Classical Philology* 104 (2009): 439–58.

McDonald’s Corporation. “McDonald’s Happy Meal Toy Safety Facts.” Accessed July 19, 2008.

<http://www.mcdonalds.com/corp/about/factsheets.html>.

**11-Makale Teslim Şekli:** Makaleler [bilgesam@bilgesam.org](mailto:bilgesam@bilgesam.org) adresine Bilge Strateji dergisinde yayınlanmak üzere gönderildiği belirtilerek yazar iletişim bilgileriyle birlikte gönderilmelidir. Bu süreçte, makalelerle ilgili yapılması gereken değişiklik ve düzeltmeler yazarlara bildirilecektir. Makalenin değişiklik yapılmış hali, bildirim tarihinden en geç iki hafta sonra yukarıda belirtilen e-posta adresine tekrar gönderilmelidir.

12-Yayınlanan yazıların sorumluluğu yazarlara aittir. Yazılardaki görüşler Bilge Strateji Dergisi'ne mal edilemez.

13-Daha fazla bilgi edinmek için [www.bilgestrateji.com](http://www.bilgestrateji.com) adresine bakınız.



### **NOTES FOR WRITERS**

1-The Wise Strategy Journal is a nationally refereed journal. Articles submitted for publication in the Wise Strategy Journal must not ever have been previously published in any other publication.

2-Articles must be written in Turkish or English.

3-Submitted articles are viewed by two competent referees, who are renowned experts in their field. The authors are then given feedback according to the reviews given by these selected referees. Articles are published pending that the author makes the required corrections, changes, and additions to the article per the suggestions of the referees' review. In the case that referees submit contradicting reviews about the article, the article in question is then sent for review to a third referee. The ultimate publication of the article is lastly determined by the review given by the third referee.

4-Meticulous attention should be paid to the following criteria: writing style, academic accuracy, correct language usage, organized and cohesive writing, appropriate and adequate use of footnotes, and relevant and sufficient use of resources. Studies should exhibit originality, depth, and quality in their contribution to the science world.

5-Articles should not be less than 4,000 and more than 10,000 words. The number of words for book reviews should be between 1,500-2,000 words.

6-A summary of the article and a short biography of the writer (both not exceeding 100 words, in either Turkish or English) ought to be sent with the article.

7-The article must be written in 11-point Times New Roman font and 1.5 line spacing. Footnotes must also be written in Times New Roman font, size 10.

8-The article's title must be short, appropriate, and clearly expressed; headings and sub-headings should be marked in bold.

9-Headings and sub-headings ought to be numbered, as exhibited in the example below. Headings must be written in all capital letters. For the subsequent sub-headings, the first letter of the first word must be capitalized while the following letters are lower-cased.

## **1. MAIN HEADING**

### **1.1. Sub Heading**

#### **1.1.1. A Brief Chapter Under Sub-Heading**

10-For the use of citations, the system of the Chicago Manual of Style ought to be used. For further details, please see [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).

- For a book;

Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 99–100.

Pollan, *Omnivore's Dilemma*, 89.

Pollan, Michael. *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

- For a chapter or other part of a book;

John D. Kelly, "Seeing Red: Mao Fetishism, Pax Americana, and the Moral Economy of War," in *Anthropology and Global Counterinsurgency*, ed. John D. Kelly et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 77.

Kelly, "Seeing Red," 81–82.

Kelly, John D. "Seeing Red: Mao Fetishism, Pax Americana, and the Moral Economy of War." In *Anthropology and Global Counterinsurgency*, edited by John D. Kelly, Beatrice Jauregui, Sean T. Mitchell, and Jeremy Walton, 67–83. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

- For a journal article;

Joshua I. Weinstein, "The Market in Plato's Republic," *Classical Philology* 104 (2009): 440.

Weinstein, "Plato's Republic," 452–53.

Weinstein, Joshua I. "The Market in Plato's Republic." *Classical Philology* 104 (2009): 439–58.

- For a website;

"McDonald's Happy Meal Toy Safety Facts," McDonald's Corporation, accessed July 19, 2008, <http://www.mcdonalds.com/corp/about/factsheets.html>.

"McDonald's Happy."

“McDonald’s Happy Meal Toy Safety Facts.” McDonald’s Corporation.  
Accessed July 19, 2008.

<http://www.mcdonalds.com/corp/about/factsheets.html>.

**11-Article Submission:** Articles to be published in the Wise Strategy Journal must be sent to *bilgesam@bilgesam.org*. Within the e-mail, the proposed article should be attached, together with a brief statement requesting the article’s inclusion in the Wise Strategy Journal. Brief (100 words) biographical information about the writer should also be included.

The submission process will include notifying the writer of changes and corrections to the article that have been suggested by the selected referees. Authors must then re-send the final amendments to the article to the above email address no later than two (2) weeks, or 15 days, after the date when they were given the appropriate feedback.

11-The views expressed are solely those of the contributing author and do not necessarily reflect those of Bilge Strateji.

12-For further information, please see

[http://www.bilgestrateji.com/eng/index.php?option=mod\\_content&view=view&id=11&menuId=59](http://www.bilgestrateji.com/eng/index.php?option=mod_content&view=view&id=11&menuId=59).