

## DIASPORA DEVELOPMENT IN THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN GERMANY: ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY'S CURRENT DIASPORA POLICY\*\*\*

### ALMANYA'DAKİ TÜRK TOPLUMUNDA DİASPORA GELİŞİMİ: TÜRKİYE'NİN MEVCUT DİASPORA POLİTİKASI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

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#### Özet

##### Abstract

The term "diaspora" has been used more often in recent years to describe communities living far from their homeland. Considering today's influential diasporas in the context of international relations, recently this definition is not enough to describe it. It is necessary for the concept to contain various elements as content. According to some definitions, the structure of Turkish society in Germany, which partially shows diaspora characteristics, is shaped by factors such as immigration history and loyalty to on homeland, which is a form the basis of identity in diaspora societies. Turkish society in Germany, which should be examined in a transnational dimension, also significantly influences Turkish-German relations within the framework of international relations. Turkey supports the diaspora structures of the German-Turks, with which it is linked within the framework of transnational relations. In this context, Turkey supports the integration of Turkish society in Germany, into diaspora policy, apart from lobbying activities, which is loyal to its homeland. Dealing with the diaspora structures and the development of Turkish society in Germany has emerged as an area in which various factors are included. This study consists of different sections that examine the development status of the Turkish diaspora in Germany and the resulting theoretical and methodological problems. For this reason, the Turkish diaspora searches in Germany, their difficulties and advantages were evaluated together and an attempt was made to draw a conclusion. The subject of the study is an analysis of the current situation of the Turkish diaspora, which has developed depending on Turkish society in Germany.

**Keywords:** Germany, Diaspora, Identity, Türkiye, Transnational Relations

#### Abstract

"Diaspora" kavramı son yıllarda, anavatanlarından uzakta yaşayan toplulukları tanımlamak için daha sık kullanılan bir kavramdır. Uluslararası ilişkiler çerçevesinde, günümüzün etkili diasporalarını incelediğimizde bu tanımlama yetersiz kalmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, kavramın içerik olarak çeşitli unsurlar barındırması bir zorunluluktur. Bazı tanımlamalara göre kısmen diaspora özelliği barındıran Almanya'daki Türk toplumunun yapısı, diaspora toplumlarında olması gereken kimlik temellerini oluşturan göç geçmişi, anavatanlarına bağlılık gibi faktörlerle şekillenmiştir. Uluslararası boyutta incelenmesi gereken Almanya'daki Türk toplumu, uluslararası ilişkiler çerçevesinde Türkiye-Almanya ilişkilerini de önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Türkiye, uluslararası ilişkiler çerçevesinde bağlarının olduğu Almanya Türklerinin diaspora yapılanmalarına destek vermektedir. Bu kapsamda Türkiye anavatanlarına bağlılıklarının olduğu Almanya'daki Türk toplumunun lobi faaliyetleri dışında diaspora politikasına dahil olmasını desteklemektedir. Almanya'daki Türk toplumunun diaspora yapılanmalarının ve gelişiminin incelenmesi, çeşitli faktörlerin dahil edildiği bir alan olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışma, Almanya'daki Türk diaspora gelişiminin düzeyini ve buna bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan teorik ve metodolojik sorunlarını inceleyen çeşitli bölümlerden oluşmaktadır. Bu sebeple, Türkiye'nin Almanya'daki diaspora arayışları, zorlukları ve avantajları bir arada değerlendirilerek bir çıkarım elde edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışmanın konusu, Almanya'daki Türk toplumuna bağlı olarak gelişen Türk diasporasının mevcut durumunun bir analizini oluşturmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Almanya, Diaspora, Kimlik, Türkiye, Uluslararası İlişkiler

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study analyzed if the Turkish society in Germany in its current situation and general characteristics is a diaspora and how effective it is performing compared to other communities. Within this framework, research was carried out on the current situation of Turkish society in Germany in the domestic and foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. The study also shows the current situation of Turkish society in terms of diaspora structuring.

Whenever the structure-building activities of influential diaspora communities come to the fore in German domestic politics, the Turkish community with the most populated minority is included in the topic. In particular, the associations of the Turkish community in Germany, which have diaspora activities, are often discussed by domestic and foreign policy actors. The activities of the structures of Turkish society in Germany are constantly on the agenda in Germany and Europe. The legitimacy of these diaspora activities, which are characterized by a transnational structure, and in particular of the associations with a connection to Türkiye, is on the agenda of German domestic politics.

Because of this, in order to achieve the research goal, the concept of diaspora is presented in the first part of the article by addressing the fact that belonging is formed on a transnational level within the framework of identity. In order to see the impact of Turkish society in Germany on the political system, it is necessary to provide a theoretical framework that allows for an in-depth definition of the concept of diaspora and the identification of the basic elements to study its impact. In this context, these structures, which are transnational actors, should be examined within the framework of identity. The constructivist approach, particularly in the discipline of international relations, will be beneficial in examining this question. Diasporas form a bond with the community in which they both share their homeland identity and live in their new homeland. The second part analyzes the structures created by Turkish society in Germany and their impact on German domestic and foreign policy. Germany's foreign policy as a multicultural immigration country, especially when organized in a pluralistic manner within the framework of inhomogeneous communities, usually leads to negotiations at different levels rather than to a coherent unit (Sheffer, 2003: 9-10).

Diaspora communities are to be understood as the result of permanent migration, in which immigrants or immigrant origins who come to their new homeland largely retain their ethnocultural identity and develop an idealized idea of their homeland. The activities of the Turkish community in Germany, which occupies an important place in Turkish-German relations, and the initiatives of their home country Türkiye strengthen active diaspora activity. The activities of the Turkish community in Germany, which have an impact on mutual relations within the framework of international relations, enrich the future of Turkish-German relations by an important dimension. The study first discusses the connections between political decision-making processes in Germany and interest groups. Within this framework, diaspora communities were deepened as a research topic and their effect on the political decision-making mechanisms in their new homeland was examined together with the previous theoretical evaluations. First, what diaspora communities are was defined, then the function and position of these communities in the political system were shown. This is followed by the main question,

which examines the influence of Turkish society as an interest group in Germany. In the third part, an analysis of the obstacles and difficulties to diaspora initiatives was accomplished.

Different kind of language sources as well as current publications were used in this study. In this context, certain reports and sources were used in the study and current data was obtained by translating the publications of various countries and institutes and incorporated into the study. As a result, it was evaluated to what extent Turkish associations that carry out diaspora activities in Germany play a role in the political decision-making process and to what extent they influence the political structure in the domestic and foreign policy decision-making process or to what extent they have influenced it. In this study, the analysis of data from non-governmental organizations supported by Türkiye in Germany was chosen as the method.

## **2. AN OVERVIEW ON THE CONCEPT OF DIASPORA**

The definition of the term diaspora varies depending on the research perspective. According to Safran, diaspora communities base on particular form of mass migration, that involving forced exile and a fraught and lengthy period of resettlement and planting down of new roots in regions of destination (Safran, 1991: 83-99). Diaspora is defined as the place; where a religious and/or ethnic community lives as a minority outside their home country, as well as the branches of Jews leaving their home country and settling in their new countries (Schiller & Darieva & Gruner-Domic, 2012: 8-10; Miccoli, 2018: 66). This phenomenon, which is used differently depending on the research point of view, is getting an important role in case of transnational relations (Ninh, 2017: 1-2). The experiences of the Turkish community in Germany during the migration process are similar to the other communities who have left their home country, usually involuntarily to foreign countries around the world. As a result, many families from Türkiye dispersed with the migration process, immigrating to different parts of Western Europe and becoming part of the society they immigrated to.

German Turks are still considered “expatriates” (Turkish: Gurbetçi or German: Gastarbeiter; which has got a negative meaning) today. The reason for this approach is that it has still an international relations-focused perspective on diaspora communities. Within this framework, the social scientists' critique has been the state-centric view of the realist approach in their perspectives on the international system. With this critique, they had to examine transnational structures and interactions in solving uncontrollable developments beyond the borders of nation states through foreign policy instruments (Cohen, 2005: 886-887). In this framework, Türkiye should see the Turkish society in Germany, with which it is connected within the framework of identity with the changing conditions of globalization, as part of German society and accomplish its activities within this framework.

According to James Clifford, who has a similar view within the framework of this approach, diaspora structures are the forerunners of transnational movements (Clifford, 1994: 308). In this context, the concept should be examined within the framework of transnational relations. Clifford notes that in the context of transnational relations, diaspora characteristics exist in societies that have completed the nation-building

process. Within this framework, he also notes that diaspora communities, which are transnational actors, are connected to their homeland (Clifford, 1994: 310). The ties of Turkish society in Germany are based on identity within the framework of belonging. For this reason, accepting the German-Turks as expatriates, who are now part of German society, will not benefit Türkiye's diaspora policy.

In order to thoroughly and comprehensively explore the concept in international relations, it must have certain characteristics. In this context, Robin Cohen, who stands up for the need for institutionalization in diaspora communities, stated in his study "Global Diasporas: An Introduction" that the "Jewish typology" taken as a reference within the framework of the traditional approach, this can form a basis way for thought, even if it is not a transferrable model. In this context, the concept develops the approach that William Safran traditionally defended and defined in his study of social sciences, while arguing, taking into account the globalization process, that diaspora communities should exhibit four basic characteristics:

1. It should include aggressive or voluntary dispersal groups. In this context, diaspora communities must have a history of forced or voluntary migration.
2. It should create a strong attachment to the past or a barrier to assimilation. Within this framework, diaspora organizations conduct cultural studies in the countries where they are institutionalized. Diaspora communities in every country seek to support their members and stand up against the obstacles created by the alien society in which they live (Cohen, 2008: 214).
3. Diasporas should be defined as positive, not negative. In this framework, diaspora communities conduct positive studies about their homeland from which they migrated to their new homeland. Diasporas, which are transnational actors, can also be effective in the foreign policies of their homeland and the countries to which they have migrated. This effect can be designed positively or negatively (Albert, 2009: 99-101).
4. People in the diaspora share a common identity with common ethnic members in other countries, such as colonial settlers, foreign students, refugees and economic migrants (Cohen, 2008: 1-3).

Some communities that have migrated for economic reasons in the course of globalization are still tied to their homeland. These bonds are formed within the framework of identity. The main element that distinguishes the notion of diaspora from other communities is the bond between the generations, the traditions and customs of the communities in their homeland that are permanent in their new homeland within the framework of identities that are formed according to shared memory they immigrated for various religious, ethnic, geographical or cultural reasons (Cohen & Fischer, 2019: 238).

Identity is a concept and phenomenon commonly used in diaspora studies in the social sciences. The concept is explained as the totality of characteristics that show what kind of person is as a social being, the totality of signs, qualities, and characteristics that cover or help to identify an object (Breakwell, 2015: 250-253; Hollis, 1994: 176-179). This term, which is far-reaching and difficult to define, does not have a clear definition as it has different definitions in the fields of social sciences. This phenomenon, which is an

important factor in the nationalization process, also affects the foreign policies of states today (Zajda & Majhanovich, 2021: 6-7; Ariely, 2021: 22). The term "identity" is constantly discussed in the social sciences at various levels. The main argument in these discussions is that the old identities in the traditional sense that make up the social order are in decline. This regression leads to new identities (Hall, 1992: 274). The search for a new identity is accelerating in the course of globalization. The concept underlying diaspora structures is constantly changing with globalization.

Stuart Hall, defines the concept of cultural identity in terms of the postcolonial diaspora in the context of the collective identities of the diaspora in his work "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (Hall, 1996: 225). Diaspora communities, which are examined in the context of their postcolonial past, distinguish the concept of cultural identity in two aspects: On the one hand, identity in the traditional sense is expressed as an authentic, stable, collective point of reference that has arisen historically and is decisively shaped according to a common origin. In the second definition, it explains identity on a more abstract basis, not as a concrete entity. The concept of identity is defined here as production through representation with breaks and diversity. This depiction involves change and evolution (particularly in relation to colonialism and displacement). He explains this understanding of identity as a construction process through shared memory, expression and imagination (Hall, 1996: 224). Exemplary in this context are the negative discourses of the majority society towards the German-Turks who have immigrated to Germany for economic reasons and who are part of their new homeland. Due to the negative experiences of diaspora communities in the past, a new identity based on cultural identity has emerged. This newly emerged understanding of identity can be based on internal or external causes of the diaspora community.

Such interactions can also allow for the formation of one or more collective identities within the community based on differentiation at the individual level (Ladilova, 2001: 35). For this reason, positive or negative approaches that evoke a sense of belonging are an important factor in the construction of social spaces of collective identity. The characteristics of a community with a collective identity can emerge from a common past, a common origin or social differences. Some characteristics of this community can be formed by other collective societies. As a result of interactions based on exclusion, prejudices and stereotypes that contain forms of expression based on exclusion have also developed in societies (Tröster, 2003: 73). In this context, differentiating approaches based on prejudices and stereotypes towards the community, what kind of processes of exclusion take place and on what basis distinctive features of the community have been added (Zinn-Thomas, 2010: 72). Because of this, the prejudices and stereotypes created by a large part of the community led to the formation of a new collective identity within the community.

Within this framework, collective identity approaches propose a three-fold typology of diaspora. These; Settlement, symbolic-ethnic and transnational diaspora communities.

Settlement area: In this type of diaspora; the community is usually in a closed structure. The members of the diaspora community isolate themselves from those who make up a large part of the community. Depending on this situation, they form separate settlements with people belonging to their own community. In these forms of community, the basic

identity is based on language. In the 20th century, the Jews of Russia or Poland fit to this typology. The main question for them was how much Russians or how much Poles they were. Within this framework, community members within the diaspora are identified (Ben-Rafael, 2002: 341-343).

Symbolic-Ethnic: In this type of diasporas; they are now identified with the community that made up the majority of the immigrant society. American Italians are cited as an example of such structures. The main question for them was how much more Italian they were. This form of structuring is more contemporary compared to settlement structures. Individuals who make up the diaspora community act more individually, do not isolate themselves from the wider community, and are accordingly integrated into the majority, which makes up the bulk of the community (Ben-Rafael, 2002: 344-345). In this structuring, the language differences used by the community become symbols and characterize the community. Symbolically, the root words used from their origin form the distinctive symbols for the community and constitute identity on an ethnic basis (Ben-Rafael, 2002: 344-345).

Transnational: In this type of diasporas; community members express themselves with two identities. The main question for them is how much Turkish and how much German they are. This form of structuring develops as a function of globalization. They feel connected to both their origin homeland and their new homeland. They use both languages in different areas. The members of this community do not form a closed structure, but also maintain close relationships with their members who belong to the same diaspora but live in different countries. Due to the language, certain words have changed in both languages they use (Ben-Rafael, 2002: 346-349).

In this context, the multicultural societal structure in Germany can allow different communities to create similar structures. These structures created by diaspora communities interact in a positive context with communities with whom they share homes and/or common identities.

A large part of the world's population lives in countries with different ethnicities, cultures, languages or religions, which we call multicultural countries. This makes the Turkish community in Germany the largest ethnic community, which lives in a multicultural country. According to current data from the Federal Statistical Office, around three million people with Turkish origin live in Germany. According to the Federal Statistical Office, half of the Germans with Turkish origin living as a minority in German society are German citizens (STATISTA, 2019). In this context, although the Turkish minority living in Germany is more populated comparing to the other minorities, it could not form an effective structuring in terms of to the diaspora structures.

### **3. TURKISH COMMUNITY STRUCTURES IN GERMANY: A TRANSNATIONAL FRAMEWORK AND TURKISH DIASPORA ACTIVITIES**

In order to examine the effect of the diaspora activities of the Turkish society in Germany on the foreign policy of their new homeland, it would not be correct to see the members of the associations formed by the diaspora society as domestic political actors who only work to improve their economic and social conditions. It is necessary to look at diaspora

communities as transnational actors, acting not only at the local level, but involving at least two countries in their actions.

The Turkish society in Germany began to set up associations to organize Turkish society in the institutional framework in their new homeland, to which they had immigrated, and at the same time to counteract against the assimilation. For this reason, German Turks created these structures in the first few years within the framework of cultural associations rather than in a diaspora structure. The evolution of these structures into transnational structures based on identity increases their importance in the context of soft power (Bozdağ, 2013: 163-169). In this context, these structures, which are identity-based allies, strengthen the ties between the Turks of Germany and the Turks of Türkiye.

In recent years, Türkiye has promoted the structuring of this community within the institutional framework by supporting German Turks in educational, social, legal or economic contexts. The confrontation with Turkish organizations in Germany in the context of identity-forming and non-nation-state approaches is explained in the context of the common interests of Türkiye-Turks and German-Turks. In this context, the soft power applied by the German Turks in Germany for the benefit of the people with whom they share a common identity in their homeland, also supports they're origin homeland Türkiye's foreign policy.

In order to examine the example of Turkish society in Germany, it is necessary to see people of Turkish origin as transnational actors. Viewing them not only as local political actors in Germany, but also as actors of strong communities of interest who can influence German foreign policy and contribute to public diplomacy will expand Türkiye's diplomatic tools.

States that have immigrated in the past for various reasons have established administrative and diplomatic structures in recent years to govern the diaspora communities that have emerged over time, while systematically supporting the channels of influence and communication in international relations. These states include the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs established in 2004, the Ministry of Overseas Malians and African Integration established in Mali in the same year, and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities established by Türkiye in 2010 (Gamlen, 2019: 284-290). The institutionalization of "public diplomacy", which can encompass broader channels of influence and communication within the framework of diplomacy, is a clear indication that a specific state or states have gained importance with regard to the foreign policy interests of the diaspora community.

In this framework, Türkiye through the Presidium for Religious Affairs (DIB), structures German Turks on the basis of two identities: loyalty to Islam and their origin to their homeland Türkiye (Wetzmaier, 2019: 58). The "construction of the state interest" characteristic of social constructivism is associated with Türkiye's identity-related diaspora politics (Wendt, 1992: 397). In the context of Turkish public diplomacy, the DIB's sphere of influence therefore collides with German integration policy.

Observing the increasing state activities related to diaspora communities, under changing conditions brought about by globalization, seems to add a new dimension to international relations. In addition to supporting the economic development of diaspora

communities or people with a migration background in general, their homeland, which is always their homeland, it is increasingly being expanded and deepened to include a political component.

Diaspora communities or people with a migration background in general, supporting the economic development of their origin homeland, which they have base of identity connections, it is gradually widening and deepening to include a political component.

Emigrant or sending states, which we call home states, implement various foreign policy strategies that can be defined under the term "public diplomacy". Policies and state types may change depending on the conditions and structure of the new home countries receiving immigration (Kennedy, 2020: 213-216). It aims to turn this into a political effect, creating loyalty through practices such as spreading nationalist and religious narratives based on cultural identity, organizing festivals to expand cultural spheres of influence, supporting stakeholders in parliamentary or local elections.

Emigration or emigrated states, which we call homeland states, implement various foreign policy strategies that can be defined under the term "public diplomacy". Policies and state types may change depending on the conditions and structure of the new homeland countries receiving immigration (Kennedy, 2020: 213-216). It aims to turn this into a political effect, creating loyalty through practices such as spreading nationalist and religious narratives based on cultural identity, organizing festivals to expand cultural spheres of influence, supporting stakeholders in parliamentary or local elections.

Diaspora communities, which are transnational actors, can also be effective in the foreign policies of their origin homeland and the countries to which they have migrated. This effect can be designed positively or negatively (Albert, 2009: 99-101). At the same time, their identity-forming ties both to their homeland and to their new homeland, from which they emigrated in the past, are on a transnational level. Therefore, they relate to both countries in terms of their identity and the values that play a role in them.

#### **4. TRANSNATIONAL SUPPORT AND EXPECTATIONS OF TÜRKİYE'S FOREIGN POLICY**

Observing the impact of increased government activities on diaspora communities under changing conditions brought about with globalization, seems to add a new dimension to international relations. In diaspora communities, people with a migration background always contribute the economic development of their origin homeland for example through money transfers, their structure expands and deepens, increasingly with a political component.

With the process of globalization, the jurisdictions of the nation states are changing. The importance of diasporas communities is increasing at the transnational level, and accordingly they play an important role in bilateral state relations. Within this framework, globalization has also affected the foreign policies and administrations of states (Koslowski, 2005: 84). In terms of public diplomacy, Türkiye has many advantages. The function and position of the diaspora communities in the political system are gaining in importance for Turkish-German relations in the long term. Türkiye



owes its current position on the international soft power base to various factors. In this context, depending on historical and cultural reasons, it has an ingrained and developed soft power. Türkiye is a more stable, democratically governed country compared to many other Turkic and/or Muslim identity-based countries. Türkiye's strong political, economic and military ties with the western world create more opportunities. Furthermore, its tolerance and dignity towards different ethnic, religious and sectarian groups, as well as its status between Turkish and Islamic states, give Türkiye a different identity in the international arena.

Whenever the structure-building activities of influential diaspora communities come to the fore in German domestic politics, the Turkish community, as the most populous minority, is included in the topic. The diaspora associations of the Turkish community in Germany are also often discussed by domestic political actors. In this framework, the Turkish society in Germany, which are formed with a transnational framework of diaspora structure, occupy the agenda in German politics, within the legitimacy of associations due to have connections with Türkiye.

The social bond that Türkiye has created with the Turks of Germany within the framework of identity offers important advantages in Turkish-German relations. Turkish civil society organizations in Germany play an important role for Türkiye in the context of soft power (Thussu, 2013: 5). For these reasons, Türkiye is supporting the Turks in Germany, with whom it has identities across its borders, to create soft power in their new homeland in order to make public diplomacy more effective.

Through public diplomacy, states gain different advantages in bilateral or multilateral relationships. In the context of international relations, through their affect in different dimensions, diaspora communities influence the shaping of countries' foreign policies, positively or negatively. When the ethnic group that makes up the diaspora community is convinced that their work is legitimate and genuinely desirable, their 'soft power' increases (Nye, 2004: 11). Whether this effect is strong or weak depends on the legitimacy and/or acceptance of the diaspora community's work and initiatives by the receiving society in the countries where they are located.

Turkish active associations in Germany occupy an important place in German domestic politics. German foreign policy towards Türkiye has become a domestic affair. For example, while with the 2016 refugee agreement, the Turkish-origin group, which was negative towards Türkiye, criticized the German government for being too tolerant towards Türkiye, the Turkish-origin group, which was positive towards Türkiye, stated that the German government applies double standards towards Türkiye (Aydın, 2011: 105).

Turkish associations in Germany cannot or do not have a say in politics by not being a part or side in elections. German-Turks with a migration background are economically and socially disadvantaged compared to the population without a migration background. People with a migration background use opportunities for political participation less frequently (Müssig, 2020: 9). It was found that membership in an association that conducts various studies in Germany only strengthens the political and non-electoral participation of Turkish origin migrants, while the Italian origin group does not

strengthen it. This positive effect on political participation only applies in cases where there is a German association or a Turkish-German association. Membership in a Turkish association in Germany does not promote or prevent the political participation of Turks in elections (Müssig, 2020: 17).

Turkish associations which are active in political and cultural fields also contribute to Türkiye's foreign policy soft power by expanding the sphere of influence of Türkiye's political values and culture in Germany. Associations that execute their activities in the interests of Türkiye's can cause a conflict of interest with the existing political structure in Germany. Mosques and associations, which play an important role in the diaspora structure of the Turks in Germany, have an identity-forming, unifying force. In this framework, the persons and/or organizations working in Germany who have a conflict of interest with the associations find the means of an organized Turkish public and testify against them whenever they take action against these associations, which ideologically or politically come from Türkiye. The fact is that associations that conduct studies on political and cultural dimensions will more or less shape Turkish-German foreign policy in the new era.

Germany's foreign policy as a multicultural immigration country is organized pluralistically, particularly within the framework of homogeneous communities, and is not holistic, but characterized by negotiations at different levels (Becker, 2001: 75-77). In this context, the links between political decision-making processes in Germany and interest groups are important. As an interest group, Türkiye supports the attempts of the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

On the other hand, diaspora nationalism is the nationalist approach created by immigrant communities living outside their home country. In general, its main difference from the nationalist understanding is that it forms large units and heterogeneous groups. However, diaspora nationalism tends to form homogeneous communities. Supporters of diaspora nationalism need not take responsibility for their involvement in the politics of the country they call home. Therefore, they are not afraid of results (Aydın, 2011: 100-101). Lobbying activities in the context of transnational nationalism have a social and/or economic impact on their homeland country (Kapur, 2010: 186-187). The impact of German Turks, who exhibit the characteristics of a diaspora community, in the context of their native Türkiye is also reflected positively or negatively on Turkish-German relations (Albert, 2009: 99-101). This situation should be evaluated as to what extent the influence of diaspora associations plays a role in the political decision-making process in the context of Turkish and German foreign policies, and to what extent it affects or is affected by the political structure.

It would be correct to see the new engine of Turkish diaspora policy in global conditions. For Türkiye, a repositioning in the context of evolving conditions in international relations and using the economic and political potential of the Turkish people scattered around the world in opportunities for the country (Aydın, 2011: 101). Türkiye's Institutional Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) execute activities abroad on a political and cultural basis provide "soft power" with many branches around the world. In this framework, the "construction of the state interest", which is an element of social

constructivism, is related to Türkiye's identity-related diaspora politics (Wendt, 1992: 397). In addition to Türkiye's institutional work, other structures in Turkish society, especially in Germany, are strengthening this power.

The institutionalization of “public diplomacy”, which can encompass broader channels of influence and communication within the framework of diplomacy, is a clear indication that a specific state or states have gained importance with regard to the foreign policy interests of the diaspora community. Türkiye sees the Turkish-born diaspora structures in Germany as a legitimate political actor whose loyalty and weight one can trust (Aydın, 2011: 102). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) active in Germany in Turkish-German relations play an important role in the transnational relations between the Turkish communities living in both countries. In this framework, these institutions, which are usually extensions of political structures, make important contributions to the establishment of social spaces for the mediation of transnational relationships in addition to the identity-based organization of the German-Turks.

In order to examine the example of Turkish society in Germany, it is first necessary to see people of Turkish origin as transnational actors. Türkiye sees them not only as local political actors within Germany, but also as powerful interest actors influencing German foreign policy and contributing to Turkish public diplomacy. According to Yaşar Aydın, the new Turkish diaspora policy has five important features:

1. Promotion of a modern habitus: Encouraging people of Turkish origin to make better use of the educational opportunities in Germany, to make greater efforts to promote social development, to actively participate in social life and also to form the political will. From this point, the Turkish diaspora policy is compatible with the German integration policy and the integration efforts of people with Turkish origin.
2. Fragmentation through conservative rhetoric: The new Turkish diaspora policy promotes conservative social ethics and a religious collective identity. The new Turkish diaspora policy and the accompanying rhetoric do not address the diversity of the Turkish diaspora in Germany.
3. Conflicts with the majority society due to political events: Due to the developments in Türkiye, the conflicts between the Turkish community in Germany have come under criticism. In some areas of German politics and public opinion, the interest of people with Turkish origin about Turkish politics was presented as an indicator of a lack of integration. Doubts were expressed about the loyalty of conservative Turkish people to Germany.
4. Counter-mobilization: There is political mobilization in Germany not only through Turkish migrant organizations founded by people with Turkish origin, but also through left-wing radicals and other nationalist circles and groups.
5. Diaspora nationalism: Even among people of Turkish origin, diaspora nationalism is more likely to be observed than strong transnationalism, which manifests itself not only in orientation towards Türkiye, in the emergence of bilingualism and dual identity. Diaspora nationalism ensures maintaining a certain identity and not being assimilated into mainstream society (Aydın, 2011: 102-104).

It shows that the new Turkish diaspora policy is gradually becoming multidimensional. It is also well known how influential diasporas are in the global system (like the Jewish and Armenian diaspora). Within this framework, it can have a significant influence on the foreign policy of its new homeland through the development of diaspora activities in Germany through the institutions established by Türkiye and the associations established by the Turkish society living in Germany. Associations founded in Germany should not be seen as internal political structures only trying to expand the economic and social opportunities of their members. Because it is important to consider diaspora communities as transnational actors that not only act at the local level, but also involve at least two countries in their actions and activities.

In the context of Turkish-German relations, changes are expected in the post-Angela Merkel era. During the Merkel period, joint effort was executed in many areas, including the refugee crisis. In this context, despite US pressure, a balancing policy was pursued in Turkish-German relations during the Merkel period (Mück, 2017: 263-264). The ups and downs in Turkish-German relations have also hit the Turkish society in Germany deeply.

In this context, German citizenship law does not recognize the right to dual citizenship for citizens of Türkiye like granted to EU citizens. The founding parties of the traffic light coalition also include a new citizenship law in the protocol they have signed. In this context, in addition to facilitating the transition to German citizenship, it also enables the right to dual citizenship for people with Turkish origin (Dw, 2021; Swp, 2021). The aim is to prevent double standards in society by giving Turkish people and/or people with Turkish origin the same rights as EU citizens.

As a result of the September 11, the way in which Islam is dealt with in German society changed rapidly. Due to, the Terror attack on September 11, the debate about the slaughter of animals according to the German Society on Eid-al-Adha in 2002, the "Headscarf Controversy" in 2003, the discussions at the first German-İslamic Conference, in 2006 from Thilo Sarrazin published book "Germany is Dissolving", the debates about Salafism in Germany and the discussions after the circumcision debate in 2012, this facts led to a negative attitude towards Turkish society, which makes up the largest part of the Muslim community in Germany (Schultes, 2013: 262-292). Terrorist discourses against the Muslim community have also increased significantly in recent years following the September 11 attacks. As part of these developments, the districts in Germany in which the majority of immigrants are Muslims and thus Turks are being scrutinized more closely.

The activities conducted negatively by the Turks of Germany in connection with Türkiye, due to their identity with the anti-Islamic and/or anti-Muslim effects as well as the negatively addressed Turkish-German international relations in recent years. In German society, Jews have been perceived as "others" for centuries and Muslims as enemies since the Middle Ages. Turks with Turkish origin, who make up a large part of this community in Germany, have gained "Other" status through the Muslim community through immigration to Western Europe. Jews in Germany were suspected of shutting themselves off from others because of their religion, being hostile to them and rejecting any form of integration. Such accusations can still be found in the discourses of the Muslim community today. Structural similarities between anti-İslamic and anti-Jewish rhetoric

also emerge from discussions of religious identity. Anti-Muslim attributions are often supported by views incorporating 19th-century anti-Jewish argumentative patterns that are anti-Semitic (Shooman, 2010: 100-111).

Jews and Muslims are accused of building a closed social structure within society. Anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic arguments also differ in their core points: while anti-Semitism developed in the 19th century against a kind of anti-modernity, Jews were considered representatives of communism, capitalism, feminism and liberalism, while today attempts are often made to reject Muslims by defending the modernity to be justified. An example of this situation is the instrumentalization of human rights, especially in the frame of women rights (Shooman, 2012: 17-20). Discrimination, rejection and exclusion of Muslims in German society is a culturally controversial form of racism. Depending on this situation, it includes special situations that cannot be compared to other forms of racism.

It can be observed that Türkiye has accelerated its activities, especially in recent years, through the official institutions it has set up, both to meet the needs of the Turkish communities living here and to create a diaspora effect in Germany and in other countries respectively. At the same time, Türkiye is trying to strengthen the current diaspora effect through support and donations to the associations founded by Turkish society in Germany. While taking all these initiatives, Türkiye shows great sensitivity to the continued stability of Turkish-German relations. It can be said that Türkiye, which has strong diaspora tools, will always have a positive impact on Turkish foreign policy.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This study analyzes the effectiveness of the Turkish community's presence in Germany as immigrants in shaping Turkish-German relations at the transnational level in various dimensions. In this context, as in modern and global diasporas, the diaspora formation of Turkish society in Germany has developed within the framework of transnational relations, and this situation has deeply influenced Turkish-German relations in the historical context.

Initially, a conceptual analysis of the controversial term diaspora was carried out from different perspectives. In this context, in addition to the traditional approaches that are examined in traditional diaspora societies, current approaches are also included in the study. The characteristics of diaspora societies, which are examined using identity models, are revealed. In the context of increasing mass migrations with globalization, with the integration of immigrant societies into their new homelands, it has been shown that in diaspora societies the connections to the places they call homeland lie at the level of belonging and loyalty. The importance of the diasporas as transnational actors is increasing on a global level and accordingly appears as a new factor in interstate relations.

Global and modern diaspora societies influence the domestic and foreign policies of the multicultural countries, with the increasing mass migration due to globalization, which they are citizens within the framework of soft power. In this context, people with Turkish origin, who constitute the majority populated immigrant origin group in Germany, support Türkiye in their new homeland within the framework of soft power, which they

see as their homeland within the framework of belonging and loyalty, and the Turks of Türkiye, with whom they have transnational relations. The fact that German Turks, as part of the Turks living in Western Europe, play an important role in Turkish-German relations also increases the importance of diaspora studies.

Preserving the cultural identity of the German-Turks in their new homeland Germany is important in many ways. Specifically, the formation of cultural ties such as language, religion, or attachment to their homeland, as well as the formation of identities such as “migration origin” and/or “expatriation” in Türkiye after migration, brings German Turks closer to other communities with similar ones. Characteristics of transnational belonging and loyalty.

The loss of authority of nation states in some matters of globalization increases the importance of transnational approaches in diaspora research. For this reason, it will not be enough to examine Turkish society in Germany, many of whom are German citizens, in the context of international relations.

In Germany, communities where they share their historical, religious and common identity within the framework of the European Union (EU) with the Germans, who constitute the majority of the community, are becoming more accepted in German society. From a different angle, historical and current approaches in the context of Turkish-German relations reduce the influence of the Turkish minority in the context of soft power. Despite this situation, in recent years German Turks as a transnational structure have been an important Actor in Türkiye-Germany relations, this confirms the conclusion that it will affect Germany's domestic and foreign policy in the future.

In the German public, those with Turkish origin in Germany, where they are seen as an instrument of Türkiye in the context of soft power, are affected by the development of Turkish-German relations over time. Negative developments in Turkish-German relations also increase the pressure on German-Turks. Despite these negative developments, it seems possible that the activity of both the official institutions created by Türkiye and the organizations created by Turkish society living in Germany can develop into a phenomenon that will have diaspora an effective character. In order for this to happen, Türkiye, in particular, needs to coordinate all institutions and organizations operating in Germany for the homeland and direct them towards a strong cooperation. In order for the Turkish diaspora to be successful in Germany, projects that will play a more active role should be developed. These projects should continue to be supported by Türkiye.

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