

Institute for European Studies

MASTER'S THESIS

TURKISH MIGRANTS IN GERMANY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Today many European countries are the immigration countries. Economic and social differences among people cause migratory flows from other countries of the world towards Europe. It is important to determine how to control such flows from the countries. For the migrant receiving countries it is problematic that they must balance the labor market so that immigrants must not become discriminated compared to native population, they must protect their rights in order the migrants to achieve desired economic well-being, and the government of the country must help these migrants as well as their children acquiring the citizenship and forming their future. In a lot of countries because of these are great dissatisfactions because native population wants to stop the immigration and they are very aggressive towards the foreigners and the government should manage all of this situation, which may become very tense because of the confrontations among the communities. So government should know how to manage the integration of the foreigners in their society (“Tamaz Zubiashvili lecture notes”).

I chose as my Master’s thesis one of the European countries, Germany and the problem of Turkish immigrants in this country. As was already said receiving country has to manage and secure the future of the immigrants, who decide to live in that country. Germany is very interesting country from this point of view as during a long time it was considered as a country of non-immigration when in reality it had a great number of immigrants. As for Turkish minority in Germany, they constitute the largest group of immigrants, by present data there are about 2.7 million (INFO GmbH and Liljeberg Research International, 2009) Turks in Germany. I want to concentrate on Turkish labour migrants, who first came in Germany by the agreements between German and Turkish government as Germany needed additional workforce to revive the economy destroyed during the war and they were considered to stay for a short period of time, but some of the guests stayed and they turned into unwanted immigrants to whom population was very much opposed. There are done a lot of studies about the Turkish immigrants in Germany, but this subject was still very interesting for me as it is almost fifty years Turks are living in Germany and they still encounter problems and

discrimination, they are not considered to be integrated in the German society because of their different culture and traditions, which is a problem for Germany.

In this thesis first of all I am going briefly to talk about the history of migration of Turkish people in Germany and the reasons of their migration, what made them to leave the country, what is the contribution of this migration and so on. But subject of my interest is the fact that Turkish people couldn't manage integration in the country for this period, I want to make emphasis on main reasons that hinder the integration process, namely education and unemployment and explain this integration process by the Theory of Acculturation, which will help me to find out what are the strategies according which immigrants choose to acculturate in the host society and what are the main responsibilities for both community to live together and respect each others values.

2. HYPOTHESIS

As Turks have been living in Germany for already many years and despite this long period of time there is still difference between immigration and integration policy, second and third generation still have some barriers, it means that there are great problems with regards this issue. For example the problem that immigrant are not integrated into the labor market and so on, which is due to the fact that immigrants in Germany do not get the education with the same quality as their German counterparts, which of course hinders their integration process. So based on these facts my first hypothesis is as follows - "Managing the Migrant Education problem in Germany is the way towards integration". And also as a result of the fact that integration of immigrants in the host country society is an important fact and especially in the cultural aspects, the second hypothesis is the following – "Turkish immigrants in Germany correspond to the "Integration" strategy of Berry's Acculturation Theory".

3. THEORY

Integration of immigrants is an important issue, in present society there is a lack of integration and especially it concerns the cultural aspects such as language skills, identification with the host society and acceptance of their values, which then will be a good condition for successful socio-economic integration (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2007, 3). As Berry points out study of immigration is rooted in many disciplines like anthropology, demography, economics, political science and sociology, but psychology is lagging behind. But he states that psychology plays very important role in this field and there are two broad areas of contribution by psychology: acculturation and inter group relations (Berry 2001, 615). I also want to refer to Berry and in my research use Berry's **Theory of Acculturation** as the explanation of immigrant integration problems in Germany.

According to Berry classical definition of **acculturation** is that it is "phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". So acculturation is a change in the culture of the group. There is one more concept – **Psychological acculturation**, which is a change in the psychology of the individual. **Interculturation** is "the set of processes by which individuals and groups interact when they identify themselves as culturally distinct". As he points out there are similarities between acculturation and interculturation and some times it is difficult to distinguish the conclusions drawn between them. One which distinguishes these two concepts is the interest in the formation of new cultures in the interculturation more than in acculturation.

As a result of migration many societies become culturally plural. That is when people of many cultural backgrounds come to live together, they form cultural groups that aren't equal numerically, economically or politically. These cultural groups are of many kinds, some groups have entered in the acculturation process voluntarily, while there are such groups who weren't seeking it, these are for example refugees. Some of them who migrated are permanently settled and others temporarily. And as there are differences

between the cultures of these groups, Berry is interested in very practical questions: what happens to individuals who have developed in one culture when they begin to live in a new culture? If culture influences their behavior so much, do individuals continue to act in the new environment as they did in the previous one or do they change their behavior to be more appropriate in the new environment? As Berry says the process of adaptation to new culture is the same for all groups, the only difference is the level of difficulty and the outcome of acculturation. These cultural groups face the issue how to acculturate. Two major issues are worked out by the groups daily with each other. One is cultural maintenance – whether or not immigrants maintain their culture and origin and the second – whether or not they adopt the national, host country culture. So these two issues lead to four acculturation strategies (see figure 1). As seen in the figure positive or negative (“yes” or “no” responses) to these issues intersect to define four acculturation strategies.

These strategies are different because of different groups. One is the **Assimilation** strategy, when individuals do not wish to maintain their own culture and they adopt the national one. In contrast, when individuals maintain their ethnic culture and don't adopt national this is **Separation** or **Segregation** strategy. When both cultures are combined and individuals maintain their own culture and also adopt the host country culture is called the **Integration** strategy. Finally, when individuals have little interest in maintaining their own culture and at the same time have little interest of the culture of the host country is the **Marginalization** strategy. But everything this is based on the assumption that these individuals choose freely how they want to acculturate and not that they are enforced by the dominant groups to choose one of the forms of this acculturation.

“Integration can only be freely chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity”. For integration mutual accommodation is required, both groups must accept the rights of all groups. “This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, at the same time dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health, labor) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society”. Integration strategy can only be pursued in societies where are such pre-conditions: acceptance of the values of cultural

diversity, low levels of racism and discrimination, positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups and identification with the larger society.

Individuals may have different attitudes towards these four ways of acculturation. National policies may also be analysed according these four approaches. For example, some policies are very assimilationist and expect that all immigrants will become like those in the dominant society.

Except the terms mentioned here, acculturation researchers also propose other terms too. For example “bicultural” involves individuals simultaneously in the two cultures that are in contact, which very much corresponds to the Integration strategy, already discussed here. Also there are two forms of incorporation: cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. As Berry says, when both of them occur then the result is complete assimilation. But when structural assimilation is high and cultural assimilation, on the contrary low, then it is similar to integration, because it means that there is high degree of contact with larger society and also high degree of cultural maintenance.

Previously was thought that acculturation inevitably brings social and psychological problems. There are different levels of difficulty for the individuals in acculturation process. The first is when psychological changes are rather easy to accomplish, this has several names as “behavioural shifts”, “culture learning” or “social skills acquisition”. In this case psychological adaptation to acculturation means that individuals learn new behaviours that is appropriate for the new culture. Individuals change the way they dress, what they eat, their greeting procedures, even their values by reducing one way of daily living and taking on replacements. But in cases where serious conflict exists individuals may experience “cultural shock” if they can not easily change their behaviours typical for their culture and wouldn't be able to adapt new ones.

Adaptation can occur immediately or they can be extended over the longer terms. As Berry says short-terms changes are negative but he claims that for most acculturating individuals long-term positive adaptation to the new culture usually takes place after a period of time. These adaptations can take many different forms.

There are some factors that affect an individual's adaptation and influence psychological acculturation. Very important factors among them are the society of origin

and the society of settlement. In the society of origin cultural characteristics that accompany individuals into the acculturation process need description to understand where the person is coming from. In the society of settlement are general orientations that a society has towards immigration. The important issue to understand for the process of acculturation is historical and attitudinal situation faced by immigrants in the society of settlement. Some societies are accepting the cultural pluralism and taking steps to support the cultural diversity. Others try to abolish this diversity with the assimilation programmes. But even in the societies where pluralism is accepted there are some variations in the acceptance of different cultural, racial and religious groups and so the groups that are less accepted experience hostility, discrimination and so on.

To continue the factors that affect the acculturation process, Berry says that age has relationship to the way acculturation will occur. When acculturation starts in early age, for example prior entry to primary school, then the process is generally smooth. But when this process begins in later life, for example during retirement or when older parents migrate to join their family, there appears more risk. Gender also has influence on acculturation process. It is evident that females face more problems and risk than males.

Education is the important factor that helps the positive adaptation. "Problem analysis and problem solving are usually instilled by formal education and likely contribute to better adaptation. Education is a correlate of other resources such as income, occupational status etc... education may attune them [immigrants] to features of the society into which they settle, it is a kind of pre-acculturation to the language, history, values and norms of the new culture". And of course to education is related individuals' place in the economic world.

And lastly, Berry says that all these acculturation strategies have relationships with adaptation but still integration is the most successful and marginalization is the least. The availability and success of such adaptation strategy depends on the willingness of the dominant society to allow it (Berry 1997, 5-24).

4. EARLY AGES OF TURKISH MIGRATION IN GERMANY

In the twentieth century immigration became very important and central issue in Europe. Initially Europeans were importing the foreign labour as “guests” but now they are faced with the challenge of assimilating large numbers of culturally different, which they didn't expect to be from the beginning.

Until 1950s Germany was the country of emigration. In 1949 in Federal Republic of Germany there was massive unemployment, but Germany's unemployment fell in 1950s and as there appeared the need of additional workers, the foreign workers started to flow in Germany, for example by 1960 the number of foreign workers in Germany was 280 000. So German employers started to employ these foreigners but they wanted from the government to do this guestworker recruitment on a legal basis and so Germany signed this recruitment agreements with different countries, with Turkey it happened in 1961 (Martin and others 1994, 198-199). However the first agreement about receiving the workers from Turkey was made between Turkish Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Labour of Schleswig-Holstein in 1957. In 1961 another agreement with Turkey contained specific provisions regarding the recruitment of Turkish labour force. Requests for labour were made by host government or employer association representatives to the Turkish Institute of Employment (Yigit 1997, 3).

The recruitment system was well organized. There were employment offices in the country and German employers who needed the workforce asked these offices for the workers. Also there were German recruitment offices in different countries and when German employers requested for a certain number of unskilled workers, those who were registered there to work in Germany, were given one-year work and residence permit. But the result of this was that many who were thought to be skilled workers in their own countries, in Germany they worked as unskilled ones. For example, 30/40 % of Turks who worked in Germany, they were considered as skilled in Turkey. A large number of them worked in Germany in factories and other industries like dressmaking, hairdressing, shoemaking and so on. But there were examples that sometimes migrants

went to Germany as tourists and then they found their employers, after their employers legalized their status. For example, 20/30 % of the Turks initially went as tourists in Germany.

This rotation program was convenient for policy makers as they thought that the old workers after two or three years would be replaced with new ones, but it was not convenient for migrant workers and employers, because migrants needed to stay in Germany longer than it was two or three years in order to save enough money and send to their families. It was also in the interests of the employers that trained and experienced migrants stayed, because as a result of it they would have saved money for training new ones. So German government relaxed rules about the family unification and also the migrants could stay longer, which caused the fact that number of nonworking migrants rose. The peak years of the recruitment were between the 1968-1972, in this period migrant workers rose from one million to 2.6 million, this meant that they were from 5 to 12% of German workforce. "In 1968 there were about 1.9 million foreign residents and one million foreign workers in Germany. Five years later, there were 4 million foreign residents and 2.6 million foreign workers. After 1973 the foreign population rose while the number of foreign workers fell... In parts of many German cities foreigners soon outnumbered Germans. The presence of Yugoslav and Turkish children in German schools revealed that many guests had decided to stay". Turkish migrants have come with the intention to return home but few of them have done so, during this time they married and settled in the country.

By 1973 it became evident that many guests had become permanent residents, to which Germans were very much opposed. They didn't support immigrants staying in their country, for example some were afraid that Germany's famous industry was falling down because there were a lot of migrant workers available and employers were no longer trying to develop new technologies. So German government was forced to restrict immigration in the country. The first step what the government did was that tripled the recruitment fee that employer had to pay in order to force employers not to request new workforce. And then in 1973 government announced a ban on guestworker recruitment and as a reason for this ban it named the OPEC oil embargo, because this oil embargo threatened to rise unemployment which of course meant that additional migrants were not necessary. Government issued an administrative order according which all former

recruitment agreements were suspended. One more action government did was that it encouraged all unemployed migrants to leave Germany and return back to their country and this encouragement was that it financed work places there (Martin and others 1994, 200-202).

So the recruitment stop in 1973 intended that the number of foreigners in Germany must reduce, but this intention had opposite result. The foreign population rose and if in 1973 it was 4 million, in 1980 it became 4.5 million and the recruitment ban didn't help increasing their number, but as the foreign workforce it fell from 2.6 million to 2 million. When the recruitment period ended, Turks were faced with two possibilities. One was that they could return to their home country without chance to come back to Germany again and the second was to bring their family members who were in Turkey to Germany. So many of them chose the family unification in the host country and not in their home country (Küçükcan 2002, 99).

Another legislation that had opposite result than it was intended originally was the tax reform in 1975 which increased child benefit for all children and among them the children of Turkish workers if they lived in Germany. So as a result of it happened that the children who were left to their grandparents in Turkey by their parents before going to Germany, now were brought in Germany so that they also could benefit from this tax reform, which of course caused the fact that now these children also settled in Germany who previously were left in Turkey by their parents. After it one more measure was introduced that stated that children of foreign workers who came to Germany after November 30, 1974 wouldn't be able to grant a work permit. The idea of it was to force the children who came to Germany because of the tax reform to leave the country again after they became an adult. But the result German government received was that these children were alienated from German society and were driven into illegal employment or crime. Also in 1975 provisions were introduced which forbade foreigners to move to towns or cities where they already made up 12% of the population or more (Yigit 1997, 5).

Despite these prohibitions in 1980 survey results showed that about 40% of Turks who were in Germany wanted to settle in the country and 21% of the Turks didn't intend to go back to the home country for next ten years. And in 1992 the number of Turks who

wanted to stay in Germany increased to 83% and only 17% wanted to return to Turkey. So German government had to admit the fact that Turkish immigrants were not going to leave the country and they had to integrate them into German society.

The terminology used towards these workers had been modified several times. From the beginning the word denoting working immigrants was *Fremdarbeiter* (foreign workers), but in 1960 it was replaced by *Gastarbeiter* (guestworkers). And after 1980s the terminology was simplified and everybody called immigrants *Ausländer* (foreigner) (Kücükcan 2002, 100-101).

During that period almost all foreigners lived in urban areas. The surveys conducted during that time showed that there were more workplaces for the older foreigners and forty and sixty years old immigrants were better integrated. But it was different with the youth, because when the immigrant children and Germans went to the same school surveys showed that they were in the different positions and their paths diverged. Most of migrant workers for that time were still unskilled or semiskilled and most of them worked in manufacturing and for those who lost their jobs it was difficult to find new ones (Martin and others 1994, 204). An unemployed Turkish worker after legally employed for at least three years, could again apply in the same position and after five years he would be able to access the job, but despite this Turkish workers were considered as “secondary priority”, which meant that in case a job wouldn’t be filled with the worker who was from the member country, then they would have priority compared with the workers from other non-EC countries (Yigit 1997, 5).

In 1981 the government announced a policy towards the migrants which meant that Germany would promote the voluntary return of the foreigners. Also in 1980s the integration of these settled foreigners was the top priority, so there was the tension between the promoting returns and integration of the foreigners. Helmut Schmidt, who was the chancellor in that time announced that “Germany had no choice but to integrate the migrants who had made economic contributions during the 1960s, but he then added that 4 million is enough”. But as Martin points out there was great gap between the immigration policy and the results of this policy, though German government said that it was top priority for then to integrate those immigrants who decided to stay, as Martin says these goals wasn’t achieved. Some worried that that everything wasn’t

done in order to integrate Turks in German society and especially their concern was about the youth, as most of the foreign youths had no high school diploma, and they feared that these uneducated and unemployed youths would compose separate underclass in Germany (Martin and others 1994, 205-206).

4.1. Push factors of Turkish migration

When people make decisions to leave their own country and go to another one, there are always some factors that caused this migration, or the push factors. The mix of economic, demographic, social, religious, ethnic and political processes force people to move from their homes and countries. The most popular one why people migrate is the economic factor, which means that in their own country they aren't content with the standards of living, economic performance of the country, have no employment or earn not enough to save their families, that's why they live home country and migrate to another one, where they would be able to save enough money and send to their families.

While talking about the Turks' reasons of migrating to Germany, many researchers also stated that economic factor was the most important, it was connected with the slow economic growth of the country, which then caused unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. I am not going to go in very details of the reasons of migration, but I want to pay attention to Ahmet Akgündüz's opinion, who in his book gives very interesting statistics and facts regarding this issue. He provides the data on economic performance of the country during the migration period and says that it paints very opposite picture. Because according to OECD during the migration years Turkey's GDP (Gross domestic product) was very high only except the years 1960 and 1961. Also the growth in Turkey's GNP (Gross National Product) was quite high 6.2% (see Table 1).

One more important factor of migration pressure from Turkey according to many researchers was an unemployment. A lot of studies concluded that the reason of labour migration from Turkey was unemployment, but as Ahmet Akgündüz says neither of these studies analysed situation of Turkish labour market and unemployment during

that period of time. He provides the data of the number of registered unemployed people or job seekers, the information on vacant jobs and about who got the job or failed to do so. It is not clear if all these registered job seekers were unemployed at the time of registration, but if they were unemployed still the number who failed to get a job and remained unemployed was very small (see Table 2). As he says unemployment was not chief factor that made migrants to go to the other country for work, because majority who went were not unemployed in their country. These people were not registered for jobs in their country but had registered only for jobs in Europe. "They had plans and dreams to realise in Europe". And the argument of unemployment as the main reason of migrating is important only for a small number of migrants.

In order to understand what made Turks eager to work in the West, there are several factors that must be taken into account and the first one is the new relationships with the West. Turkey joined the Western clubs, became a founding member of the Council of Europe, a member of NATO, OECD and so on. So these growing linkages with the West "from 1950 onwards changed values, desires, cultural perceptions and the taste for consumer goods among youngsters ... therefore when the Western European Countries began to invite ordinary labourers to work, for many youngsters this was not only a chance to earn a higher income but also to have access to a model country where they could put their other desires into practice, which was very difficult, if not impossible in Turkey".

There are some surveys in which to the Turkish migrants was put a question what was a reason of their migration to the West and 3 to 18.4% answered the reason of their migration was "desire to know European countries and/or learn European language". And 7.4 to 26.7% said it was "desire to study and/or have vocational training and progress in Europe". In the eyes of urban and rural middle classes the Western demand for labour from Turkey appeared a good chance to solve their problems and realise their aspirations. Also Turkish government justified these migration processes and regulated it as well, every state of it was under official protection, which made migration attractive and affordable for every one. Turks were attracted by the way of living of Europe, as Turkey was traditionalist and culturally conservative country for Turks it was desirable to live in more modern world. So from these data can be drawn conclusions that economic factors and unemployment in their home country, was not primary and the most

important factor, of course there were some percentage of Turks who left their country for these reasons, whose goal of going abroad was search for employment, to save money and make up some business after returning home, but many of them made a decision to go to Germany for already above mentioned factors and they were not unemployed in their country (Akgündüz 2008, 14-42).

4.2. Violence against Turkish immigrants

First Turkish immigrants who came to Germany were adults who had brought with them their own morals, beliefs and traditions. Turks were the poorest, most visible and the largest group in Germany and because of these factors they were the greatest concern for the German society. In opinion of many Germans exactly Turks were very difficult foreigners, who were very hard to integrate in German society, because they had no suitable education, also were not skilled workers and what was the most important their religion and culture differed greatly from Germans. Also it was evident to everyone that Turkey wanted to become a member country of the EC, so after its joining the EC, Turkey would have the right of free movement, as it is the right which has all the member states, and of course it was evident that after being full members, more Turks would have desire and ability to go to Germany. So when Germany opposed the Turkey's desire joining the EC was because of the fear that Turks were those ones whose integration into German society was very hard. So Germans feared that after joining they would have right and much more Turks would arrive to Germany in order to find jobs and they feared that Turkey would have been most populous country in the EC. So every this difference among German and Turk nations in the culture, religion, education level and so on, caused the fact that most of the Germans became very negatively disposed towards the immigrants in their country and especially towards Turks. They weren't eager of being Turkish immigrants in their country and most of them demanded their returning back. Politicians told xenophobic Germans that the migrant workers were necessary to assure economic growth, but many Germans believed that "over-foreignization" was too high price to pay for economic success (Martin and others 1994, 202-208).

Such negative attitude towards the immigrants caused the fact that racism and xenophobia was increased in the German society. The roots of xenophobia comes from 1980s. It became visible through the text circulated with regard to Turks, where Turks were shown ridiculously because of their food tastes and dressing. "The jokes were an expression of the widely shared emotions of the German society about Turks".

After the fall of the Berlin Wall the people from the East entered to the West, which was a threat for Turks and also for the other non-German migrants, because after it violence was increased against immigrants, attacks on them became very frequent, appeared slogans such as "foreigners out" and "Germany for Germans". Turks became the primary target for racist attacks as they were the largest group of foreigners in Germany. On November 21st of 1992 was burned a house by extremist gangs, where a Turkish family was living and as a result of this three persons were killed. In May of 1993 another Turkish family became a victim again of fire attack and Turkish community claimed that five people were dead as a result of this, so they went on streets and demanded to be protected and also the punishment of those who were guilty. Also very disturbing fact is that in first seven months of 1993 total of 1 223 aggressions against foreigners were registered in Germany.

Some German politicians were against Turks and they drew boundaries among them and German society as according to them these two nations were very different in culture and mentality, so they supported preventing the development of Turkish quarters in the country by force and they didn't think it was right when they were accused in racism. Turkish identity disturbed these politicians and most important obstacle why immigrants couldn't manage to integrate was exactly the strong emphasis made on German and Turkish identity as on the irreconcilable because of their religion and culture (Kücükcan 2002, 102-105) (Sen, 1994). So despite trying to integrate these immigrants in their country, some of the politicians with their position and activities were increasing the negative attitude in the German people, what they experienced towards the immigrants, which was very hard for them because it wasn't easy to live in a different country were they were faced with the necessity to learn a new language and get used to a new life. Transition from one culture to another created many difficulties for them as they had to live in two cultures and Germans with such violence against them made their life harder.

4.3. Contribution of Turkish immigrants

Contribution of foreign workers is great as for their home country, it is significant for the host country as well. From the point of view of global development international labour migration brings a positive contribution to the world economy. Movement of labour resources from the countries to the another ones, where there is demand on labour force, forms the world labour market. Functioning of this market supports the development of world production and growth of the world gross product (“Tamaz Zubiashvili lecture notes”).

For sending country, in this case for Turkey contribution of migrants is important first of all because during labour migration workers from developing countries get acquainted with the modern technologies in the host country and coming back home, they try to apply new knowledge and experience. As a rule they keep communications with those countries where they worked and from there they order technical equipment and so on, which contributes the modernization of the developing country. The migratory links also promote the development of trade relations. The presence of labour migrants for several years in the country which has the developed market of consumer goods, coming back home they continue to feel necessity for those products and goods which they got used during their stay in the host country. As for Turkey, from were large number of labour migrants went to Germany, as we already have seen above, it became one of main importers of German consumer goods: washing machines, TVs and so on. In Turkey the production of household chemical goods, hygienic goods, food are produced by German technologies. The reason is simple, having used for example to detergent powder “OMO” during their lives in Germany, Turkish labour migrants wished to receive the same quality detergent powder after returning back to Turkey. In such cases the market doesn’t leave demand without satisfaction and in Turkey was this powder imported from Germany and then its manufacture began in Turkey.

Migration is economically positive for sending country. Major motivation of migration is the accumulation of assets. Migrants who return home bring to their home country very big amount of assets or invest these assets in the business. In Turkey owners or co-owners of small hotels, restaurants, tourist offices and so on are the people who have

worked for several years in Europe. But the bad side of migration is that the outflow of qualified employees abroad deprives the country of the staff necessary for its national income. Actually, the most competitive part of population leaves the country. A part of them remains abroad for ever. Training of new staff demands significant expenses and there is no guarantee that these new specialists will not leave the country again. For example, the government of Turkey even was forced to forbid official departure of miners because after departure 46 thousand miners the State Coal-mining corporation of Turkey turned out in danger to remain without the staff ("Tamaz Zubiashvili lecture notes" ; Kirdar 2005).

The most important contribution of migrants to their country are the remittances sent by them to their relatives at home. The money that migrants send home is very much important not only to their families but also for the country's economy as they represent significant proportion of the country's GDP. Remittances have emerged as one of the largest and the most effective sources of foreign financing in promoting development as they constitute the second largest source of foreign financial flows to developing countries after foreign direct investment, because they tend to increase in times of economic hardship and go directly to the people who need them. There is strong evidence that remittances support the poverty reduction and promote economic growth in developing and less developed countries. First five decades after the first Turkish migrants entered Germany, they still send significant amount of remittances to Turkey on a regular basis. For example during 1964-2005 total amount of remittances from Germany was 45.7 billion euros, in comparison to the capital inflows and foreign direct investment from Germany which amounted 17.8 billion and 4.2 billion euros. This is very significant difference when Germany is one of the biggest investors in Turkey. Remittances are sent to their countries in both ways, when migrants intend to return back and when they do not intend to return, but the difference is that in case when the migrants intend to return they send more money because in such case they are motivated by self-interest. Turkish government also supported the migration of Turks to European countries and officially declared its interest in order to ease the employment problem, also the labour migrants would receive the qualification and of course foreign currency would inflow in the country by the way of remittances. And the government encouraged the migrants and for stimulation of investments of migrants' remittances in national economy was set up the workers investment bank by the support of the

government which invested labour migrants funds in industrial projects (Hulya Ulku 2010 ; Bulent Acma ; Karagöz 2009 ; “Tamaz Zubiashvili lecture notes”).

As for the migrants contribution to the host country, it is very important fact too. As Martin says without immigration Germany's population and workforce might shrink. There is said that 41 million workforce in 1993 was expected to shrink to 37 million in 2010 if fertility and mortality rates remained at 1990 level and there would be no immigration. By arguing of some analysts Germany needed 300 000 to 400 000 immigrants annually in order to have skilled workers. So as Martin thinks receiving immigrants was right step by Germany (Martin and others 1994, 208). Also Turkish workers have contributed greatly to the economic development of Germany. As labour migrants were generally young and well motivated to work, their performance on a host country's labour market was good. The guestworkers had contributed towards the capital accumulation through their participation in pension funds, insurance schemes and employment and income taxes. Also inflow of additional people into the country can in itself stimulate increase job places. Labour migrants who entered the country at the same time are producers and consumers of goods. Before they start to work, when they arrive to the country they start to create new job places. They need houses and apartments for residence that requires additional constructions. They need food, thus there will be additional job places in the sphere of manufacture and distribution of food staffs. To reach a workplace they need public transport, additional buses, drivers and so on. When number of immigrants is high these jobs can be numerous. During their stay in the country labour migrants spend a part of the earned money on the goods. As Waldeck and von Gosen indicate the statement that foreign workers are carrying parts of their income only to their native countries has never been correct, they have very strong spending power, the spending power of the Turkish population in Germany amounts 16.9 billion euros. The foreign labour force which Germany recruited was very cheap, cheapness of these labour created conditions for fast growth of economy: electric power industry, chemical industry, automobile industry, mining industry. It can be said without exaggeration that foreign workers were the basis of German “economic miracle” which enabled the country to restore the economy destroyed by the war. By the estimation of German economists the contribution of foreign workers to the growth of gross national product of Germany made up more than 40% at the beginning of the 1970s.

The foreign citizens legally working in the country get access to public social services, such as health services, education, insurance and so on. There is a question whether taxes paid by them exceed that sum of expenses which are paid for them by local society? But immigrants really contribute in such case, they pay taxes: first of all tax on incomes, tax on remittances, in their wages are incorporated all the taxes which are paid by the company for which they work. These taxes are: the profit tax, the tax on social insurance, the tax on education, the tax on public health services, the road tax, the housing tax and so on. According to Kenan Kolat, head of the Turkish Community in Germany, the biggest contribution Turkish immigrants have made is economic: "Nearly 40 percent of Turkish workers already had a profession in Turkey, and they worked as master workmen or apprentices at factories in Germany. They made a remarkable contribution to the country's economy, and they helped Germany become what it is today". But as Kirdar says the contribution of immigrants to the host country economy depends on how well they assimilate in their labour market (Euwals and others 2007 ; Bulent Acma ; Waldeck and von Gosen 2007 ; Kirdar 2005 ; "Tamaz Zubiashvili lecture notes" ; The Anatolia News Agency).

5. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

During the 1990s Germany's foreign population rose from 4 million to 7.3 million, yet in formal terms Germany still remained as an non immigration country. As Martin says, by declaration of German leaders, Germany was not and wouldn't become a country of immigration, but at the same time they said that foreigners who already were in Germany had to be integrated, which according to Martin had not been achieved, there was gap between immigration goals and results and this also was added the fact that German citizens also wanted immigration to stop or reduced and hoped that foreigners would return to their countries, the result of this was that there had been attacks on foreigners. So such great number of immigrants in the country indicated that Germany

was the European country that was most open to international migration in the 1990s. yet all this occurred actually when Germany had not an immigration policy. Germany's immigration problem was that "officially non-immigrant country was in fact one of the world's major destinations for immigrants". As the unwanted immigration was rising Germany had to look for the strong immigration policy (Martin and others 1994, 189-193; Geddes 2006, 79).

The guestworker recruitment was started by the demand of German employers, it was requested first by agriculture and then by industry, but it was subjugated to the economic interests of the Federal Republic. The 1965 law stated that residence permit could be issued if the presence of the foreigner did not harm the interests of the FRG. Residence permits were linked to work permits and both subordinated to Germany's economic interests.

The number of guestworkers peaked again when Germany's economy recovered between 1967-73, but the ethnic composition changed of the guestworkers. There were fewer Italians and more Turks. At the beginning of 1970s Turks were the 13% of the foreign population and by 1980 they already were 33%.

Germany had not a system for the regulation of immigration or integration of newcomers. In 2001 was published a report of the commission which stated that Germany needed immigrants and also needed to successfully integrate them. In 2001 also Interior Minister Otto Schilly proposed a bill of somehow regulated immigration system, but the legislation was delayed because of the September of 11th terrorist attack. Though in August Schilly made the symbolical declaration that Germany was an immigration country. Germany recognised that it is an immigration country, it needs migrant workers to fill labour market and that the integration of these immigrants is an important issue that the state needs to address.

Because Germany had not an immigration policy it did not mean that there was no concern about inclusion of the migrants. Guestworkers in Germany possessed legal, social, but not political rights. This incomplete membership meant that the children born in Germany who had foreign parents were still considered to be foreign. "Germany was

conceived as a community of descent (*jus sanguinis*) rather than a territorial community (*jus soli*) “. But the things changed during 1990s.

When arrived the guestworkers had similar working conditions to Germans but they were housed in poor conditions and the lowest quality. In 1964 government introduced measures towards accommodation and social provisions for them, but all these was foreseen for the temporary presence of these workers and not for their permanent settlement. The first attempt to deal with the social problems of those foreign workers who were staying for a long time, was the Federal Government Programme for the Employment of Immigrant Labour.

In 1978 was appointed an ombudsman for the Advancement of the Integration of Foreign Workers and their Families, and the first report that this ombudsman Heinz Kühn made was very ambitious because it called Germany not only an immigration country, but also argued for *jus soli* and the voting rights for foreigners. But the government was more cautious, it called for the integration of the second generation into social and economic life but not into the political life.

As Geddes argues the socio-economic integration of immigrants was submerged by the discussion of German nationality law, as these laws were “form of institutional racism because of their ethno-cultural foundations and exclusion of non-Germans’. In 1977 Naturalisation Guidelines required the foreigners spoken and written German, knowledge of the FRG’s political system and at least 10 years residence. But even in this case nationality would only be granted if it served a public interest, because according to a law, Germany did not seek to deliberately increase the number of its citizens through naturalisation and the personal wishes and economic interests of the applicant were not decisive. And as a result of such kinds of restrictions the annual naturalisation rate during 1980s was less than 0.5% of the foreign population.

More moderate legislation was made by Interior minister Wolfgang Schauble which recognised that by 1990 about 70% of the foreign population lived in Germany more than ten years and since 1970 about 1.5 million were born in Germany. the legislation entered into force in 1991, which include such provisions: Naturalisation for foreigners was possible after at least 15 years residence and for second and third generation aged

between 16 and 25 possible after 8 years residence; one-year waiting period for spouses had to be abolished; spouses and children had to be given residence rights independently from the head of the family; second and third generation foreigners who temporarily returned to their home country had to be allowed to return back to Germany and so on. But despite this access to German nationality still remained very difficult and naturalisation figures remained very low.

In 1998 national elections won two parties SPD and Green coalition, who argued that aim of immigration policy should be integration of foreign population. The government proposed that “children born in Germany would obtain German nationality if one parent had been born in Germany or come to Germany while under the age of 14. This further reinforced *jus soli*”. But opposition criticized these proposals, they were for integration but against dual citizenship. After that government revised proposals, which allowed that children born in Germany could have dual citizenship until the age of 23, but as they reached this age they had to choose which citizenship to retain. The citizenship reform of 1999 established a minimum residency requirement of eight years without any age restriction. So the period of 1990s was a combination of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* (Geddes 2006, 81-96 ; Euwals and others 2007; Euwals and others, 2009).

6. PRESENT SITUATION AND PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION

It is almost fifty years Turkish immigrants are living in Germany and despite the politicians statements that they are eager to integrate foreigners into their society, Turks are still faced with the variety of challenges. Of course there is some progress compared to early years, Germany admitted that it is a country of immigration and it needs to take care of immigrants who live in their country, from the beginning it looked these people as guests, who will go home but now realized that these immigrants are going to live in their country and it is important that they felt themselves as the full members of German society, but still Turks in Germany have many problems and are

confronted with many obstacles. The fact is that they don't feel of belonging to this society and they experience discrimination in many situations. In the following chapter I want to talk about these problems that Turks encounter in Germany and what are the areas which they are not integrated in. Also I want pay attention to the fact which of these two nation are more eager to integrate.

As the professor at the Institute for German studies at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom and the leading expert on integration, Simon Green, points out: "There's been a recognition that immigration is a good thing for Germany and that Germany needs it. That has helped change the overall societal tone". German government brought these workers when needed them, now the government leaders have obligations towards them, they must provide immigrants with job places and guarantee their well-being. According to Green, most of the time when Germany have talked about integration, they wanted voluntary assimilation, but through assimilation only one group changes and integration involves both parties moving toward each other.

Many Turks living in Germany were born in the country and visit Turkey very seldom, but despite this fact they still are foreigners for the native population, no matter if they try to prove that they have nothing left in their country. Ekin Deligöz, now German citizen and politician, was born in Turkey and moved to Germany in 1979. After finishing her studies, she joined Green Party and became a member of a Bundestag, where she has served as a spokesperson for child and family policy. About the immigration and integration problems in Germany she says: "People coming to Germany as foreigners remain foreigners. And when they get the right to live here and work here, they are still not allowed to be a German.... We give immigrants a lot but we don't tell them that they are part of this country". From her own experience she marks: "As for Germans, well I can do anything but I am still Turkish to them. If questions, for example, about Turkish politics come up, I am always asked as an expert. I say, look, I have studied in Germany, I have studied public administration here, the German system. Ask me about Germany, not about Turkey, it is not my chief issue". But the main reason of such kind of attitude towards Turks is their Muslim religious background and different culture compared with other migrants.

As written in the newspaper “Deutsche Welle”, the report by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development in 2009 showed that Turks are the least integrated group of immigrants in German society and are less successful than immigrants from other countries. On a sliding scale of one (which meant poorly integrated) to eight (well integrated) Turkish immigrants came last with a score of 2.4. They finished bottom of the table behind immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and Africa.

Also one more study conducted in 2009 by INFO GmbH, a company based in Berlin and Liljeberg Research International, based in Antalya, Turkey, questioned 1000 persons (Germans, Turkish migrants in Germany and Turks in Turkey), about their attitudes towards politics, morals, relationships, religion and many other things. This study shows that 45% of Turkish immigrants who were questioned feel unwanted in Germany and 62% feel as Turks when they are in Germany and as Germans while being in Turkey. Turks complain that they are not full members of the society and they don't feel at home in Germany. In German newspapers, there are mentioned a lot of facts of these kind of attitude towards Turkish immigrants from German population, for example the coloured people are not allowed at clubs and similar establishments, foreigners say that while travelling by bus people never come and sit by you and many such facts. Maybe such attitude of Germans are provoked by the fact that Turks are the most different group of immigrants in their society and they think that Turks are the most difficult to integrate. As the same study mentioned above shows that 93% of Turks consider that it is important to maintain their culture and traditions in the host country but at the same time 83% of those questioned think that it is possible to be good Muslim and at the same time good German too. Also there is very little difference between the Turkish and German attitudes towards the main values such as friendship, freedom, love, family – these values are equally important for all of them. The picture is same in case of such principle values as peace, democracy, rule of law and so on. Almost 90% of all questioned (Germans as well as Turks) considered these values as the most important. There are differences in case of religion and traditions, here Turkish migrants' opinions are more similar as Turks in Turkey, than of German population, in this case 89% of Turkish immigrants believe in God and Germans only 51%, tradition is important for 83% of Turks and only for 65% of Germans. So because of these different attitudes Germans consider Turks as the group that is difficult to integrate and this is the

reason of their negative position (Liljeberg Research International and INFO GmbH, 2009).

The worst is the violence and aggression that Turks experience from Germans. As Kenan Kolat, chairman of the Association of Turkish Communities of in Germany said, 17 fires in 24 days in housing complexes where Turks lived, including one arson attack had caused a great deal of unrest among the Turkish community. He said that only in a few cases were the fires racially motivated but nonetheless Turks were living in fear and needed Germans' solidarity. In February 3, 2008 the fire broke out in town Ludwigshafen, which revived the memories of a fire attack which happened in 1993. In this time nine people were died in the fire, including five children and three mothers under 25, one of them was pregnant. Exact cause of the fire was not known but some were saying it was an arson attack. Later in the same month were several more fire attacks, which injured five Turks. Such incidents of course increase tensions among Turk and German communities.

As seen there are a lot of facts which indicates that integration of Turkish minority is a problem in Germany. But the most important are learning and education, health care, economic well-being, cultural interaction, which facilitate integration and if these sectors are well managed it means that integration is taking place successfully. But in Germany this is not the case, schools, health services and other authorities are not equipped to handle the needs of this part of population.

6.1. Labour market position of Turkish immigrants

An obviously important measure for the position of immigrants on the labour market is the employment rate. On the one hand, employment guarantees the immigrants own place in the society and on the other hand, when they are productive immigrants contribute to the economy of the host country as workers, as taxpayers and so on. So it is also in the interests of the host society to have well integrated immigrants in the labour market, because immigrants contribution to the receiving country depends on

how well they are integrated in the labour market, so it will be more successful for the country to have employed immigrants (Euwals and others, 2007).

Unemployment of immigrants is a problem in Germany. In 1998 20.3% of non-German workers were unemployed. This was almost twice higher than unemployment rate of German workers, which was 10.5%. The rate of German Turks was the highest of all – 22.7%. As Pecoud argues real figures must be higher because not all unemployed immigrants were registered. Major problems was the immigrants lack of education, because in Germany most jobs require a specific professional training. Many young non-Germans could not participate in the labour market because of this fact.

But according to Pecoud what was positive, self-employment was rising. As for Turks in 1998 there were 51 000 businessmen of Turkish origin, providing jobs to 265 000 persons. Most self-employed Turks started with small family business. In terms of size majority (57.3%) had less than three employees, 9.6% had more than ten and very small group, about 1% was considered as big. Almost third of their employees (30.2%) were not of Turkish origin but Germans or other immigrants.

This businessmen are highly successful persons who of course contribute to German-Turkish integration. Also there exists Turkish businessmen's import-export activities between Germany and Turkey. Some German-Turkish firms are established in both countries and support the international trade. For example, some Turkish businessmen invest in Turkey's tourism industry, using knowledge of German taste, they successfully deal with German tourists.

So self-employment is viewed as a potential solution of immigration problems and it must also be supported by the government. The fact that some Turkish businessmen employ Germans is an indication that Turks can even become job givers. Also they can help young Turks and provide them with work places, which will help them to integrate to the labour market. But at the same time Pecoud also says growing self-employment among Turks is also seen as gap that will separate them from German workers, but this assumption can not be agreed on decidedly because as seen third of the workers were not Turkish, so it can't be said that they will separate from German workers when Turkish businessmen are ready to take them on work (Pecoud 2001, 3-7).

Since 2001 the gap in employment between Germans and the foreigners increased and according to Liebig employment rate of Germans declined about by 3% and of foreigners by 10%. Both Turkish men and women experienced decline in employment from 2003 to 2004. Figures 2 and 3 show the employment rate of German population men and women from 1991 till 2004, where is clearly seen that Turkish employment rate is the lowest compared to Germans or other immigrants and in 2004 the figures of Turkish employment are the lowest compared to other years, of course in case of women these figures are lower than of Turkish men. And table 3 shows the unemployment rate of native and foreign population of 2004 year in several OECD countries and as seen, Germany has the highest unemployment rate among these countries (Liebig, 2007).

As Euwals and others indicate, obtaining nationality of the host country may improve the labour market position of immigrants, because citizenship guarantees life-long right to live and work in the country, but immigrants' rights who have permanent residency permit may change due to policy changes. It is profitable also because many jobs are open only for citizens (Euwals and others, 2009). But in case of Germany everything is not so. Anil who studied the impact of German citizenship on Turkish immigrants, investigated first, second and the third generation immigrants. As Anil says the new naturalization procedures had minimum impact on first generation immigrants. These immigrants, who are of 50 and 60 age, have no interest in applying in German citizenship. These people who experienced so much discrimination in the country, believe that citizenship will not change their situation. Most of the people Anil questioned are unemployed. In the research there are given opinions of immigrants. For example, 60 year old respondent says: "I worked hard for 28 years, became unemployed two years ago. Neither the German government nor the Turkish government paid enough attention to us. It won't make any difference if I become a German citizen". A 31 year old female respondent says: "I don't feel I belong here... My husband is struggling too hard to find and keep a job". A 44 year old male respondent: "I would like to become a German citizen, but I am not sure if it would solve the problems we are now facing. Especially after the reunification [of Berlin], it became very difficult to find a job. It is now very much harder for Turks to find a job. Jobs go to native Germans...and EU nationals. If there is any job left and if the Turks are qualified, they

may get one". As for third generation, young adults are mostly cynical, they feel they are not fully included in German society. They do not think that gaining German citizenship would improve their situation. An 18 year old male who submitted application for naturalization is not excited about this fact because he is not optimistic about his future: "I am unemployed... I am enrolled in a vocational training program... with this program they [government] keep us, the unemployed youth, out of streets. That's all to it" (Anil 2004, 12-16). So as seen citizenship has no much impact on employment rate, because no matter they are German citizens or not Turks are unqualified and that is the reason of their high unemployment, because they don't get good education and don't share the same rights as natives in this sector.

6.2. Level of Education of Immigrants

Education is the most important factor to foster the integration process of immigrants in the host society as it determines the future career of these immigrants and on their educational level depends how well they will be integrated in the labor market. Because as Schneeweis says, Education is an important precondition for the successful economic integration of immigrants. Especially it is key component for the second and third generation migrants, because the first generation immigrants came to Germany on the basis of agreements between the German and Turkish governments and these agreements were about receiving the workers from Turkey during that time when there was demand on additional labor force in Germany, so they easily could find employment as unskilled or semi-skilled workers, but nowadays such jobs are diminishing and employment of the immigrants already depends on their educational qualification. Thus, the educational attainment of immigrant children at present is an important indicator of how the integration of immigrants will develop in future (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 101 ; Schneeweis 2006).

A few words about the German educational system. *Kindergartens* are the most important pre-school institutions in Germany. Education there starts at the age of three and the children of this age have right to go to the kindergartens before they start school, but it is not mandatory. At the level of primary education children aged 6 to 10 or

6 to 12 go to the *elementary schools*. Besides there are schools for special education for the children who have physical and mental disabilities, also for the children for learning disabilities, speech and behavioral problems. *Secondary education* in Germany has three different tracks. The most prestigious is the grammar school, called *Gymnasium*, the certificate of which, Abitur, provides entrance to university. The lowest secondary school is *Hauptschule*, after finishing which the adults are in unfavorable position when they are applying for a qualified job. *Realschule* is the intermediate type of secondary school which is between the above mentioned types of school. The certificate gained at this school ensures prospects for vocational training. At the end of primary education every child gets recommendation to continue in one of these types of school (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 103-104).

First generation men who came to Germany had only finished primary schools and most women had only few years of schooling. And as for their children, it wasn't advantage for them to send children at schools because they preferred them to help on the farm. "Most second generation children those born in the country of immigration or those who arrived before primary school age grew up in unfavorable circumstances. Family income was often very low by European standards, and most families lived in substandard and cramped accommodation" (Parsons and Smeeding 2006, 238). That was one of reasons why their children did not attend schools and especially kindergartens. But pre-school education is very important for integration of migrant children, especially for those whose mother tongue is not German and whose parents have no knowledge of German. For such children it appears that kindergarten is the only place where they have possibility to learn German before they enter school as their parents have no knowledge of German themselves, and without attending kindergartens and without learning basics of German, migrant children are not able to overcome the school program. As Söhn and Özcan say in case of German children not attending kindergartens do not affect their success at schools, because they acquire certain knowledge at home, but for migrant children it is on the contrary as they only can acquire all these at the kindergarten. The foreign children who attended kindergarten, 51.4% succeeded in entering intermediate or higher secondary school, but only 21.3% of the children who did not attend kindergarten reached the same level. As Söhn and Özcan say why the most children of Turkish immigrants do not go to kindergartens is not known in detail. But first of all in western part of Germany where most migrants live,

there is shortage of places in kindergartens. Very important fact is that most of Turkish immigrant women are unemployed, so when mothers have no work they decide to take care of their children themselves. Also they are not aware of the fact how important is attending the kindergarten for the future success of their children at school. Financial reasons also plays role as kindergartens are not free of charge and it might be difficult for migrants to send their children to kindergartens.

Of course the fact that immigrant children have the bad knowledge of German language is already seen at the level of primary education, when it is hard for them the program of the school. From the results of research done in immigrant children in German primary education by the international study PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) is seen that children without a migration background scored best in reading, mathematics and the sciences than the children with a migration background. From the children without migration background were classified as weak only 5%, from the children with one parent born abroad were 13% weak, while quarter of children with both parents born abroad turned out to be weak (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 104-106). That immigrants educational issue is hard in Germany also is seen from the study of Schnepf, where the author analyses how immigrants differ from natives regarding educational outcomes and for this purpose examines ten countries: Australia, Canada, France, Germany, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. And according to the results of international study PISA (the Program of International Student Assessment) “the group of immigrants unable to solve basic reading tasks is about 10% points higher than the group of natives in the UK, France and the US, 20% points higher in the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden and even 30% points higher in Germany”. So relying on this survey in traditional countries of immigration Australia, Canada and New Zealand, immigrants do not differ very much from the natives, while in European countries there is a huge gap between them and Germany is in the worst position, there immigrants do not take the same education as natives and they do not profit with the same conditions as natives (Parsons and Smeeding 2006, 207).

One the most important factor that hinders the process of education of immigrants in Germany is the segregated schools. But these are not migrant parents who choose such schools, but rather German parents as they choose schools with a larger share of

native children, which lead to higher segregation and after it happens so that where immigrant children study there is very little share of native children, which has very negative effect on integration of immigrant children, because if in the class will be only students of low ability, and immigrants are such student because of the facts already listed above, they by all means will need the presence of clever students in order to encourage them to study. And in case when they will not be encouraged and will not meet the requirements of a regular school, they will be considered as of having special needs and transferred to special schools for learning disabilities, which for Söhn and Özcan is not justified, because when migrant children are sent to these types of school it might often be the problem of language and not the learning disability and the teaching staff of these schools is rarely trained for teaching German as a second language. So Turkish children's risk of attending a special school is almost twice as high as German children (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 106-108 ; Schneeweis 2006).

In Germany for children the most crucial stage is when they end the primary school level and it must be decided where they will continue their secondary education, which first of all depends on their grades, also on the schools' recommendation and the parents' choice, children continue either at *Gymnasium* (higher track), *Realschule* (secondary track) or *Hauptschule* (lower track). It is very important which of these three tracks the children continue their education because when they have chance to study in *Gymnasium* then they have more opportunity to continue in higher education later and then opportunity of a qualified job. Table 4 shows the distribution of Turkish students in German schools for the years of 2003/04 and in order to illustrate the unequal chances the distribution of Turkish students is compared with the distribution of all. While 23% of Turkish students attend *Hauptschule*, German students are only 13% and situation is reverse in case of *Gymnasium* where Turkish students comprise only 6% compared to 23% of Germans. So as seen from these figures most of Turkish children study in lower tracks of education and one reason of this is the recommendations the pupils get from their teachers which have the influence where they will continue education. The likelihood of German children being recommended for the highest track is significantly higher than of immigrant children and the reason of teachers attitude is the migration background and the social stratum. Also the main reason why immigrant children end up in the lowest track are the grades they get, but compared to Germans with the same grades, Turkish children are still more likely to be recommended for the lowest

Hauptschul (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 108-109). The reason for such discrimination is also the socio-economic background. As Schnepf says in Germany percentage of native pupils that have more than 100 books at home is about thirty percent points higher than immigrants and as a result of socio-economic status between the natives and immigrants largely explains educational gap between them (Parsons and Smeeding 2006, 216).

By the distribution of immigrant children in different school levels, Germany is also in a very bad position compared to other European immigration countries. Crul and Vermeulen, who compared the Turkish immigrants educational level in five countries - Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, France and Austria, say that in France, Belgium and the Netherlands between one-third and one-half of the second generation Turks begin their secondary school careers in lower tracks, whereas in Germany and Austria the figure is between two-thirds and three-quarters. So there is great difference in the percentages in the migrant children entering lower education in Germany than in other countries, in Germany more Turkish immigrants study in lower tracks than for example in France or Belgium (Parsons and Smeeding 2006, 245).

Among these five countries Germany is lagging behind in other aspects too. Crul and Vermeulen identify factors that hinder or facilitate the school career of Turkish migrants. The first difference among these countries is the starting age of school. In France and Belgium Turkish second generation children start school at the age of two and half, in Germany and Austria at six. So immigrants in France and Belgium have three more years in which they begin learning the major language. So these children are in a situation where they can every day speak French or Dutch. Second difference is the face to face contact hours with teachers during their school years. Again in Germany figures are below the average. For example nine year olds in German schools have 661 contact hours, while in Netherlands the same figure is – 1019 hours, so it means that in Germany Turkish immigrant children get about ten hours less per week. And as Schneeweis says it is important because full time school system leads to a higher degree of integration as the integration takes place when students spend more time at schools together with the teachers who help them pedagogically and also they spend more time together with the kids of other ethnic groups, which helps them very much to learn the national language better. The third difference is the school selection

mechanism. Germany and Austria start at the age of ten and as they start education late and have little contact hours with teachers so Turks have little time in Germany and Austria and thus in such countries with early selection most pupils end up in lower tracks, but in France and Belgium where the selection age is 14-15 years pupils move to more prestigious tracks. The fourth difference is the amount of assistance and support made to migrant children inside and outside school in these countries. According to the figures of the international study PISA 2000, which questioned fifteen years old children about the support they received inside and outside of school, migrant children in France received the most support and in Germany these data was the worst. So as Crul and Vermeulen say, in France and Belgium the number of Turkish second generation immigrants who reach middle or higher educational level is twice as many than in Germany and Austria.

The only advantage Germany has compared to other countries is the apprenticeship system, which those students who have lower education helps to work and as a result of this gain qualification and experience. Apprenticeship system in Germany seems to facilitate the transition to labor market. Some Turkish immigrants continue to work for the company at which they started as an apprentice, even if they don't, they have 2-3 years of working experience. But according to Crul and Schneider, the fact that apprenticeship system in Germany gives Turkish immigrants opportunity to work, it does not mean that it is perfect tool for integration, because Turkish youngsters profit less from this apprenticeship system than their native peers, it is more difficult for them to gain apprenticeship than for Germans (Parsons and Smeeding 2006, 241-245 ; Crul and Schneider 2009, 4-6 ; Schneeweis 2006).

The poor performance of Turkish immigrants also is reflected on final results of the school. It is very important what level of certificate will students get when they finish school. Figure 4 presented here shows the example of the regional state of North Rhine-Westphalia in 2003 year, as according to Söhn and Özcan there was no specific information about Turkish students for the federal level, but these data could be suitable for the whole Germany. So from these figures is seen that Turkish children clearly lag behind German students in terms of certificates obtained. In 2003 14% of Turkish students left school without any certificate while the German students were only 6%. The certificate of lower secondary track had 41% Turks compared to 21% of Germans.

At the same time there was a great gap between Turkish and German pupils who finished higher secondary track, Turks with higher secondary certificate were only 10% and Germans were about three times high – 31%. But if compare the educational level of first and second generation Turks there was of course a great difference and there second generation Turks are in better position: 39% of the first generation had no school certificate at all while the share of second generation was very small compared to them (Söhn and Özcan 2006, 110-111).

So as seen the issue of education of immigrants is very bad managed in Germany, but the way education is structured has very significant effect on how immigrants will develop in the future. According to Crul and Vermeulen, taking into account those data shown above, when the country has such a bad educational policy in that case the access to jobs is restricted too as well and immigrant youth unemployment is concern for such countries, they can't integrate migrants in the sector of labor market and the labor market discrimination is officially acknowledged (Parsons and Smeeding 2006).

7. RESULTS

From the above discussed, it is clear that Turks are not fully integrated in the German society even after so many years living in this country, they still face many problems. The main is unemployment and unequal treatment differently from the natives, their culture and traditions are not welcomed by the host society and they are the victims of xenophobic attitude. And what is the most important factor they don't get the good education, which causes all of these factors. If they were more educated and qualified they would have more chance to get job, it would give them self-confidence and the respected place in the society.

So the first thing German government has to do is to manage the problem in education system. Must be paid certain attention to kindergartens as they are only places where immigrants study German language in case when their parents do not know it. Some

parents are not aware of positive impact of kindergartens or schools on their children's future integration as they themselves have no education, so they must be informed by the government properly, also they have no information about what kind of school will be better for their children. The schools must not be segregated because when migrant children are majority in the class and they have no relationship with natives they have less chances to integrate. Also Turkish children have little chances to study at Gymnasium and many of them study at lower track, because they don't get good recommendations from their teachers, or they have bad marks, in case if Turks and natives both have bad marks, Germans are more successful to continue to higher level. Bad result in studying is the immigrants another problem, they have worse results compared to native pupils, because they can't overcome the school program but it is not only the immigrants problem that they don't study. As seen from the study conducted by Schnepf, who compared educational level between natives and immigrants in ten countries, the immigrants in the traditional countries of immigration had no much problems of studying, while Germany had the worst result, it means that immigrants have no problem of studying, just government does not support them. It is true it is not known in the countries where were less problems, how much is the number particularly of Turkish immigrants, because in this study the author investigates all immigrants who are in the country and not only Turks, and it can be said that Germany has very large number of Turkish immigrants who are less successful in their studies, but that the country has problems in the educational sector it is obvious. German schools have very little face to face contact hours and teachers can not pay so much attention to students individually. The studying of German language must be paid great attention as when they will know language fully it will be easier to study other subjects. But Germans can't force immigrants to forget their own language and demand from them to speak at home also in German, the desire of most politicians is such. Of course when immigrants don't know host country language it hinders very much their integration in labor market and other aspects as well, but it may have negative influence on German language itself, because the newspaper "Deutsche Welle" says that in urban areas of Germany, a new variant of German has evolved with its own grammar, which is spoken by young migrants and which also may be a threat to German language, but greatly it is problem of these youth. Of course the greatest problem is that high number of immigrants leave schools without any certificate or diploma, which means that these youth are left without any chance at all.

In order to discuss the integration issue of Turkish immigrants in German society, I want to refer to the Theory of Acculturation, which as mentioned has four directions: Integration, Assimilation, Segregation and Marginalization. Which of these four strategies do immigrants choose in the process of acculturation must be determined by the factors, whether or not they maintain their own culture and origin and they adopt host country culture or not. Which way they choose can be seen from the different values, for example which language they use most of all, how well they know the host country language, with whom they make friends, with natives or the people of their origin and so on. To assess the acculturation process of Turkish immigrants I will use the study results, conducted by INFO GmbH and Liljeberg Research International.

As for the language use, 58% of Turks assess their knowledge of German as very good, however only 16% speak mostly German at home. 76% of them said they have no language problems when shopping, 70% understands easily their German neighbors and work colleagues, 59% have no problem while speaking on the phone. But there is relatively small percentage while filling out official forms - 43% (see Figure 5).

Very interesting fact is that 45% of those questioned felt like unwanted in Germany, but 70% still thought that coming to Germany was a right decision. 83% thought it is possible to be good Muslim and German at the same time, by opinion of 85% without knowledge of German language it is impossible to succeed in Germany. But at the same time 82% considers that German society must except their traditions and for 93% it is very important to retain their own culture (see Figure 6).

About the basic values were questioned three groups, Germans, Turks living in Germany and Turks living in Turkey. All three groups have almost same opinion about the values such as friendship, love, family, freedom and so on. These values are similarly important for all three groups. The only difference is in believing God and keeping traditions. Religion and traditions are more important for Turks than for Germans (see Figure 7). As for the principle values such as peace, democracy, solidarity, rule of law, justice and so on these three groups are even more similar than in previous case, these values are very important for about 90% of all questioned.

On the other hand there are huge differences between German and Turk opinions about the roles in the family and sexual freedoms. That child rising is women's business think 9% of Germans, 32% Turkish immigrants and 52% Turks who live in Turkey. 8% of Germans but 47% of Turkish immigrants and 67% of Turks in Turkey are against man and woman living together before marriage. 6% of Germans, 48% of Turkish immigrants and 72% of Turks in Turkey consider girls must be virgins before marriage (see Figure 8).

Interesting fact is that on question whom would you like to be your neighbor, 63% of Turkish immigrants answered that that would like to have Christian neighbors and as for Germans 55% answered that they would like to have a Muslim neighbor, so it is seen that Turks are more eager to have Christians as neighbors than are Germans. But when question is about German-Turkish marriages in this case 33% of Turks are opposed such marriages while Germans are against only 15%. As for media Turkish immigrants use German media more frequently than Turkish one (INFO GmbH and Liljeberg Research International, 2009).

8. CONCLUSIONS

To summarize the facts discussed here, the most important problem of integration in Germany is the problem in educational system, as is said in my first hypothesis – managing the migrant education problem is the way towards integration. If immigrants will not be educated they will not manage to integrate into German society and wouldn't be able to find a job and especially it is in case of the second and the third generation. Education is the basis, which then will follow other aspects too and first of all employment. I conclude this on the basis that as the facts show for the first generation it was easier to get job, when they were uneducated and unqualified when in case of second/third generation this is no more possible. First generation came to Germany on the basis of agreements of German and Turkish governments, after the world war II, when German economy was destroyed and it needed additional work force in order to revive this economy, so it was not difficult for unqualified immigrants to get jobs and these immigrants were as they are called creators of German “economic miracle”

together with German workers. But nowadays such work places are diminishing and already the most important factor to get job is a good education and qualification. The second reason is that, many scholars consider that acquiring the citizenship of the host country simplifies the access to jobs, because as they say when the person is a citizen of the country s/he is guaranteed to have employment, but from the study of Anil was seen that it is not almost so, Turkish immigrants are not encouraged to get German citizenship because they are unemployed and they don't think that after becoming German citizens something will change. They say that first of all jobs go to natives and other immigrants and then if there is left vacancy and Turkish immigrants are competent enough, then they are taken for a job. It happens because other immigrants more skilled, so no matter citizens or not when Turks are not qualified they don't get jobs. And one more fact is that as was seen those immigrants who were educated and qualified became successful businessmen and are self-employed in Germany. So if education will be well managed Turkish immigrants will have chance of better life and integration, of course it is not the only problem and everything will be fulfilled only by improving educational sector but it will be a great step forward. By means of education government can also develop sense of respect towards immigrants' culture and traditions, children can learn at schools each others culture which will eliminate racist and xenophobic views about foreigners, they will study to respect each others traditions and will be able to live peacefully together.

As for the results of Turkish acculturation process, the study shows some really very positive figures. For example that 58% consider they know good German and majority have no problems while shopping, talking on the phone and during relationships with foreigners and colleagues, problems arise during filling out some official forms and so on. The very important fact is that very great number 85% consider knowing German language is important unless they will have no success, it means that they are not against studying German, on the contrary they consider it necessary, that's why there must be lot of language courses available for immigrants, because when they will have chance of learning they will use it. Also they think similarly as Germans about the basic values, like Germans they also think friendship, love, family, etc. are important and valued factors. These figures makes the basis to think that Turkish immigrants are on the way of integration, also it is important that they use German media more frequently than Turkish and they are more eager of having Christian neighbours than are Germans

about Muslims. It means that they are ready and have desire to live peacefully with German community. But at the same time they are not going to forget their own culture and traditions, which is seen in the following figures – despite that they have no problems with speaking German at homes they still speak their own language, only 16% of questioned spoke German at home. 93% of them think it is very important to retain their culture in the host country and 82% consider Germans must respect their tradition, so it means that they are not going to give up their culture, but it doesn't prevent them from accepting Germany's culture. As 83% of them thinks it is possible to be good Muslim and at the same time a good German. In some aspects they have very different opinions from Germans what concerns roles in the family and sexual freedoms, in this case German's and their attitudes diverge a lot. In aspect like this they have almost same opinion as Turks who live in Turkey and that's why it is considered that they are very hard to integrate. But it is obvious that there are a lot of aspects in which they agree with Germans and express the will of living with them in the same society. As was mentioned in the reasons of Turks arrival in Germany, there were not only unemployment and economic factors, many of them just had dreams to realize in Europe, they wanted to live in modern world and despite the fact that they experienced many challenges and hardships, 70% of them still thinks that it was right decision to come to Germany as it is the country were a person can achieve something. These are the reasons that makes me think that among the Acculturation Theory's four strategies – Turkish immigrants correspond to the Integration, as is said in my second hypothesis, because integration is the strategy in which two cultures are combined.

But integration is a two way process, the way immigrants integrate does not only depend on their will, but on the host society in which they live, which must have some policies in order to integrate these immigrants (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2007). According to Berry (1997) integration can only be successfully pursued by immigrants when the dominant society is open towards cultural diversity. In order to occur integration both groups must accept each others rights. Immigrants must adopt the basic values of the larger society and at the same time the host society must adapt national institutions (education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups living together in the plural society. Integration can be pursued when there are such pre-conditions: acceptance of cultural diversity, low levels of racism and discrimination and so on. That's why I consider that integration is taking place more from the point of view

of immigrants and not the German society. Because according to the facts already mentioned Turks are trying their part to support the integration but by the side of German government there are problems like national institutions do not meet the migrants requirements, they are facing discrimination and are forced to abandon their own culture, which according to Berry's statement mentioned above hinder the process of integration. As was seen Turkish labour migrants are no danger for German society, on the contrary they contribute to their economy, so Germans must not be so aggressive towards their different culture and values. As Ersanilli and Koopmans (2007) state, ethnic retention and host country orientation do not contradict each other. There is no need for state policies to make immigrants to forget their traditions, integration still can take place. So it is more failure of the government that it could not manage to integrate foreigners into their society and could not revive respect in German society towards them and they must not blame that because of great cultural differences there is no integration. Because as Berry (2001) says, only when people are secure in their own cultural identity, will they be able to accept those who differ from themselves. Of course it does not mean that Turks do not bear responsibilities for integration, they also have to do their part, learn the language, contribute to the society but at first they must be assured in their cultural identity, they need encouragement from the society to become better citizens, so the mutual responsibility means the successful integration. It is very difficult to manage and make the people of different background, beliefs, culture and religion to live side by side but of course it is not impossible.

APPENDIXES

Table 1. Annual economic growth rate (GNP) of Turkey (percentages)

Year	Total growth	Per capita growth
1960*	4.1	1.6
1961*	4.1	1.6
1962*	4.1	1.6
1963	7.7	5.2
1964	4.9	2.4
1965	4.6	2.1
1966	10.3	7.8
1967	6.1	3.6
1968	6.7	4.2
1969	6.3	3.8
1970	5.5	3.0
1971	9.2	6.7
1972	7.0	4.5
1973	5.4	2.9
1974	7.4	4.9
1960–1974	6.2	3.7

Source: *DİE, cited in Hale (1981: 129–34); for the other years, DPT (1973: 4) and DPT (1979: 8).

Table 2. Declared job vacant, number of applicants for jobs, jobs remaining vacant and number of applicants who failed to obtain jobs, by year

Years	Declared jobs vacant	Number of applicants	Applicants obtaining jobs		Applicants failing to obtain jobs	Jobs remaining vacant
			total	in agrarian sector		
1960	603,544	688,083	574,270	368,735	113,813	29,274
1961	483,223	573,468	463,126	300,660	110,342	20,097
1962	426,589	560,392	399,635	227,840	160,757	26,954
1963	406,292	545,154	375,081	195,938	170,073	31,211
1964	346,070	480,170	313,968	173,110	166,202	32,102
1965	278,688	427,012	258,070	137,909	168,942	20,618
1966	286,224	435,958	269,292	143,936	166,666	16,932
1967	305,176	468,054	286,531	136,183	181,523	18,645
1968	365,752	548,798	348,771	180,908	200,027	16,981
1969	369,159	575,452	355,463	176,687	219,989	13,696
1970	346,782	559,914	333,988	158,436	225,926	12,794
1971	379,594	579,936	367,284	206,569	212,652	12,310
1972	423,943	612,537	405,770	237,521	206,767	18,173
1973	409,901	581,532	395,084	223,875	186,448	14,817
1974	424,103	663,765	407,826	236,315	255,939	16,277

Source: HBK annual reports between 1960 and 1975.

Table 3. Labor force characteristics of the native and foreign-born populations, selected OECD countries, 2004

	Participation rate		Unemployment rate		Ratio
	Native-born	Foreign-born	Native-born	Foreign-born	
<i>Men</i>					
Austria	76.7	79.1	4.3	11.2	2.6
Australia	83.7	79.3	6.0	6.5	1.1
Canada	83.2	83.2	5.5	6.6	1.2
France	75.1	77.6	8.0	13.6	1.7
Germany	79.1	78.8	10.3	18.3	1.8
Denmark	85.1	74.1	4.4	14.4	3.3
Netherlands	85.0	76.2	3.6	10.3	2.9
Sweden	80.7	74.6	6.2	13.9	2.3
United Kingdom	82.0	78.5	4.7	7.3	1.5
<i>Women</i>					
Austria	64.1	60.1	4.3	10.7	2.5
Australia	70.0	59.7	6.1	6.5	1.1
Canada	72.4	68.9	4.9	6.8	1.4
Denmark	77.4	61.9	5.2	10.3	2.0
France	64.5	58.2	9.9	17.2	1.7
Germany	66.9	54.9	9.6	15.2	1.6
Netherlands	71.2	56.0	4.3	10.6	2.5
Sweden	76.9	68.4	5.2	12.2	2.3
United Kingdom	69.6	59.3	3.9	7.3	1.9

Table 4. Distribution of Turkish students across different school types in (West-) Germany, 2003/04 (%)

Selected School Types	Turkish Students	All Students	Difference
Primary School	40	34	+6
Lower Secondary School (<i>Hauptschule</i>)	23	13	+10
Medium Secondary School (<i>Realschule</i>)	10	15	-5
Higher Secondary School (<i>Gymnasium</i>)	6	23	-19
Comprehensive School	8	5	+3
Special Education (including learning disabilities)	7	4	+3
Other Types of Schools	5	6	-1
Total	100	100	

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bildung und Kultur. Allgemeinbildene Schulen. Schuljahr 2003/04* [Education and Culture. General Schools, School Year 2003/04], Fachserie 11, Reihe 1 (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2004), Table 4.4.1 and 3.1, author's calculation.

Figure 1. Berry's model of Acculturation

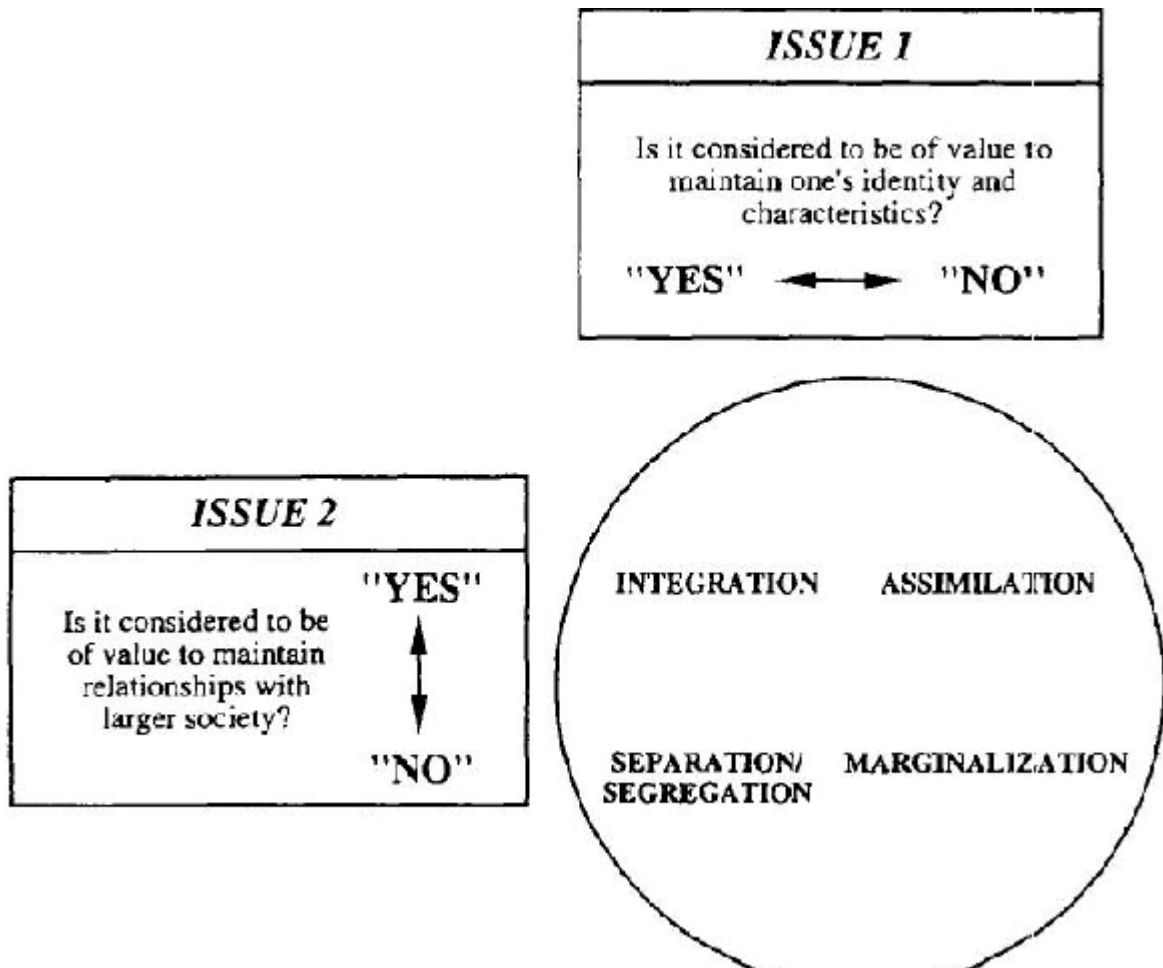
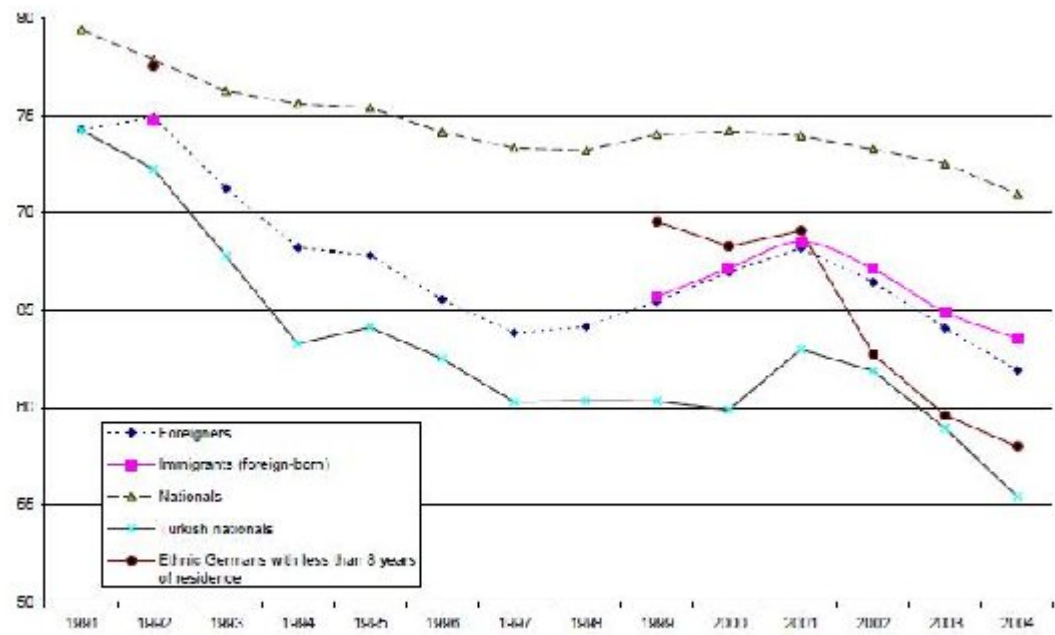
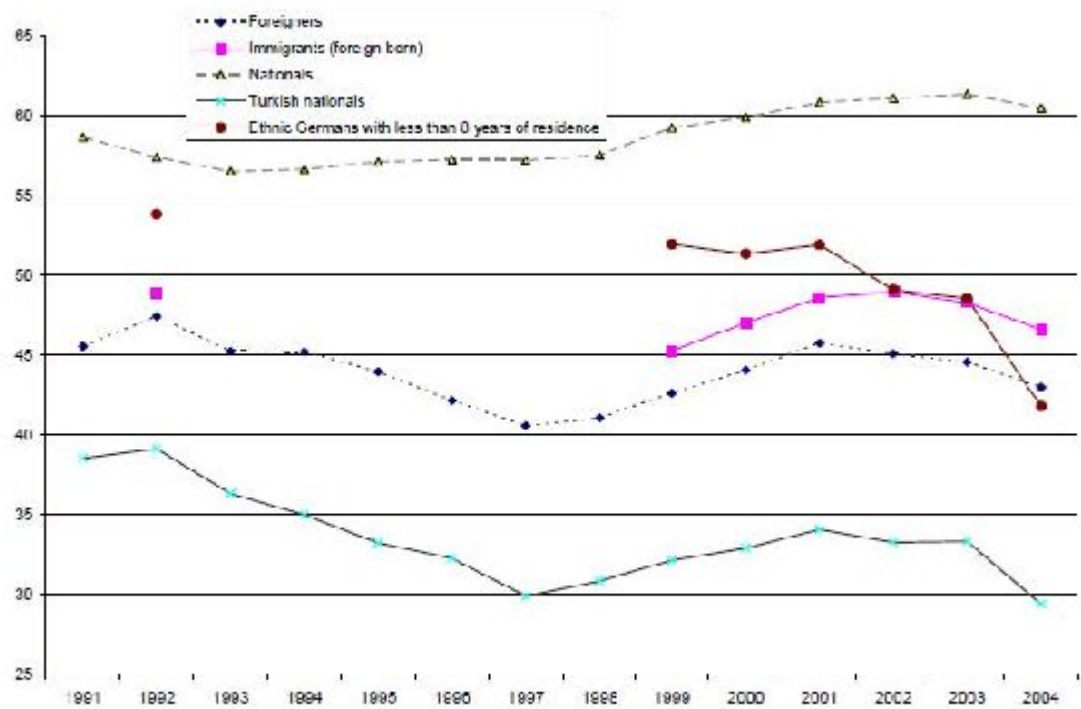


Figure 2. Employment/population ratios of German nationals, ethnic Germans, Turkish nationals, foreigners and foreign-born, men



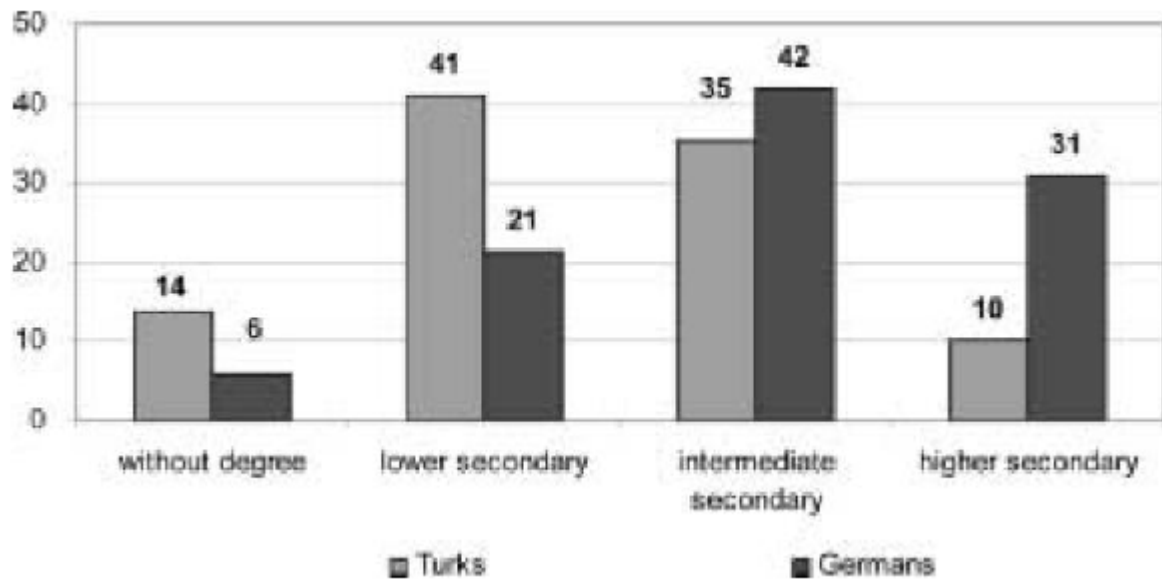
Source: European Community Labour Force Survey.

Figure 3. Employment/population ratios of German nationals, ethnic Germans, Turkish nationals, foreigners and foreign-born, women



Source: European Community Labour Force Survey

Figure 4. Competition of compulsory education, Turkish and German students, North Rhine-Westphalia, 2003 (%)

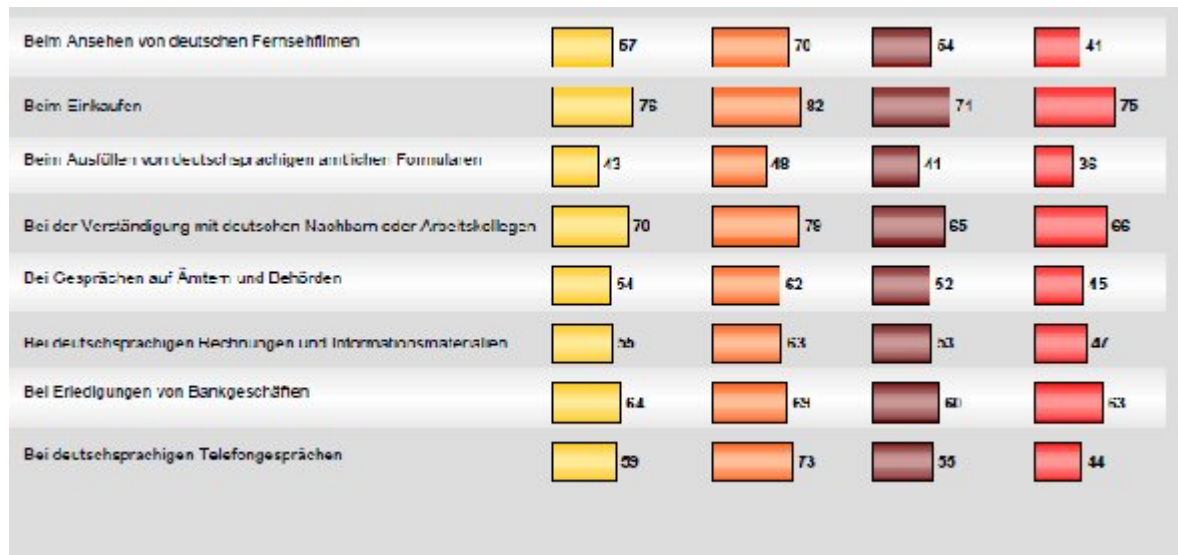


Source: Statistical Office North Rhine-Westphalia, 2003

Figure 5. Areas in which there are no language barriers

Quest.: do you have language difficulties in the following situations?

I have no problem
 Turkish-Germans
 (n=331)



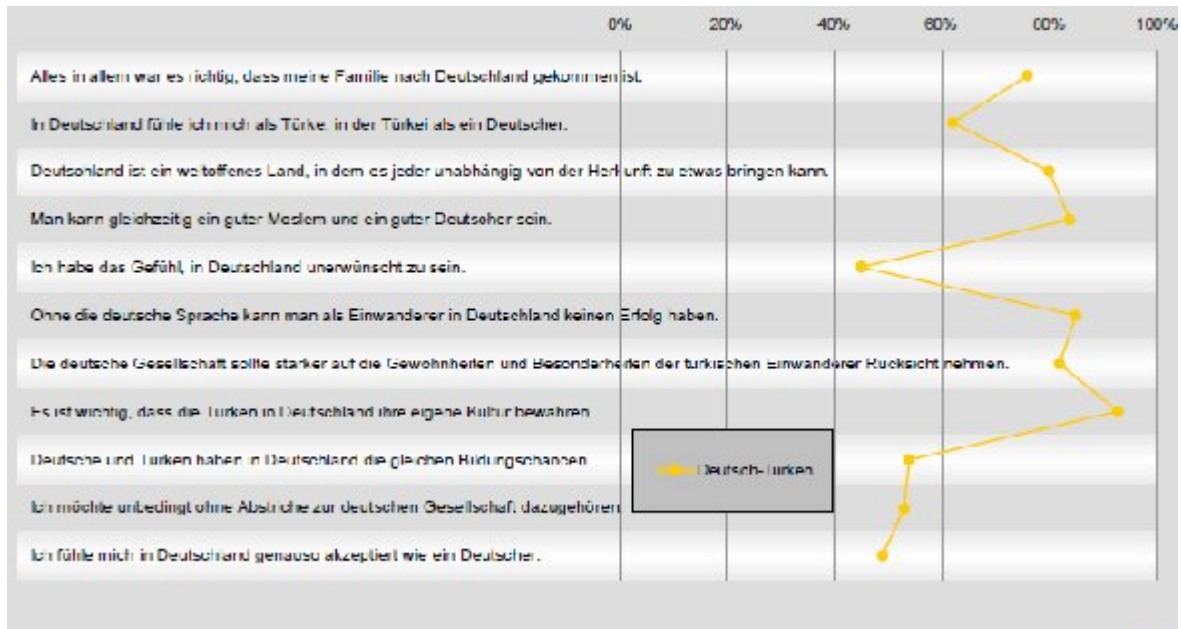
Note: the study was conducted in German so the figures are given in German language also, that's why I provide the translation of the answers as follows, I have no problem:

- 1) When watching German television
- 2) When shopping
- 3) When filling out official forms of German
- 4) In agreement with German neighbors or work colleagues
- 5) In talks with agencies and authorities
- 6) In German bills and material information
- 7) In banking transactions
- 8) Talking on phone in German

Figure 6. Attitudes towards Germany

Quest.: I tell you several statements and you answer how much do you agree these statements?

I agree with this statement...



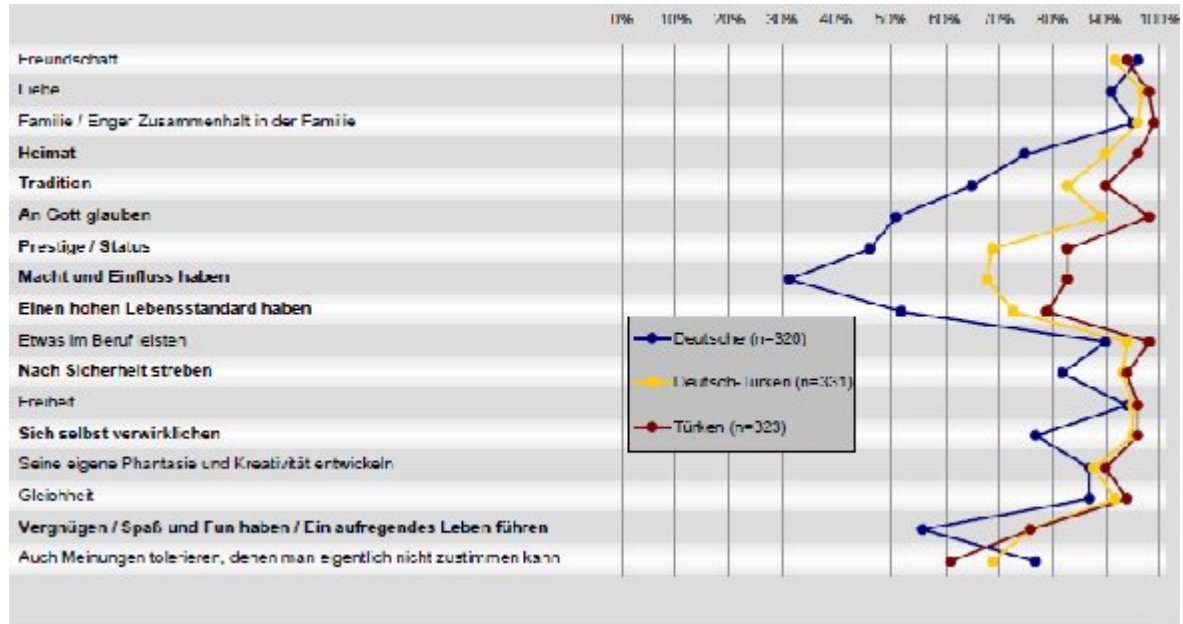
Note: there are following answers

- 1) All in all it was right that my family has come to Germany
- 2) In Germany, I feel like a Turk in Turkey as a German
- 3) Germany is a cosmopolitan country in which everyone can come, regardless of their origin
- 4) You can also be a good Muslim and a good German
- 5) In Germany I feel like unwanted
- 6) Without the German language, one can not have success in Germany
- 7) The German society should accept the habits and characteristics of Turkish immigrants
- 8) It is important for Turks to keep their own culture in Germany
- 9) German and Turks in Germany have the same educational opportunities
- 10) I really want to belong to the German Society
- 11) I feel just as accepted in Germany as a German

Figure 7. Values

Quest.: How important are you the following aspects in the life?

It is important for me:



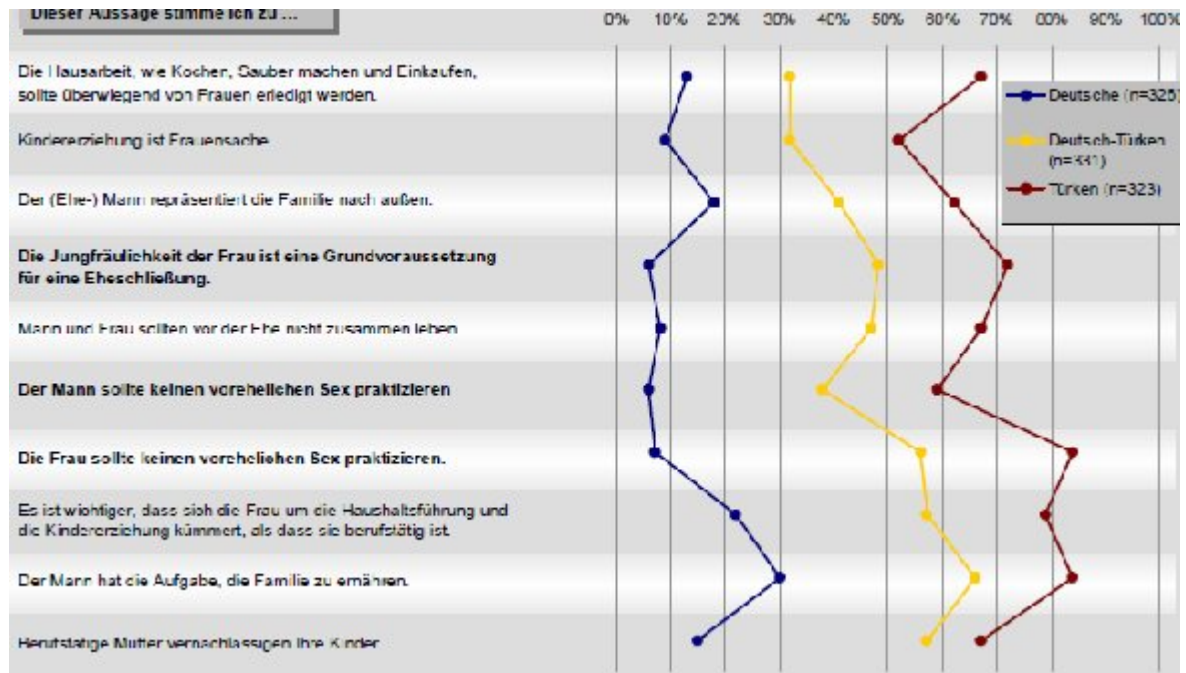
Note: there are following answers:

- 1) Friendship
- 2) Love
- 3) Family and relationships within family
- 4) Homeland
- 5) Traditions
- 6) Believe in God
- 7) Prestige/Status
- 8) Power and influence
- 9) High level of living
- 10) Succeed in career
- 11) Striving for safety
- 12) Freedom
- 13) Self-realization
- 14) To develop its own imagination and creativity
- 15) Equality
- 16) Pleasure, to have fun run and an exciting life
- 17) Tolerance

Figure 8. Setting the roles for men and women

Quest.: please tell me, how much do you agree with this statements?

I agree with this statements...



Note: there are following answers:

- 1) Housework, cooking and cleaning must be done by women
- 2) Child rising is women's business
- 3) Married man represents family outside
- 4) The virginity of women is a prerequisite for marriage
- 5) Husband and wife should not live together before marriage
- 6) The man should not practice premarital sex
- 7) The woman should not practice premarital sex
- 8) It is important that women take care of the children and family, even when she works
- 9) The man has the task of feeding the family
- 10) Working mothers neglect their children

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