

Unraveling the Intricate Dynamics of Turkish Immigrants and Muslim Minorities in Germany

Asep Dadan Suganda,^{1*} Widiанти Lestari,² Dinil Abrar Sulthani³

¹*Department of Sharia Economics, Faculty of Islamic Economics and Business, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Banten, Indonesia,*

²*Center of Germany Culture, Goethe-Institut Indonesien, Jakarta, Indonesia,*

³*Institute of Social Sciences, Education Department, Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul, Türkiye*

Abstract

Germany's cultural and economic diversity is enhanced by the contributions of Turkish immigrants and Muslim minorities, whose legacy enriches the country. However, social exclusion and unfavorable preconceptions impact some of these groups, which can hurt their well-being and quality of life. This article addresses the dynamics of Muslim minorities and Turkish immigrants in Germany, emphasizing the social developments, historical trajectory, and difficulties these groups encounter in German society. It focuses on minority rights, social integration, and acceptance. This article employs a qualitative descriptive technique, interpreting qualitative data in-depth to comprehend and explain social phenomena or human behavior. Data is gathered by analyzing pertinent materials and subsequently interpreted thematically in light of the study environment. This article's conclusions and discussions are restricted to the impact of Turkish immigration on the Muslim community while considering a range of social, cultural, political, and economic facets of German life. Karl Marx's conflict theory holds that these difficulties reflect underlying power dynamics and class struggles, in which the dominant class keeps control over resources, cultural norms, and political authority, resulting in systemic conflicts and inequality. In addition to initiatives to support equality and inclusion, addressing these concerns calls for a greater comprehension of the structural dynamics at play.

*Corresponding Author: Asep Dadan Suganda (asep.dadan@uinbanten.ac.id), Faculty of Islamic Economics and Business, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Jln. Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani, Curug Kota Serang, Banten 42171, Indonesia.

Keberagaman budaya dan ekonomi Jerman diperkaya oleh kontribusi imigran Turki dan minoritas Muslim, yang warisannya memperkaya negara ini. Namun, eksklusif sosial dan prasangka negatif mempengaruhi beberapa kelompok yang dapat merugikan kesejahteraan dan kualitas hidup mereka. Artikel ini membahas mengenai dinamika minoritas Muslim dan imigran Turki di Jerman, dengan menekankan perkembangan sosial, perjalanan sejarah, dan tantangan yang dihadapi kelompok-kelompok ini dalam masyarakat Jerman. Artikel ini berfokus pada hak-hak minoritas, integrasi sosial, dan penerimaan. Metode yang digunakan yaitu deskriptif kualitatif, menginterpretasikan data kualitatif secara mendalam untuk memahami dan menjelaskan fenomena sosial atau perilaku manusia. Data dikumpulkan dengan menganalisis materi yang relevan dan kemudian diinterpretasikan secara tematik sesuai dengan lingkungan studi. Kesimpulan dan diskusi dalam artikel ini terbatas pada dampak imigran Turki terhadap komunitas Muslim sambil mempertimbangkan berbagai aspek sosial, budaya, politik, dan ekonomi kehidupan di Jerman. Teori konflik Karl Marx menyatakan bahwa kesulitan-kesulitan ini mencerminkan dinamika kekuasaan dan perjuangan kelas yang mendasarinya, di mana kelas dominan mempertahankan kendali atas sumber daya, norma budaya, dan otoritas politik, yang mengakibatkan konflik dan ketidaksetaraan sistemik. Selain upaya untuk mendukung kesetaraan dan inklusi, menangani masalah ini memerlukan pemahaman yang lebih besar tentang dinamika struktural yang terjadi.

Keywords: culture; economic; immigrant; minority; social

Introduction

The financial factor is one of the many factors that underlie the migration of people from one country to another. Additionally, the increasing demand for labor is caused by the demographic conditions in developed countries, where a decline in birth rates results in low population growth, impacting workforce availability in those countries. Consequently, there is a need to bring in workers from other countries. Since the 1950s and 1960s, almost all Western European countries, such as France, the Netherlands, and Germany, have been receiving immigrants (Bhagwati, 2004).

After World War II, Germany lost a significant portion of its working-age population. In 1955, the German government signed its first agreement for the recruitment of labor with Italy, followed by similar agreements with Spain in 1960, Greece in 1960, Türkiye in 1961, Morocco in 1963, Portugal

in 1964, Tunisia in 1965, and Yugoslavia in 1968. The official push for recruiting labor from Southern Europe and Mediterranean countries was closely tied to the economic boom (*Wirtschaftswunder*) of the 1950s and 1960s. This background is closely linked to the significant migration from Europe since the early 1960s, mainly to Germany (Nordbruch, 2012).

When Germany began rebuilding its country, it faced a shortage of manual labor, particularly unskilled workers. Therefore, in the 1950s and 1960s, the German government entered into cooperation agreements with other countries, such as Italy and Türkiye, to send labor to Germany. These foreign workers were called “*Gastarbeiter*” in German. “*Gast*” means guest, and “*Arbeiter*” means worker. These workers were temporary and employed for a specific period only. After completing their work, they would be returned to their home countries. The dispatch of labor to Germany was a win-win solution for both countries. Türkiye could address its unemployment issues, and Germany could obtain cheap labor by inviting *Gastarbeiter*. The influx of *Gastarbeiter* continued until the late 1970s (However, they had been returned to their home country considering the declining economic conditions in Germany, but many still chose to stay in Germany).

Therefore, Germany is one of the Western European countries that has welcomed many immigrants to contribute to the socio-economic development of German society post-World War II. Germany has become one of the primary destinations for immigrants in Europe. They view Germany as a suitable place to live, not only because of the relatively stable economic conditions in the European region but also because Germany is perceived as a friendly and open country to immigrants (Shah & Menski, 2020).

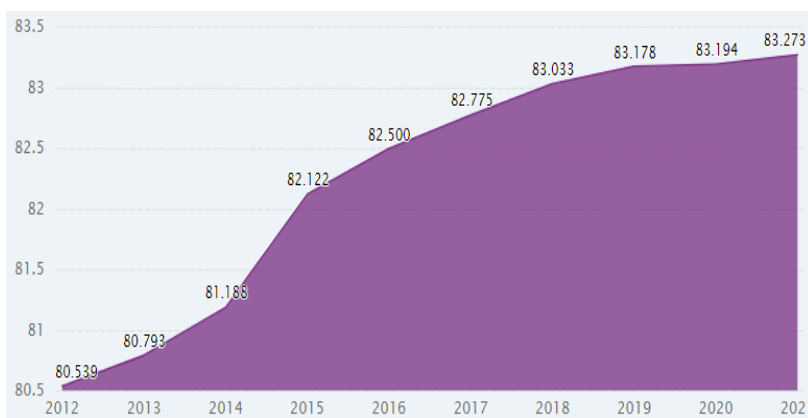
These Turkish immigrants were employed under contract work systems in various industrial sectors. The majority of these Turkish immigrants are followers of Islam. The term “*Turk*” is often associated with Muslims in Germany. They reside in government-provided dormitories and cannot bring their wives or families. However, this system is considered ineffective as the

number of illegal immigrants (without permission) has increased. The entry of illegal workers into Western European countries through border areas became a significant issue in the early 1970s, especially during the global economic recession 1973 (Gusnelly, 2010).

Data reports on the population of Germany in the last ten years show a significant increase. In 2012, the population of Germany was 80,539,000, and by 2021, it had risen to 83,273,000. It indicates an increase of 3.4% over the decade, totaling 2,734,000 people. Out of the total population of Germany, the Muslim population approaches approximately 5.5 million people (6.5% of the total population of Germany), with around 3 million being of Turkish descent (the rest originating from the Middle East and other Muslim countries). The data on population growth in Germany can be seen in Figure 1.

Furthermore, social issues related to Turkish immigrants in Germany, especially those about religious motifs, involve several complex aspects. One of these is the challenge of social integration, where Turkish immigrants often face difficulties adapting to German culture and finding their place in this diverse society. Discrimination and negative stereotypes also pose serious problems

Figure 1
Population of Germany



Source: CEIC (2023).

affecting their life experiences, limiting their access to employment and community services. Additionally, religious freedom and human rights are essential points of debate, questioning how Muslim minorities can maintain their religious identity in an often secular and multicultural environment. Beyond these challenges, the role of public perception and policies also significantly influences outcomes. Attitudes towards Turkish immigrants and Muslim minorities can impact the development of policies that support inclusive and fair social integration. Addressing these issues is crucial to promote a supportive social environment for Turkish immigrants and Muslim minorities in Germany and to build harmonious bridges in this increasingly multicultural society.

Therefore, this article discusses the history, development, and dynamics of Turkish Muslim immigrants as a minority ethnic group in Germany; the method used in this article is a qualitative descriptive approach that aims to understand and explain social phenomena or human behavior through in-depth interpretation of qualitative data. The data collected in this research is based on literature reviews, documents from print and electronic media, books, scientific journals, and reputable websites. Finally, the data analysis focuses on contextual aspects, meanings, and experiences of individuals or groups, describing, understanding, and interpreting a specific phenomenon or context.

The Intricate Dynamics of Turkish Immigrants and Muslim Minorities

Many experts define migration, including Everett Lee (1966), who proposed the theory of international migration that is still used today concerning the push and pull factors that drive individuals to migrate between countries. Firstly, push factors cause people to leave their original residence or home country. These factors for workers include low wages, limited job opportunities, and low social access in the home country. Other factors include the shrinking agricultural land, the use of technology, or the mismatch with customs, culture, and political (security) conditions in the region. Secondly, the pull factors include factors that attract people to enter other areas, such as suitable job opportunities, better environmental conditions, and

the opportunity for advancement compared to staying in the original region (Lee, 1966).

Meanwhile, Massey et al. (1993) explain migration from both macro and micro perspectives. The macro approach assumes that the primary cause of migration is the difference in wages between the sending and receiving countries. In other words, if there is no difference in income, it would end labor migration, and migrant workers would not migrate if such differences are not apparent. On the other hand, the micro approach explains that when an individual decides to migrate, it means they have calculated the costs incurred and the benefits obtained. This calculation concludes that migration provides better income benefits than staying in the migrant worker's origin country (Massey et al., 1993).

The United Nations (1994) defines migration as a change of residence from one specific geographic unit to another. There are two fundamental elements of migration: the dimension of time and the dimension of geography. The time element is constrained by permanence, and the geographic element is constrained by distance. Therefore, changes in residence that are not permanent and movements within the same geographic unit are not considered migration (United Nation Population Division, 1994).

Three components can influence the population size: migration, births, and deaths. The phenomenon of births increases the population, while deaths decrease the population. As for the phenomenon of migration, there are two possibilities: it can increase or decrease the population in a region or place (due to people entering and leaving). If the number of people entering a place exceeds those going, the population will increase. Conversely, if the number of people entering is fewer than those leaving, the population will decrease. Of these three components, migration is the most influential in changing the population size because this phenomenon is the most complex and challenging to formulate and predict (Pitoyo & Mantra, 1998).

Migration is defined as movement of a person either across an international border (international migration), or within a state (internal

migration) for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate (European Commission, n.d.). Individuals or populations undertaking migration are called migrants (Oxford Learner's Dictionary, n.d.).

Migrants are usually a minority in the countries they enter. In the Indonesian Dictionary, "minorities" are defined as social groups whose members are significantly smaller than others. As a result, they are discriminated against by other groups (KBBI, n.d.).

Meanwhile, the Indonesia National Commission on Human Rights (*Komnas HAM*) defines minorities as a population smaller than a more significant overall population (at the national level). However, minorities can also be seen in terms of influence (i.e., not dominant) and may receive unfavorable treatment or find themselves in disadvantaged situations in societal and national life. Additionally, Komnas HAM offers the scope of minority groups in the context of Indonesia, including 1) Racial Minority Groups, 2) Ethnic Minority Groups, 3) Religious and Belief Minority Groups, 4) Persons with Disabilities, 5) Minority Groups Based on Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation (Komnas HAM, 2016).

Muslim minorities are a segment of the population who adhere to the Islamic faith in a particular country. They are termed minorities because they differ in numbers (being fewer) compared to the majority population in their area. Minority communities often face treatment such as discrimination from those of different beliefs (non-Muslims). Moreover, members of minority groups must determine their fate and be willing to advocate for their interests to continue their lives (Sukandi, 1999).

Azyumardi Azra provided a foreword in the book by M. Ali Kettani, stating that if a majority group exhibits distinct characteristics and begins to treat a particular ethnic minority differently due to perceived differences, the actions of the majority group will raise awareness among those considered minorities with those distinct characteristics. Such actions can make it difficult for a minority ethnic group in a country to integrate (Kettani, 2005).

History and Development of Turkish Immigrants in Germany

Turkish immigrants in Germany mostly come from impoverished regions in Türkiye, where they often work as low-wage laborers or may even be unemployed. These circumstances are the backdrop for their decision to move to Germany for a better livelihood. The contracts for Turkish immigrants in Germany typically last for a maximum of two years, with the hope that they can achieve financial sufficiency, return to their home country, and potentially build their own homes. The majority of these Turkish immigrants practice Islam. The term “Turk” is commonly associated with Muslims in Germany (Nielsen, 1995).

Many first-generation immigrants consider religion a crucial social role, emphasizing the commonality of faith and the shared destiny among fellow immigrants. The religion enables them to exchange experiences regarding daily challenges, organize wedding events, provide mutual assistance, and so on. The primary constraint for these immigrants is the cost of living, often preventing them from having proper accommodation. Consequently, they sometimes gather in backyards, unsecured factory floors, vacant supermarkets, or underground spaces (Hamm, 1988).

As a result of economic growth, between 1960 and 1963, Germany employed foreign labor more than three times the previous amount, with a notable increase in individuals of Turkish origin. The number of Turkish people entering Germany during the same period increased tenfold. Turkish immigrants became the largest population in Germany, surpassing other nationalities. Türkiye had a population of 2.5 million people, followed by Poland with 1.29 million people, the Russian Federation with 1.06 million people, Italy with 0.77 million people, Kazakhstan with 0.65 million people, and Romania with 0.43 million people. The ethnic diversity of the immigrant population is reflected in significant differences related to residence, citizenship status, age, gender, social status, and religion (Nordbruch, 2012).

In the first wave, around 7,000 Turkish workers went to Germany. Most were males aged between 20 and 35 (coming alone without their families). Between 1963 and 1966, about 180,000 Turkish workers followed suit to West Germany, with a small number going to Belgium, the Netherlands, and

Austria. In 1966-1967, the German government halted the recruitment of migrant workers following the economic crisis in Germany. This crisis prompted many Turkish workers to return to their home country. However, quite a few also chose to stay in Germany during the economic downturn. After 1968, labor migration from Türkiye to Western Europe grew, reaching 525,000 workers, 80% of whom migrated to Germany (Amara, 2013).

After this period, family members of the Gastarbeiter dominated the migration flow. Around 1970-1972, the number of Turkish immigrants reached 469,000 people. The arrival of their families became more evident in cities such as Cologne, Berlin, and Hamburg. 1974, family reunification increased, leading to 1 million Turkish nationals settling in Germany, with only 600,000 workers (the rest being non-workers). The driving force behind the magnitude of the migration flow during the reunification was economic and political instability in Türkiye. These factors led the families of Turkish migrant workers to choose to join them in Germany (Amara, 2013).

An increase in the growth of job seekers from various backgrounds and religions marked the late 1980s and early 1990s. Meanwhile, the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc prompted more people to leave their home countries in search of political stability and better living conditions (Nordbruch, 2012). Even the Citizenship Law of 2000 guarantees citizenship for the children of immigrants who have legally resided in Germany for at least eight years (Hartiningsih, 2011).

Initially aiming for Turkish workers to be temporary, the German government's policy evolved into a permanent arrangement. In reality, the German government had tried to repatriate Turkish citizens to their home country through the Return and Emigration of Asylum Seekers (READ) program. However, the unclear incentive mechanisms and the ease of obtaining residency permits led Turkish immigrants to choose to stay in Germany. The Turkish Gastarbeiter then evolved into locals (German residents). All these fundamental German policies benefited the labor market within political acceptance limits. Nevertheless, Germany consistently asserted that it is not an immigrant country, so the term Gastarbeiter is still commonly used.

On many occasions, the German government has taken various steps to encourage the return of foreign workers, such as immigrants from Türkiye returning to their home country. Among these steps are limiting access to welfare benefits equivalent to German citizens, withholding fundamental civil rights for immigrants, and more. However, these measures did not change the nature of Turkish immigrants; instead, the number of Turkish immigrants in Germany increased yearly (new arrivals and those born in Germany). The total Turkish population in Germany decreased in the early 1980s. By 1980, it had reached 1.46 million people, steadily increasing to 1.58 million in 1982, then declining around 1985 to approximately 1.4 million people (Nielsen, 1995).

In May 1987, a National Census was conducted, including questions about religion. Almost 100,000 Turks did not identify themselves as Muslims in this census. An interesting topic from the census results is that there were nearly 48,000 Muslims with German citizenship (primarily individuals who had changed their citizenship, but more than 5,000 were native Germans who converted to Islam). The total number of registered Muslims in the census was 1,650,952 (Nielsen, 1995).

Furthermore, the 1987 census also provided information about the distribution of the Muslim population and their residential locations. More than a third were concentrated in Nordrhein-Westfalen, then in the large industrial region stretching from Cologne through Düsseldorf and Duisburg to Essen. The city of Hamburg had over 50,000 Muslims, while in the state of Baden-Württemberg, there were approximately 250,000 Muslims concentrated in cities like Stuttgart and Karlsruhe. In the state of Bavaria (Bayern), there were nearly four million Muslims centered around the city of Munich. Meanwhile, in the state of Hesse, there were 170,000 Muslims concentrated in the city of Frankfurt (Nielsen, 1995).

Due to the ongoing family reunification of workers and high birth rates among Turkish immigrants, the total Turkish population in Europe increased to 3 million people in the early 2000s, with Germany hosting the most significant number, around 2 million Turkish immigrants. Out of this total, only 732,000 were employed. According to recent data from the

German Press Agency in Daily Sabah, the Muslim population continues to grow. It is approaching approximately 5.5 million people in 2021, with around 3 million Turkish descent (Daily Sabah, 2021b).

Muslim Turkish immigrants in Germany live as a minority amidst the majority of followers of other religions. Various issues related to their Islamic identity are constantly encountered. One of these is the contradiction between social and ritual aspects. Minority-related issues almost touch every aspect of life, including social, economic, cultural, and political aspects. Here are some cases experienced by Turkish Muslims in Germany from various perspectives:

Social and Cultural Issues

Turkish immigrants in Germany face difficulties interacting with German citizens, leading to a strained relationship between the two groups. Among the factors contributing to the challenges in interaction is language. When Turkish immigrants first arrive in Germany, they use their language (Turkish), and even after settling, they continue to use Turkish. Additionally, when bringing their families and having descendants, these Turkish immigrants form separate communities distinct from the German population. As a result, communication between German citizens and Turks is challenging. Social integration seems difficult to achieve between German citizens and Turkish immigrants due to the belief among Germans that Turkish immigrants are separate from the German community. This belief has even led to the emergence of *Turkophobia*, with acts of racism and discrimination against Turkish immigrants (Daily Sabah, 2021b). Finally, the goals aimed at improving social relationships in the context of multiculturalism and social order are considered unsuccessful despite various attempts, such as human rights equality, training in political representation, family, education, German language learning, gender equality, and so on (Amghar et al., 2007).

In the early generations, the position of immigrant women also influenced the social conditions of the Turkish Muslim community in Germany. Women were only allowed to deal with domestic affairs and household matters. The

women's affair made the position of Turkish immigrants even more closed in the eyes of the German people. However, Turkish Muslims in Germany are increasingly adapting to the changes of time, addressing issues such as socialization, clothing, and social interaction. The movement allows Turkish Muslims to contribute and achieve accomplishments that bring honor to their name, home country, and Germany. For example, a second-generation Turkish-German female director named Yasemin Samdereli emerged in 1973. Together with her sister, Nesrin Samdereli, they worked on a film titled "*Almanya: Willkommen in Deutschland*," featuring Turkish-blooded artists. The presence of films created by second-generation Turkish Germans highlights the vibrancy of the Turkish community and dispels the initial impression that Turkish immigrants are only low-wage workers. Through such works, the Turkish Muslim community is increasingly respected and recognized (Chairunnisa & Widhiasti, 2014).

Due to cultural, values, ethnic, and primarily religious differences, the attitude of Germans is generally unfavorable towards the Muslim community, including Turkish Muslims. Similarly, the views of Muslims towards Germans exacerbate the situation. Muslims in Germany perceive that German society is unwilling to fully accept those who are culturally, racially, and religiously different from them. In the early days of Turkish Muslims in Germany, German society did not pay much attention to this issue. However, after the events of September 11 (9/11) in the United States, everything changed, and Islam began to be viewed as associated with terrorism, while the hijab (headscarf) was considered a symbol of wrongdoing. This tragedy gave rise to what is known as Islamophobia (Anspaha, n.d.).

German newspaper "Neuer Osnabrücker Zeitung" reported, according to the Ministry of the Interior, that there were 884 crimes classified as Islamophobia in 2019. Attacks against Muslims in Germany increased by 2% during 2020, with at least 901 attacks categorized as acts of Islamophobia (Daily Sabah, 2021a). Among the recorded actions are hate speech, threats, and physical attacks (Daily Sabah, 2021b), vandalism, attacks on mosques (Kemal Ergün, head of the National Vision Community

(IGMG) based in Cologne, stated through Daily Sabah that between 2014 and 2020, more than 700 mosque attacks occurred in Germany), attempted murder and causing property damage (Fairuz, 2021).

However, behind all of this, there is cultural acculturation of Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany related to the tradition of celebrating Eid al-Fitr, known as “Bayram.” Like Muslims in general, Turkish Muslims in Germany observe fasting during Ramadan. As the end of Ramadan approaches to welcome the celebration of Eid al-Fitr, several preparations are made, such as cleaning the house and preparing various foods, including cakes and other sweet treats. From these sweet dishes, the term Eid al-Fitr with the Sugar Festival in Turkish is known as “Seker Bayram” (Seker: sugar, Bayram: festival), and in German society, it is called “*Zuckerfest*” (Zucker: sugar, Fest: festival) (Oberst, 2022). One of the most common cakes served in Germany during Eid al-Fitr is Baklava, a typical Turkish cake from Turkish immigrants (Welle, 2006).

From the findings in this study, several academic debates can be observed regarding the social issues Muslim immigrants face in Germany based on Karl Marx’s conflict theory. As argued by Hans Meyer, a sociologist, capitalist societies tend to create dominant and oppressed classes. Turkish Muslim immigrants often find themselves in the oppressed class. They face economic and social discrimination, making it difficult to climb the social ladder. Additionally, Erika Schmidt, an anthropologist, argues that the conflict between the dominant class (native Germans) and the oppressed class (Turkish Muslim immigrants) occurs not only in the economic field but also in the cultural field. Marx’s theory can be applied to analyze how the dominant culture imposes its values on minority cultures. Schmidt notes that public policies requiring integration do not respect the cultural and religious values of Turkish Muslim immigrants, creating alienation and social conflict (Marx, 1867).

On the other hand, Michael Fischer, an economist, opposes this view. Although Marx’s conflict theory can explain some aspects of inequality, this approach must be revised and consider the complex dynamics of social and

cultural integration. Fischer highlights that many Turkish Muslim immigrants have succeeded in education and economy, showing that factors other than social class also play an essential role. Ingrid Braun, a political scientist, echoes this view, arguing that Marx's conflict theory might be relevant in particular historical contexts but cannot entirely be assigned to modern, more complex, multicultural societies. Braun points out that integration programs implemented by the German government have undergone various reforms to be more inclusive, although challenges remain (Fischere, 1983).

In sum, when analyzed using Karl Marx's conflict theory, the social issues of Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany show two opposing camps. One side argues that Marx's theory is relevant in analyzing Turkish Muslim immigrants' class and cultural inequalities. In contrast, the other side believes this theory needs to be revised to explain the complexities of integration issues and modern social dynamics. This debate enriches our understanding of immigrants' social issues and opens the door for more holistic and inclusive approaches to addressing these problems.

The issues faced by Turkish immigrants and the Muslim community in Germany can be analyzed through Marx's theory, which focuses on class struggle and societal power dynamics. According to Marx, social and economic inequalities are not the result of individual differences but are consequences of social structures designed to maintain power and control by the dominant class. In this context, Turkish immigrants and Muslim groups often find themselves in subordinate positions, facing discrimination and marginalization in various aspects of life, including access to employment, education, and political participation. Marx would argue that these tensions reflect a broader conflict between the exploited working class and the capitalist class, which controls resources and social institutions. Furthermore, Marx's conflict theory helps explain how cultural norms and ideologies dominated by the majority group reinforce the status quo and suppress resistance from minority groups. When the dominant group imposes its norms and values as the general standard, minority groups like Turkish immigrants and the Muslim community are often positioned as "other" or

“different,” which reinforces negative stereotypes and social exclusion. Thus, the issues faced by these communities are not only about economic inequality but also about the struggle against cultural and ideological dominance that hinders social integration and acceptance. Therefore, addressing these problems requires a deeper understanding of how power dynamics work in society and efforts to challenge and change the unjust social structures.

Economics and Political Issues

In the economic field, for example, in the labor market, Turkish immigrants often face discriminatory treatment. Although German law stipulates that no one should be disadvantaged because of their religion, there are still many cases of discrimination, especially against Muslim women who wear hijab/scarf, making it difficult for them to find employment. Even though they are fluent in German and qualified, Muslim women often struggle to secure jobs (Welle, 2011).

Several cases represent many others regarding the discrimination that adversely affects Muslim women in Germany, such as the case of Gül Duman, a Muslim woman of Turkish descent who was born and raised in the city of Cologne, Germany. She graduated from high school and has undergone special education to become a kindergarten teacher. Despite sending numerous applications to various schools, she often failed in the final interview stage because there was always the option of a question about her willingness to remove the headscarf while working. If one were not willing, the job application would be automatically rejected. Another case involves Wiltrud Meyer (a Muslim of Turkish descent), who had been working as an intern in a supermarket for six months with good performance. When her supervisor offered her a permanent position with a higher salary, there was a condition that she should not wear the hijab during work (Welle, 2011).

In addition to the hijab issue, a person with a name that carries a Turkish ethnic connotation also tends to be disadvantaged in terms of employment. For example, there was the case of Hilal Akdeniz, who worked in Frankfurt's asset management call center. Her company's management

asked her to change her name to Müller, Meier, or something similar that sounds like German because her Turkish name would drive customers away. Akdeniz was a Muslim of Turkish descent and a German citizen born, raised, and educated in Germany, but she was required not to use her original name (Hartiningsih, 2011).

The positive side of the economic development caused by Turkish Muslim immigrants is the proliferation of kebab stalls in Germany. Initially, Turkish immigrants brought kebabs because they missed Turkish cuisine. However, many Turkish families also started selling kebabs with a German touch over time. Kebabs are usually served on plates or wrapped in thin bread, as we know in Indonesia. In Germany, kebabs are popularly consumed with bread, a local staple food. Germans like kebabs because this food is considered a complete meal package. People can consume carbohydrates, protein, and vegetables in one dish. Therefore, the current popularity of *döner kebab* as the most favored snack surpasses Currywurst and Bratwurst (German specialties) (Anadolu Agency, 2022). The popularity is evidenced by the tens of thousands of kebab stalls throughout Germany, with the number of kebab stalls in Berlin exceeding those in Istanbul Türkiye.

In addition to kebab stalls, Turkish immigrants have also started establishing convenience stores that initially only aimed to meet the daily needs of their community. However, these Turkish stores have become a mainstay and a shopping destination for Muslims who are visiting or newly arriving in Germany to obtain halal meat and other processed meat products (sausages, burgers, and others) labeled halal. For example, Haribo, the popular chewy jelly candies among children in Germany, also produces its halal version in Türkiye. These products can be found in Turkish stores in Germany.

Both kebab stalls and Turkish stores scattered throughout Germany, especially for Turkish immigrants, represent significant business opportunities. Their presence can provide employment opportunities and livelihoods for many people. They play a role in the economy and can also serve as a bond between the different cultures of Germany and Türkiye. The

nation of 82 million people consumes two million kebabs a day, according to Gürsel Ülber from the Association of Turkish Döner Producers in Europe (ATDiD), the turnover of this snack reaches 4 billion euros or IDR 56.3 trillion in Germany. If calculated per day, about 400 tons of meat are consumed for *döner kebab* (Khalil, 2022).

In the political arena, the bilateral relationship between the Turkish and German governments has experienced ups and downs, and Turkish immigrants in Germany have also felt this. For example, many Turkish immigrants eventually obtain German citizenship, subject to certain conditions and requirements. However, there are also cases of unfair treatment linked to the political issues between the two countries. One such case is the experience of footballer Mesut Özil, who claimed to be a victim of racial and discriminatory treatment. Özil felt politically scapegoated in connection with the German national team's failure at the 2018 World Cup, solely because he took a photo with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan at a charity event in the UK. Özil also stated: "I am only considered a German when we win, but I am seen as an immigrant (Turkish) when we lose" (BBC News, 2018; Wirayudha, 2018).

Despite various political issues concerning Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany, a Turkish Muslim can pursue a career in politics. Belit Onay, a son of Turkish immigrants, was elected as the Mayor of Hanover in 2019 for a 7-year term. The event marked a historic moment as, for the first time, a German citizen with an immigrant background was elected mayor of a German State. Belit Onay was born in Goslar on January 15, 1981. His parents were foreign workers from Türkiye who came from Istanbul in the 1970s. He decided to enter the political arena after the arson attack on an apartment building by right-wing extremists in Solingen in 1993, which claimed the lives of five people of Turkish descent (Welle, 2019).

Conclusion

The dynamics of immigrants are often viewed with bias by the local population of a region. In addition to racial and cultural differences, religion often becomes a trigger for friction between immigrants who become ethnic

minorities and the local community. Among the factors that cause people to migrate, they can be divided into two categories: push factors, such as considerations of low wages, limited job opportunities, low social access in the home country, shrinking agricultural land, the use of technology, or mismatches with customs, culture, and politics (security) in the region. Then there are pull factors, such as suitable job opportunities, better environmental conditions, and the chance for advancement compared to staying in the home region.

History records the beginning of the arrival of Turkish immigrants in Germany due to cooperation between Germany and Türkiye in solving the labor issues. Germany needed a large workforce to rebuild its economy after losing the working-age population post-World War II. Although through official bilateral channels, the German population was initially resistant to the presence of Turkish immigrants, exacerbated by waves of illegal immigration that worsened the social relations between the two different ethnic groups. Moreover, after the 9/11 tragedy, negative perceptions towards Turkish Muslim immigrants increased. However, behind all of this, there is a positive aspect of Turkish immigrants contributing to Germany in the social, cultural, economic, and political fields, as outlined above.[w]

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