

Education and Assimilation of Turkish Immigrants in Germany

By

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Abstract

The thesis reviews research about assimilation and education of Turkish immigrants in Germany. The thesis describes Human Capital theory, multiculturalism and cultural hegemony and segmented assimilation model. By using descriptive quantitative methods, it shows that Turkish-German community tends to be isolated and exclusive mainly due to their family and father centered social structure which was brought by historical reason, and they also suffer from serious stereotype and institutional discrimination in German education system which is one of the reasons why Turkish-Germans are more low-educated than natives. Education is not playing an important role in Turkish community as much as natives by itself but language proficiency, which is usually positively correlated with education, is more important for second generation in occupational advancement. Also, there is no clear evidence showing that Islam belief really brings negative impact towards assimilation. Compared with unilateral unwillingness to integrate and religion, the unsuccessful assimilation of Turkish-Germans is more likely to be a result of mutual choice.

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1 Introduction

Nowadays western world is facing both opportunity and challenge from massive migration. Better living standard, higher average salary and social medical welfare usually attract more immigrants to come to work and settle down. According to data from European Commission, until 2021 there are currently 23.7 million non-EU citizens living in Europe, which represent 5.3% of total population, with 37.5 million EU citizens born outside of EU, which are 8.4% of total EU inhabitants (Eurostat, 2023). Also, as can be seen from the figure 1.1 that net migration in EU experienced a rapid growth since 2011 and maintained at a high level, while in 2019 in merely one year almost 1.2 million immigrants entered into EU (Eurostat, 2022). Migration could be a double-edged sword, bringing both benefits and disadvantages. Usually, migration provides massive cheap young labour, decreasing the cost of human capital together with highly educated talents from abroad, improving population age structures and economic growth. While on the other hand, social problems such as increase of unemployment brought by competition from migrants, heavier social welfare burden, inequality, cultural conflicts and insufficient assimilation also came to the public sight. European politicians are now considering about the balance between positive economic impact of migration and benefits for natives in order to get popular support in election, since massive migration will also result in rearrangement of wealth distribution (Crawley, 2016). Moreover, increasing discrimination, racism and violent attacks towards immigrants also lead to more discussion about human rights and debate about religion and cultural assimilation. If we want to pick up a typical example of migration in Europe with enough data and related research as a juncture for the whole EU, then Turkish immigrants in Germany could be regarded as a good choice.

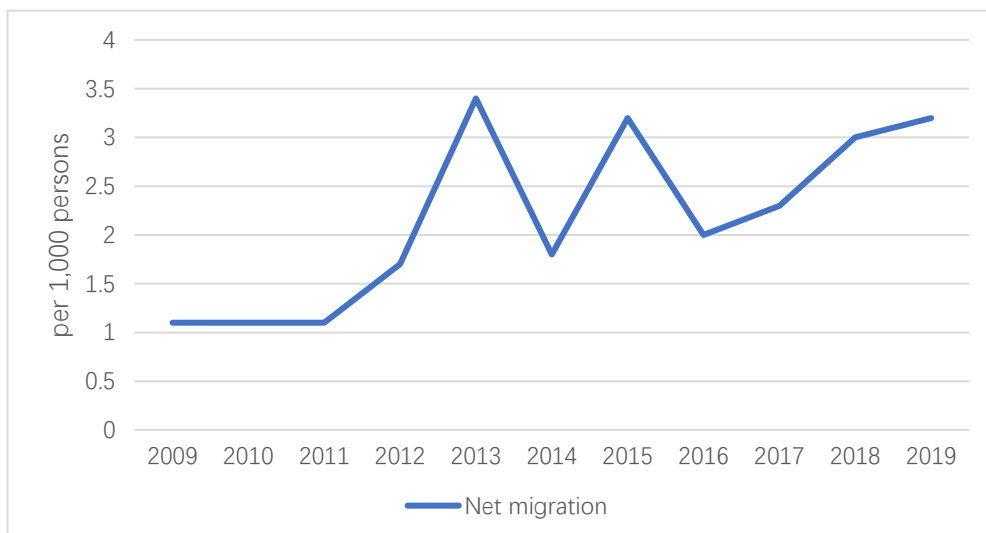


Figure 1.1: Population change by component (annual crude rates), 2009-2019

Source: Eurostat, 2022

One of the best examples to study is Turkish immigrants in Germany. After the construction

of Berlin wall in 1961, the labor crisis in West Germany brought by the pressure of post-war reconstruction increased the needs of labor in labor-intensive manufacture and infrastructure construction with the restriction of the labor flow from East Germany (Sirkeci, et al, 2012). Thus, on 30th of October, 1961, in West German government signed a contract with Turkish republic, inviting Turkish young workers to come to west Germany for work, and with the introduction of family reunification rights in 1974, there were far much more Turkish immigrants entering into Germany than going back to Turkey (Sirkeci, et al, 2012). As a result, from 1974 to 1988, the number of Turkish immigrants almost doubled with more females into low-paying services positions (Horrocks, et al, 1996, 12-14). Until nowadays, there is estimation that about up to 7 million people with Turkish immigrant backgrounds living in Germany right now. Though it is obvious that Turkish immigrants provided massive cheap labor for low-paying services and manufactures which boosted the progress of post-war reconstruction and export, there are also some different voices. Someone claims that immigrants most gather in labor-intensive industries with lower-requirement of education, thus due to the economic transformation and upgrading, immigrants might not provide enough high-educated human capital and population aging in emerging industry in areas such as high-tech, biotech, AI, new energy, etc. (Borjas, 2019). More general welfare countries usually are more attractive to low-skilled workers, thus the increase of extra low-skilled labor in innovation economy usually brings less effectiveness with heavier burden in welfare spend (Euwals, et al, 2007). Moreover, there is a rising atmosphere towards Turkish society recently of xenophobia due to the difficulty of cultural integration of Turkish Muslim immigrants in German society, and the rising of violent attack from right wing organizations towards Turkish immigrants, political calling for non-foreigner zones and increase of neo-Nazi groups reflect the negative impact of immigration both in social and economic factors. Germany is facing challenge of immigration.

Turkish-German is not the only Turkish community in Europe. Turkish residents are the second largest group in Netherland next to Dutch which mostly immigrated from Turkish Republic while some of them also moved from former Ottoman Turkish Empire territory such as Balkan and Cyprus (Euwals, et al, 2007) and consists of the second biggest foreign-born community in EU (Eurostat, 2021). When we think about the current refugee crisis in EU after the start of Syrian war in 2011, we could see that middle eastern refugee community and Turkish-German immigrants got a lot of things in common. Both Turkish-German and other Muslim immigrants, mainly from middle east and northern Africa, got similar religion belief, similar family-centered living style, both gather in low-skill jobs and suffer from lower income, both believed to be difficult to get involved into local society. Thus, when we study about assimilation of Turkish-German, we are trying to find the things common behind the whole Muslim community and compare them to see whether the conclusion of Turkish-German could also be extended to other immigrants' communities in other European countries (Sammut, et al, 2018). In 2015, there were about 6 million to 7 million Arabs living in France with more than 1.5 million living in Spain and many other Arab communities in Netherland, Germany, Sweden, UK, etc., and by far Arab immigrants, especially Moroccan immigrants have become one of the biggest immigrant's societies in EU (Sammut, et al, 2018). Though Moroccan, Syrian, Palestinian, Algerian and other Muslim

communities all got their own uniqueness, but still we can see there are quite a lot of similarity among them and most importantly, as one of the first European countries which started accepting massive migration, Germany has changed its immigration policies according to tend of assimilation of immigrants, and by learning from Germany's experience we might be able to find some achievements which might be useful for other countries nowadays. Thus, it is necessary for us to look deeper into Muslim communities and possible assimilation in Europe by starting from Turkish-German.

How is the economic and cultural assimilation of Turkish-German in society? What are the important factors that contribute to assimilation? Are the economic income of Turkish immigrants starts getting better? To find the answers of these questions, we need to make a review of previous studies, find the appropriate variables and collect data to make a quantitative analysis to get a conclusion. Turkish migration is a miniature of migration into EU since 2010 and by conducting research we might make some suggestions for European countries which got the same challenge. The whole paper will be divided into six parts. We will start from a review of previous studies in Germany about Turkish immigrants, followed by human capital theory, cultural assimilation theory and segmented assimilation model. Current situation part will have a complete review of historical background of Turkish immigrants, German education system, language education and civil society based on previous research to make a macro view of our research subject. The data part will be based on social survey of second-generation immigrants and native respondents in Germany from field trip in Berlin. Analysis will mainly focus on important factors according to human capital theory, including education, gender, language proficiency, cultural assimilation and religion. The paper will mainly use descriptive quantitative methods both with collected data from empirical survey and results of regression. The aim of this paper is to find the reason and factors of assimilation of Turkish migrants in Germany, features of Turkish community and try to make some advices for migration policy for public authorities. Migration has become one of the most important social topics in Europe nowadays and it is never too late to look deeper into the question.

2 Literature review – previous researches

Studies about Turkish immigrants weren't taken much attention at first and it was until the 1990s that academia started to pay more attention to Turkish-German community. In 1994 Bade published a book in which he offered an historical overview of immigration in post-war Germany which provided a clear structure of background, start and progress of Turkish migration for future study (Bede, 1994; 6-24). He gives detailed accounts of the German *Gastarbeiter* program, which was a key avenue for Turkish labor migration to Germany starting in the 1960s. Bade contextualizes the socio-political climate, policies and their impacts on immigrant communities, which helps us better to understand about the reason and background of Turkish migration in Germany. Economic assimilation and participation was one of the most popular topics in academia. In 2007, Kogan's work was published

focusing on labor market integration of immigrants in European countries (Kogan, 2007; 26-34). He examined the economic performance of Turkish immigrants in Germany including factors like education, job qualifications and institutional analysis was used demonstrating the impact of those factors towards Turkish immigrants' occupational participation. While on the other hand, socio-cultural integration studies were made to try to find the link between economic assimilation and cultural assimilation. For example, Mandel's work in 2008 examines the evolving dynamics of Turkish immigrant communities within Germany (Mandel, 2008; 47-86). Mandel presents the dichotomy between Germany's cosmopolitan aspirations and the lived experiences of Turkish immigrants, emphasizing the existence of xenophobia, cultural anxieties and challenges to traditional German culture of identification and belonging. This brought another important topic about identification and dual citizenship, as it is important for immigrants to recognize themselves as who they are and which country they really belong to. In 2001, Turkish researcher Çağlar published his paper about the complex identity for Turkish immigrants in Berlin (Çağlar, 2001). The author studied the complexity of transnationalism, belonging and citizenship. His work discusses the role of metaphorical constraints in shaping and limiting the spaces in which Turkish immigrants can exist and express their identities (Çağlar, 2001).

Transgenerational research is an important way to analyze assimilation, as transgenerational comparative analysis could give us a view about whether later generation is getting more involved into local cultural so we can understand whether current immigrant policy and assimilation are appropriate. Diehl and Schnell published their paper in 2006 by which they pointed the idea of reactive ethnicity where immigrants might strongly affirm their ethnic identities in response to perceived external threats or discrimination (Diehl, et al, 2006). Through empirical data, the authors contrast this concept with more traditional notions of assimilation especially about second generation (Diehl, et al, 2006). Language and education are both important as human capital in labour market and are closely related on salary and economic outcome. Riphahn's research evaluates the educational outcomes of second-generation immigrants in Germany and through census data the author underscores the correlation between language proficiency, cultural assimilation and academic success (Riphahn, 2003). Turkish immigrants served as a significant demographic in the analysis, and show how generational shifts can influence educational attainment (Riphahn, 2003). The cultural assimilation and self-identification are related with the attitude from local society as a society of discrimination and stereotype would push immigrants more to the opposite. In 1996, Horrocks and Kolinsky published their book about how Turkish culture is portrayed in German media, ranging from films and television to literature, and the authors illuminate prevalent stereotypes and their potential consequences on public perception and policymaking (Horrocks, et al, 1996; 2-25). Finally, whether current migration policy is improving assimilation or encouraging opposition is also important for public authority. In 2003, Heckmann explained in his book about immigrant integration policies across Europe, while he also provided a comparative analysis across various European countries, and he found that the situation of Turkish immigrants in Germany remained central, and addressed both successes and challenges of integration policies in Germany (Heckmann, 2003; 54-79).

What can we get from literature review? Previous study about Turkish-German is a quite complete system which includes almost all the things we need to consider about. Historical background, economic performance, labour participation, education, language proficiency, self-identification, discrimination and migration policy, etc. All those factors help us to create a complete mind map which can instruct us how to build our model and what kind of variables should we include in our study. The inadequacies are also obvious. First, those important studies were long time ago. Most of those studies were made in 1990s and 2000s after German public authority and policies changed and started paying attention to immigrant's issues. In that time most second-generations just started working or were still studying in school, while now after 20 years how is the situation now? Are they still suffering the same problem they had 20 years ago? Is the situation becoming better? There are some recent researches about language proficiency, national identity among second-generation and gender inequality, but seldom are able to connect all those factors we mentioned together directly with economic outcome. Another important thing is about data. Most previous studies about socio-economy in Germany is based on SOEP (Social-Economic Panel), while due to historical problem German public authority usually doesn't collect any individual information about religion and race, which makes migration and transgenerational studies more difficult. Thus, our study will mainly focus on fulfill these two parts, collecting new data which we need to focus more on ethnicity, religion and transgenerational studies.

3 Theories and Models

To understand what is the key factor of assimilation, we first need to understand the mechanism of how the migration and new labour influence the economic output. There are many economic theories in the modern academia to discuss about economic assimilation and impact of migration, but the most basic and common theory is Human Capital Theory. Human capital theory was first published by Becker and Rosan to explain the impact of knowledge and education in economic growth. What we need to notice is that human capital is one of the most important theories that could explain the impact of migration through labour market, and education is the most important factor we need to consider as it is closely related with immigrants' occupational advancement and outcome. Another thing we need to discuss is cultural assimilation, and there are some models and theories including multiculturalism and cultural hegemony. It is necessary for us to find appropriate models to explain the case in Germany based on previous studies. Finally, segmented assimilation, as an important theory analyzing social structure and transgenerational movement, should be used to study about how is the trend of assimilation.

3.1 Human capital theory – Role of education

Since the industrial and scientific revolution, human capital theory has become more and more popular due to increase importance of technology and knowledge in economic study. The investment in particularity such as education and skill training could increase the productivity of workers, as more education the workers received, higher the human capital will be, and expenditure in education is positively related with economic growth (Claudia, 2016). Investment in education is necessary for skill training and the knowledge and skills workers got would improve their productivity in the labour market which usually led to higher salary. Human capital theory was first published by Schultz and Becker as the investment from public authority to high education to increase economic outcome and income salary through healthier life style and stable social environment (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 2009, 1-32). According to the theory, human capital is also a kind of capital, just as land, factory and machine, and the productivity of a worker depends on the return rate of human capital. Investment in education could increase the average income of workers, becoming more competitive in the labour market, decreasing the time of job searching and unemployment, and have a better occupational advancement (Wahrenburg, et al, 2007). Increase in human capital is different from monetary capital, because human capital usually increases cumulatively in long term.

So how does human capital theory apply on migration? According to human capital theory, migration could lead to increase of human capital in three different ways:

- 1 Technique and Skills Replenishment: immigrant could bring technology and skills the receiving country requires, to replenish the shortage of labour in targeted market and industries
- 2 Optimization of labour division: professional immigrants could optimize the labour division, and increase the productivity of economy
- 3 Expansion of knowledge: Immigrants could improve the innovation and technologic progress by spreading knowledge and skills

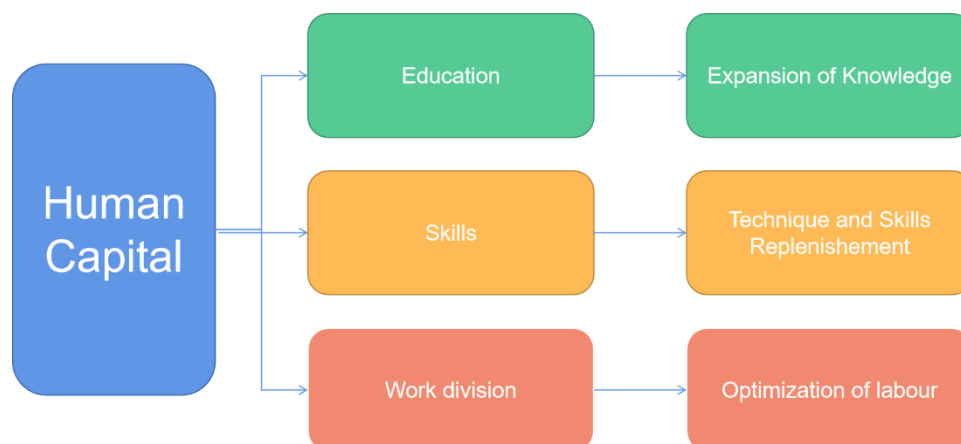


Figure 3.1.1 Human capital and migration impact

When immigrants move to a new place, they bring their human capital from country of origin, including education, skills and working experience, which could contribute to the receiving country by increasing productivity, innovation and filling gaps in the labour market. Migration could lead to knowledge and technology transfer among countries, because first generation usually keep their ties with original country through family, thus potentially it could also be an opportunity for future investment and business for original countries. On the other hand, we should also notice that migration could also have negative influence. For origin countries, losing human capital could lead to decrease in productivity and economic growth, while for receiving countries, massive migration might bring more serious competition in labour market, increasing unemployment for natives, heavier burden in medic and pension welfare system, and what's more, immigrants with different culture, religion and ethnic background might separate the community and even increase social conflict among groups. This is another topic we need to focus on: the assimilation.

In human capital we need to notice the role of education, as education could be regarded as one of the most important factors which usually positively correlated to the income and salary of worker. The reason why education is so important is explained by signaling model, as though salary and position of workers are in fact determined by the cost of skill training which usually take after the worker get enrolled rather than before graduation, educational background in fact is one of the few indicators that employers can refer to due to information asymmetry (Spence, 1978, 281-306). From employers' points of view, the only things they could judge from an applicant which they don't know is variables as educational background and experience, as applicants with higher educational background and more experience are more likely to require less training cost to be qualified for this position (Spence, 1978, 281-306). What we need to realize is that role of educational background could differ from occupational advancement in original and receiving countries for immigrants, as employers in receiving countries might not recognize a foreign immigrant's educational background as much as his original country does if he received his education in his original country (Welch, 1975). There are debates about whether immigrants will also have equal occupational advancement in receiving country with their current background. But one thing is for sure, that education plays a very important role in determining an immigrant's occupational advancement and income. A well-educated technical immigrant and a low-skilled worker could have a totally different ending when moving to a new place. Low-skilled workers in labour intensive industries could have deadly disadvantage due to their poor educational background, and this disadvantage could lead to class solidification and make it more difficult for immigrants and second generation to achieve class leap.

Besides education, another thing we need to focus on is language proficiency. Language barrier is the first difficulty immigrants need to overcome when they enter into a new country. Local language proficiency is the basic skill for them to find a job and start their career to get involved into labour market, while those cannot communicate with the others will have no occupational advancement at all. Moreover, language proficiency is also important for cultural understanding, collaboration and social integration. Language barrier

would increase the cost of communication and create cultural barrier which is definitely negative towards cultural assimilation. Thus, when we are using human capital theory to study about the assimilation of immigrants, we need to care about both education and language proficiency in our case.

3.2 Cultural Assimilation – Multiculturalism and Hegemony

Cultural assimilation is important in the society as whether immigrants could get culturally integrated into the main society is related to social stability and security. Civil-communities of immigrants isolated and excluded from main society could usually bring conflicts in values, religions, culture and races. Social fragmentation leads to a series of social problems such as language barrier, religion extremism, average low education, poorer quality of households and more common stereotype and discrimination. We need to have a review of the theories and models we are going to use.

Multiculturalism is a social and political concept which refers to the diversity of culture in a society. It acknowledges that different cultures have different traditions, values and ways of life. Multiculturalism can refer to policies that promote the recognition of diverse cultural societies, for instance, supporting funds for ethnic culture inheritance and development, supporting bilingual education, providing legal protections for minorities (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). In multiculturalism, immigrants are expected to adopt local culture and the value based on their original cultural identification and importance of cultural diversity (Jakubowicz, et al, 2012). According to multiculturalism, immigrants are supposed to be encouraged to maintain their own cultural heritage while also participate into the native society. The difference between multiculturalism and assimilation is that whether they accept the concept of cultural diversity. Assimilation focuses on immigrants give up their own culture and get totally assimilated into local culture, while multiculturalism points out that immigrants can both get familiar with the native culture while also keep their own one. In the past, in Europe and North America, immigrants usually had to get totally assimilated into the local culture and whole society, while in the recent decades, with the rise of modern nationalism, it is more difficult for immigrants to totally abandon their old tradition and religion. When we talk about multiculturalism, we need to notice that whether multiculturalism is accessible doesn't only depend on immigrants but also upon local culture. Whether local community is culturally opened enough to accept different culture to live together. Some debates also announce that multiculturalism could lead to desperation of society and erosion of national identification. For Muslim society, it might be more difficult for conservative traditional Muslim to get adopted into local society due to the cultural difference in marriage and language proficiency. Afterall, we need to notice that for multiculturalism, for each immigrant group and receiving country, the situation could be various, and it is necessary to study deeper into the certain case.

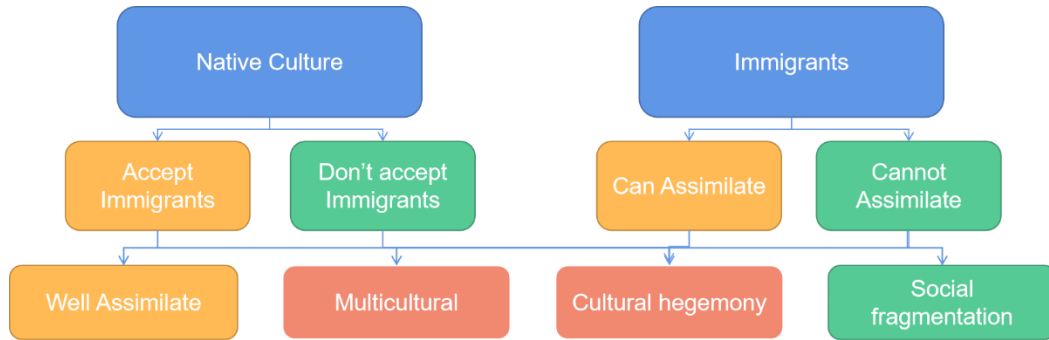


Figure 3.2.1 Multiculturalism and Cultural Hegemony

The opposite of multiculturalism is cultural hegemony, a concept developed by Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci, as a particular culture over other cultures in a society (Lears, 1985). Cultural hegemony operates into two main processes: coercion, which refers to the use of force and violence to maintain a social control of immigrants, while consent refers to the voluntary acceptance of local culture and value. Cultural hegemony is not enforcement of ruling class, but a balance among different social groups. Subordinate groups could challenge the mainstream culture and value by creating “counter-hegemonic” cultural practices that induces to their own experience and perspectives (Gramsci, 1971). These counter-hegemonic practice could help immigrants to create a new form of cultural expression and social relations that challenge the old culture of society (Lears, 1985). We could regard cultural hegemony as the opposite concept of multiculturalism, as if the immigrants are successfully assimilated into native culture, then the society will become cultural hegemony. If immigrants fail to get fully assimilated into native culture but the native culture is still opened enough to be inclusive of other culture, then a multicultural society is the best result. The worst case is when the immigrants fail to assimilate into native culture while local culture is also extremely xenophobic, then social cultural division seems to be unavoidable and future cultural and ethnic conflicts could be predicted.

3.3 Segmented Assimilation Theory

Segmented assimilation theory was introduced in 1990s by Alejandro Portes and his colleague and later got tested by Portes and Ruben Rumbaut (Portes, *et al*, 1993; Portes, *et al*, 2001, 17-34). It mainly focuses on the transgenerational development and finds out that second generation might have different results depending on its background. The theory provides three accessible outputs for second generation immigrants: upward assimilation, downward assimilation and upward mobility combined with persistent biculturalism. When parents and their kids both study main culture and give up their old native language and original culture in the same speed, then consonant acculturation occurs and the kids get into upward assimilation with the support from their parents. When kids learn new culture far much faster than their parents, dissonant acculturation occurs. When kids face the racism and discrimination alone without support from parents, they will get involved into downward assimilation. The third situation is more common, as if both kids and parents

learn new culture but also partly relate with their immigrant community, then selective acculturation will form in which kids will keep the relation with their parents and family culture but also speak bilingual languages (Portes, *et al*, 2001, 52-54). Segmented assimilation theory also emphasizes importance of parents' human capital such as parents' education and income, arriving country's acceptance such as discrimination and definition towards immigrants, and family structure. In detail, there are some main points which are useful for us:

- 1 Assimilation trajectories: theory suggests that immigrants might assimilate into different segments of society. Those with higher socioeconomic status and resources might experience upward mobility and successful assimilation into main society. They are likely to have access to higher quality of education, better job opportunities and better social networks for their occupation
- 2 Downward assimilations: in contrast to upward mobility, it refers to those who face socioeconomic disadvantages, discrimination and lack of resources may assimilate into marginalized segments of society, and might experience poverty, limited educational opportunities and restricted social mobility
- 3 Selective acculturations: the process of acculturation can be selective as immigrants may adopt certain aspects of host culture while simultaneously retaining elements of their own culture. The extent of acculturation can vary based on individual preferences, social networks and other human capital resources
- 4 Ethnic communities: emphasizes the role of ethnic communities in shaping the assimilation process. Ethnic communities can provide social support, cultural preservation and economic resources that aid in the assimilation process. However, they can also influence the trajectory of assimilation, as isolated communities could also hinder upward mobility
- 5 Neighborhood context: highlights the significance of neighborhood context in shaping assimilation experiences. Immigrants residing in neighborhoods with socioeconomic advantages such as education which will be positive for upward mobility. On the other hand, living in disadvantaged or racially segregated neighborhoods will bring barriers and might have more possibility to get poverty or social exclusion.
- 6 Contextual factors: refers to the influence of broader contextual factors such as immigration policies, labour market conditions and discrimination. Those factors could also create opportunities or barriers that affect integration and outcomes.

Social factors and transgenerational studies could be widely used in analysis about how immigrant families assimilate in long-term. For Turkish-German, the relationship between second generation and their old community is really important, as the civil society and family-centered social structure are very common in Turkish-German society, which will be more explained in the next part. Whether an immigrant is upward assimilated or downward assimilated depends on many different factors, and with segmented assimilation theory it could be easier for us to understand the logic behind them.

4 Turkish immigrants in Germany – Current situation

By taking a review of human capital theory and cultural assimilation we know that education, language proficiency and religion play an important role in both cultural and economic assimilation of Turkish-German. Thus, before we set a model to make analysis, first we need to know how is Turkish immigrant community current situation in German. What kind of educational level and language proficiency do they have? How is the influence of Islamic religion in Turkish community? Is it true that Turkish-community doesn't assimilate sufficiently not only because of their own exclusiveness, but also because they have been discriminated and deliberately targeted by German main society? We need to have a review of previous related research and studies about Turkish-German to know more about our research object, to find the best way to apply the theory in our case.

4.1 Early Turkish Migration – Labour import and family reunification

Though long historical alliance with Ottoman Turkey Empire has brought a number of immigrants to Germany since 18th century, the real modern massive migration only started from 1961. German post-war reconstruction and economic recovery brought *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) in the 1950s, while with the build of Berlin wall and conflict between east and west Germany in 1961, west Germany suffered from lack of young labour (Bede, 1994; 12-23). Consequently, west Germany government and Republic of Turkey signed a labour recruitment agreement on 30th October 1961 and officially invited Turkish workers to come to Germany. At first, according to *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker system), Turkish worker were only allowed to stay in Germany and work for 1 to 2 years and then return back home to leave positions and opportunities to new comers. However, in 1964 employers and companies make pressure towards government to change to institution and allowed Turkish workers to stay in Germany after the end of contract and allow them to stay longer for future opportunities (Bede, 1994; 36-42). There were some workers who returned home after the contract expired due to depression from 1966 to 1967 and oil crisis in 1973, but still it was minority. Most workers chose to stay after the contract due to better living standards and political turmoil brought by 2 coups d'etat in Turkey between 1960 and 1971. Most guestworkers were low-educated cheap labour from rural area in Turkey, and better living standard with higher salary in west Germany was very attractive to them (Bede, 1994; 56-72).

According to the first agreement, Turkish labour and guestworkers in west Germany were defined as only temporary workers, thus family reunification and settlement were officially discouraged, especially for Turkish workers due to the worry of difficult assimilation brought by huge difference between two countries' cultures (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2007). This situation

ended in 1974 when family reunification was introduced which allows Turkish workers to invite their family to Germany. Thus, from 1974 to 1988, the population of Turkish immigrants in Germany almost doubled (Horrocks, et al, 1996, 32-36). In the late 1970s and early 1980s there were about 60% Turkish immigrants who came to Germany as family reunification, even more than Turkish workers themselves, and family reunification also brought higher fertility in Turkish-German community immediately (Wolf, 2016). This also brought identity problem.

Before 1990s, Germany used *jus sanguinis* principle in nationality and citizenship law, as whether an immigrant could get citizenship depends on their parents' German ancestry rather than birthplace. Thus, most second-generations didn't get citizenship automatically, instead they achieved *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* which allows them to stay in Germany at first, and usually those second-generations could get citizenship after at least 15 years with many other requirements such as occupations and no criminal records (Bede, 1994, 79-84). Those who have German citizenship had a lot of advantages. For example, only those who have German citizenship could vote in political election, and many occupations were restricted to only citizenship holders such as teachers, police and military staff. Though for most occupations, citizenship is not mandatory, and those who are holding *Aufenthaltsberechtigung* could also get many welfares, still this kind of discrimination made guest workers difficult to identify themselves as members of the society. While compared with other immigrants, Turkish-German suffered even worse. Compared with Turkish-German, guest workers from other countries such as Spain seemed to be better in occupational advancement and were more possible to marry with natives (Thranhardt, 2005). Moreover, many Turkish-German felt that they were not respected enough due to their religion. For example, churches were allowed to collect church tax in Germany, while mosques were not allowed. German universities had religious education about Jewish, Catholic and Protestant while Islam were not included in that time. Turkish-German usually maintains a high proportion of Islamic believers, which made the situation worse.

Afterall, due to historical and objective factors, in Germany there is a nervous relation between Turkish and native communities related with citizenship, identification, welfare, education, religion and family structure which could all affect labour market participation, occupational advancement and cultural assimilation. The reason is complex, while the consequence could also vary.

4.2 Education for Turkish immigrants – institutional differentiation and inequality

There are plenty of data and related previous studies indicating that Turkish immigrants suffer lower-education compared with natives and other immigrants. An education report in 2008 Table 4.2.1 indicates that immigrants are more tend to get poorer education for second generation, with higher rate of without graduation, and gather more in lower grades

compared with natives. The proportion of university education of natives is three times more than immigrants. In another report in 2006 Table 4.2.2 we can see that compared with natives, immigrants got higher proportion in Hauptschule, which will be divided from university education and would go to continue education in order to take technical work in factories rather than white collar jobs. Among immigrants, we can see that Turkish got higher proportion of Hauptschule education compared with other immigrants. This gives us an important signal, that is: the differentiation of education between Turkish and natives doesn't occur late in senior high period as we thought, on the contrary it might have been decided far much earlier in the early stage of education, as we can see that 48.3% of Turkish students were divided into Hauptschule and were destined that they cannot achieve high education such as university and pro university.

Level of Education Achieved	Total		Graduates							
			German				Immigrant			
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Without Graduation	75,897	7.9%	38,905	8.7%	22,426	5.3%	8,952	19.2%	5,614	12.7%
Grade 9	273,481	28.5%	137,633	30.8%	94,646	22.3%	22,356	48.0%	18,846	42.8%
Grade 10	481,845	49.6%	221,600	49.2%	226,276	52.9%	16,205	34.0%	17,764	39.7%
Grade 12	129,662	13.6%	64,937	14.7%	57,299	13.6%	3,840	8.0%	3,586	7.6%
Graduate 13 (University)	285,456	29.9%	123,409	28.0%	152,397	36.3%	4,285	8.9%	5,365	11.4%

Table 4.2.1 Educational Comparison between German and Immigrants, 2008
Source: Educational Report, Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung (2008)

Migration Background	Hauptschule	Realschule	Gesamtschule	Gymnasium
Natives	16.6%	38.6%	11.6%	33.2%
Total number of students with migration background	31.8%	29.7%	14.0%	24.6%
Turkish	48.3%	22.1%	17.0%	12.5%
Ethnic Germans from abroad	38.4%	33.6%	9.8%	18.2%

Other	20.5%	29.3%	15.5%	34.6%
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Table 4.2.2 Proportion of 15-year-old students, 2000

Source: Educational Report, Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung (2006)

According to some of the debates of “cultural distance” which claim that Turkish immigrants have difficulties and don’t want to get into university after graduation from senior high school, while the data indicates that this differentiation might come a little bit earlier. Around the age of 15, many students have already studied in different kinds of schools which lead to different academic future. Is there any institutional discrimination behind schools? To understand the logic behind it we must first have a clear view of complex German educational system. Figure 4.2.1 instructs the whole system of German low education before university. We can see that German education is divided into several different levels, by which students will have their first division after Grade 4 (some states will start the division after Grade 6) according to students’ transcript in primary school. There are basically four types of schools around the age of 10 after graduate from primary school. Gymnasium is the main choice for those who want to reach university since students from there are the majority who would could raise to Abitur (Upper-level gymnasium) whose graduate students are the only one who can get enrolled into university. Some students in Gesampt Schule could also have the opportunity to get enrolled into Abitur, but most of them will join Realschule students to raise into Fachabitur where they would get fulltime vocational training and get enrolled into professional universities and get a future career mainly in technical area. Finally, Hauptschule students, together with those dropped from Realschule, have to do halftime vocational apprenticeship in low technique works without much skill training and get their work earlier in some lower-income area. Though multi-track school system could provide a more effective distribution of educational resources according to students’ progress, it could also bring serious discrimination and inequality. Those who didn’t perform very well at the age of 10 would be put in the Hauptschule and Realschule and say goodbye to university and academic future however hard they try and no matter how well they might do in their future studies. Though in German educational systems students may have the chance to change school streams, they are in fact only allowed to do in downward direction. From Table 4.2.2 we can see that 48.2% Turkish students, almost half of total, had to go to Hauptschule and had to do low-skilled jobs and were isolated from higher education at the age around 10. The unbalanced institution makes institutional discrimination and inequality possible.

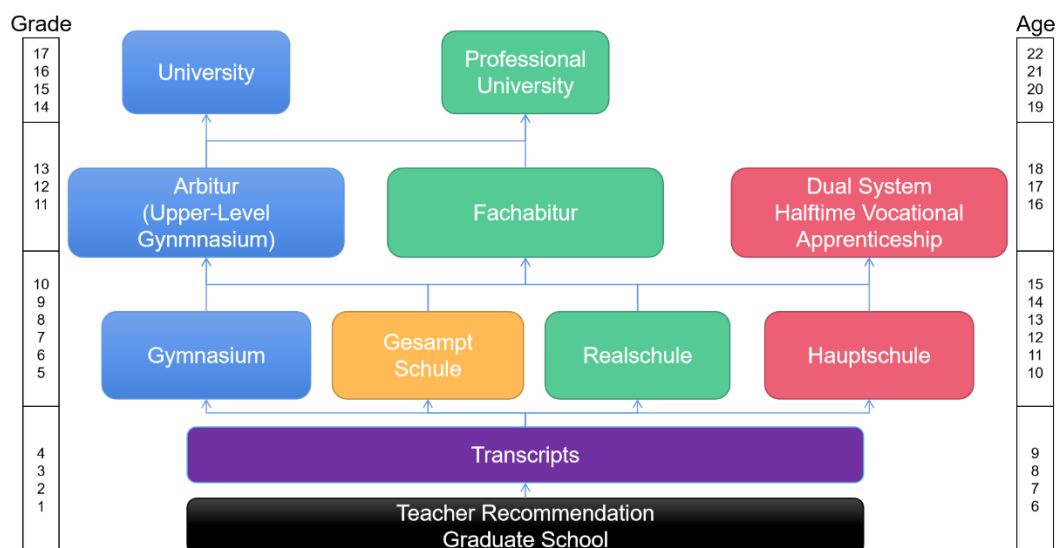


Figure 4.2.1 German Education System

Source: Fernandez-Kelly, 2012

Recommendation of which type of school students would go will be given by teachers at students' age of nine or ten based on very subjective evaluation rather than a precise standard and progress, which lead to possible stereotype towards races and immigrant background (Fernandez-Kelly, 2012). Inappropriate recommendation could result in lower possibility of higher education for immigrant students. In German educational system students are led to different tracks of education and future career at a very early age, and their future development are heavily affected by early differentiation. In fact, those students who were categorized into Hauptschule are usually considered as having "special needs" and "cognitive deficiencies" such as language barrier due to their immigrant background. There is a hidden discrimination towards immigrant family in education system and we could make the assumption that this is one of the most important reasons resulting in the lower education level of students with immigrant family background compared with natives. Early differentiation prevents a high proportion of Turkish immigrants from achieving higher education certificate and thus they have to gather in some labor-intensive industries which requires less education and skills rather than white collar and high technique jobs. The negative impact of inequality and discrimination are profound and long-term, not only economically but could also be culturally. The base of cultural assimilation of immigrants into main society is language, since language is the most important medium of communication, while many Turkish immigrants' community are in fact isolated from main society due to language barrier, which could also be regarded as the result of insufficient language education among immigrants.

4.3 Language proficiency – a result of education

Language is a very important factor when we are considering about both economic and cultural assimilation. Language proficiency is one of the most crucial factors in Human

Capital Theory as it is the basic skill immigrants need to start their occupation and usually the occupational advancement is positively correlated with language proficiency, as better the language proficiency is, easier an immigrant could find a job in labour market. Moreover, according to Spiral of Acculturation theory, immigrants would have four different stages during assimilation. In the pre-arrival stage immigrants from poorer countries with lower income would usually have over-estimated expectations towards new life, while on the second stage when arrival many of them would find the receiving country not as good as they expected and they have to experience a long period of adjustment, trying to get themselves adjust to the local cultural and society. The process could be long and exhausting, and this is the easiest time that immigrants might give up. Short-term immigrants or returning immigrants are those who fail to adjust to local cultural after one or two years of arrival and decide to move back to original countries. In the adjustment stage, language is the first barrier they must get through. Language is the base of assimilation as without native language immigrants couldn't neither get education to achieve occupational advancement nor communicate with natives and get culturally assimilated into main society.

German main society is usually not willing to include Turkish Muslims and other minority into its European concept. Though social workers and education tried to change the attitude towards immigrants and second generation, still patronizing and stereotype are common due to the common belief that Germany is not an immigration country. For instance, different policies and differentiation in educational system such as Auslanderpedagogik, the educational law towards foreigners in 1960s and 1970s, in which it claims that it is necessary to get immigrants prepared to go back to their original country. Some obvious differentiation policies require native students and immigrant students to study in different classes. The multicultural educational concept was not established until 1980 and it was until 1996 that Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) published the first document in order to instruct the courses focusing on multicultural education (Faas, 2007). However, most German schools still take the single language education, as they are regardless of the fact that kids speak different languages when they enter into schools. Obviously, many native teachers believe that immigrant's original languages are totally useless except helping kids learn need to know is whether learning German and learning Turkish in German faster. Lack of appropriate German language education and cultural adaptation for immigrant kids has become one of the main reasons for language barrier to prevent Turkish community from assimilation. Another debate is about the conflict between European traditional values and Islamic belief. Someone believe that with the start of second language education, there will be a shock from conservative Islamic belief towards traditional German social values. Afterall, there is not enough preparation about providing second language education, and also the policies towards immigrants could differ from state to state. In some states, Turkish language courses will be mandatory while in most other states it is not required. Until 1990s, there is still few methods to learn German language effectively for second generation (Crul, et al, 2003).

Bilingual environment and bilingual education are known as a good way to solve intercultural communication. While in fact, Turkish language, rather than German is

considered to be more important in Turkish community and even those third and fourth generation more tend to use Turkish in community. There are about 83% Turkish parents who are willing to speak Turkish rather than German at home (Fick, et al, 2014). What we the same time in childhood could bring negative impact to kids. There are a few related studies about relative impact between two languages and the results show that there might be a negative correlation between L1 and L2 languages, as those who speak Turkish at home might have a lower proficiency in German compared with natives (Ertanir, et al, 2018). This is quite reasonable since Turkish and German are two totally different languages which belong to two different language families, and they have few vocabularies and gramma in common. More focusing on one language will lead to an ignorance in another, since time and educational resources are limited. What we need to notice is that previous researches were based on data collected, while factors could be more complex, as the quality and quantity of language education is more important and it differs from family to family. For example, a Turkish immigrant family with parents with higher education might be more likely to realize the importance of bilingual education and are more willing to use German to communicate at home compared with lower income families. Also, in a family with parents with higher education, it will be easier for kids to develop the habit of reading, and related research shows that time of reading is positively related with German language proficiency, since in Germany most of publications are in German (Jäkel, et al, 2011). More are arguing that bilingual courses and education should be introduced not only in family but also in schools, since previous researches indicate that early daycare attendance is a very strong ratio of high-level language competence (Yazejian, et al, 2015). Most of Turkish kids mainly speak Turkish in their childhood and they will only start learning German when they enter into early daycare or schools. The reason of high Turkish reliance and low German learning motivation among Turkish immigrants could be due to the common tendency to preserve original languages in Turkish community (Extra, et al, 2010; Eversteijn-Kluijtmans, 2011). Turkish community is always more far away from native society even compared with other immigrant communities in Germany. Comparatively conservative and relatively isolated environment could be sourced from family structure, cultural and religion.

4.4 Turkish immigrant community – Isolated civil-society and discrimination

Turkish immigrants are different from other immigrant groups in Germany not only because of their large number, but also because of their comparative conservative society. Compared with other immigrant groups, Turkish immigrants tend to be more isolated in their own community and have less communication with natives and other groups. Stereotype and discrimination towards independent minority society makes Turkish immigrants one of the targets of right-wing nationalists and extreme groups in Germany in the recent years. There are many debates about why this kind of isolation exists and what is the reason behind it. Immigrants are mostly welcome when natives have declining birth rate and low death rate, as one of the results of decreasing fertility of natives, decreasing supply

of labour in labour market makes demand for immigrants increasing which makes immigrants easier to get assimilated. Limited number of low-skilled Turkish workers first entered into west Germany in order to fulfill the demand of cheap labour in post war reconstruction. Though those workers were supposed to finish work after two years and head back to Turkey, many of them, however, decided to stay and took their family members from Turkey to Germany. Massively increasing number of Turkish immigrants in 1960s were mainly brought from family gathering (Inglis, et al, 2009). Large number of females, olds and kids without any working skills, education and language proficiency entered into west Germany as family reunification with their husbands, sons and fathers who settled down in Germany after guestworker program. Usually low-skilled Turkish workers have a big family, as compared with natives who has 2.5-3.5 kids for each family, in Turkish community a typical immigrant family could consist of around 7 to 8 members (Phalet, et al, 2001). The population of Turkish immigrants increased rapidly not only due to high fertility, but also because of family reunification and import of Turkish spouses from Turkey (Fernandez-Kelly, 2012). In 2002 among all the residents in Germany who have Turkish background, only 17% were born in Germany, while more than 53% came to Germany through family unification, and another 30% as guestworkers (Goldberg, 2001). Turkish immigrants are usually living in more crowded and worse condition than others. Table 4.4.1 shows quality of households in west Germany in 1985, and from the data we can see that immigrants usually live in more crowded environment than natives, and Turkish immigrants live in the apartments more crowded than foreign immigrant's average standard. More crowded household means Turkish immigrants usually have a bigger family compared with other groups, and a bigger family usually could result in a more closed small society intendent from outside.

German Natives			Immigrants			
			All foreign origin		Turkish	
Year	1985	1998	1985	1998	1985	1998
No bathroom	2%	1%	15%	2%	21%	2%
No central heating	17%	5%	34%	16%	42%	22%
Crowding Index	1.16	1.29	0.86	0.95	0.77	0.89
Percentage feeling crowded	13%	16%	31%	33%	31%	39%
Feeling rent high	19%	20%	33%	32%	36%	41%
Rent as percentage in income	24%	29%	19%	27%	17%	26%

Table 4.4.1 Comparison between households of natives and immigrants in west Germany, 1985 and 1998

Source: GSOEP, Drever, et al, 2002

Crowding Index set 1 as standard, 1.16 means there is 16% extra space, and 0.86 means there is 14% of

demand, smaller the number is, more crowded the household will be

A bigger family with high fertility usually makes it easier to form a small community which could live independently from outside. Also, father-centered family makes family members, especially females and children difficult to get communication with others outside of family and community. From the beginning of immigrant inflow, Turkish communities appeared to be a certain extent of exclusivity and isolation. Family income mainly relies on father and other male adults, thus kids and females tend to spend more time at home and in a small community where social relation heavily relies on family ties, it will be more difficult to let outsiders take part in community. Turkish community is pushing outsiders away, but how about the reverse? Is native German society trying to accept Turkish immigrants?

According to multicultural and cultural hegemony model, whether immigrants could get successfully assimilated into main society does not only depend on immigrants, but also depends on the attitude of native society. Immigrants could only get assimilated when immigrants are willing to do so while native society also welcome them. In real world there are very few successful examples like that. For immigrating countries, the more common case will be that an open-minded society welcome immigrant from all over the world together with some immigrants which might not want to easily give up their traditional culture and the whole society becomes more multicultural, such as USA and Canada. A worse situation will be that immigrants want to get assimilated but native society doesn't want to change for immigrants, thus immigrants have to abandon their own tradition and get fully involved into main society. Most European countries such as Sweden are like this. Finally, the worst case will be that massive number of conservative immigrants rush into an exclusive society. Both sides refuse to negotiate and finally tear society apart. Unfortunately, Germany belongs to the last one.

For a long time in German main society there has been criticize towards Islam, as many believe that religion is the reason why Turkish immigrants cannot get assimilated into main society. Someone blame that Islamic values are too different from German culture especially upon opinions towards democracy, human right, feminism, equality and other sensitive social topics, and worry about the religious extremism and pan-Turkism (Ramm, 2010). However, the data might give another different vision. Figure 4.4.1 below is a comparison of Muslim structure in Germany among year 2008, 2015 and 2019. From the figure we can see that percentage of Turkish in Muslims is in fact decreasing rapidly. There are many religious organizations in Turkish community closely related to Islam, such as Turkish-Islamic Union of the Directorate for Religious Affairs (DITIB) who is trying to maintain the loyalty of German-Turks to Turkey without offence towards official relationship between two governments, Islamic Community Milli Gorus (IGMG) which is part of Islamic Council to deal with network of Turkish Muslims in Europe and other different small departments and organizations (Oner, 2014). However, those organizations are quite small and also have different targets. Though with common goals, they are still highly fragmented and polarized, which means they are usually not effectively work together (Oner, 2014). Many European tourists will feel surprised when they travel to Turkey, as the Turkish they see in Turkish

republic are usually more modernized, westernized and secularized than Turkish communities in Europe, because Turkish immigrants in Europe are usually low-skilled workers with lower education with less influence.

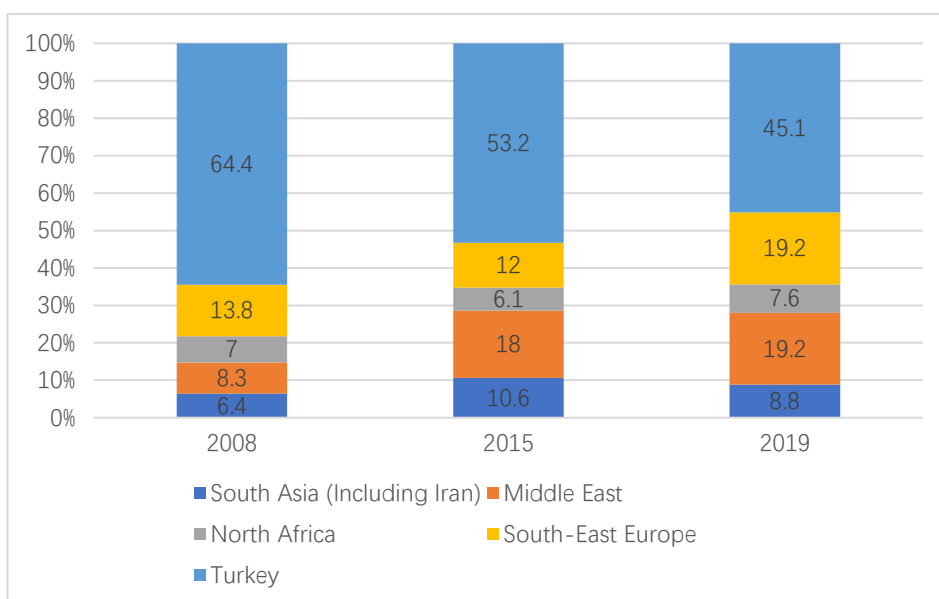


Figure 4.4.1 Percentage of Muslims by region of origin in 2008, 2015 and 2020 in Germany

Source: Extrapolations of the Research Centre Migration, Integration and Asylum of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees for 2008, 2015 and 2019

For native society it is the same. For a long time, German citizenship policies refused to let immigrants take part of any political community, which led to less formal opportunities and forced immigrants to form civil society (Oner, 2014). In fact, there are always voices claiming that Germany is not an immigrating country. In 2006 there was a social test in Baden-Württemberg made by public authority aiming at Muslim residents in order to try to understand their opinions towards German constitute and western values. The social tests soon turned into debates and conflicts, since political and public opinions towards Turkish immigrants soon became negative. Public kept simplified and reshaped image of Turkish communities, blaming their different lifestyle such as occasional patriarchal violence (forced marriages or honorable murder for example) and educational shortcoming on their Islamic belief (Ramm, 2010). Maybe Turkish-German is not that much difficult, but public is trying to make it Islamized. Just as in the educational system many Turkish-German kids are thrown into Hauptschule and lose their chance to get into university in the future merely because they are foreign immigrants and are believed to be some kind of different, disadvantaged than other natives and need special care and help (Fernandez-Kelly, 2015). The unsuccessful assimilation and poverty of Turkish community is a complex socio-economic issue, but the public just put rough stereotype upon it and set institutional discrimination to hide all the trouble.

5 Empirical Survey – Samples, Interview and Results

From the theories and review of Turkish immigrants' current situation what can we get? Education, occupation, language proficiency and cultural assimilation are the most important factors and also easier to collect. From the current data there are several previous researches about immigrants from Turkey, but when we want to know some more details about immigrants' cultural characteristics such as religion, family background and genetic relation, it becomes more difficult to track. Thus, we need to find an appropriate way to select data in order to find reliable source for our analysis.

5.1 Empirical Survey and Design

Due to the privacy policy, in Germany religion wouldn't be recorded when doing the residential registration, and also ethnics are skipped to avoid racism and discrimination. In German socio-economic panel (SOEP) database there are economic data of occupational income, educational level and working experience closely related to human capital, but for assimilation in SOEP there is not enough data to make a complete model analysis. Ethnic and religion are important factors for us since we need to see whether immigrants with different ethnic and religious background got same opportunities and occupational advancement in German society. Surname track could be a good way to filter Turkish-German but it will take a long time to establish a Turkish first-name database and besides, many second-generation Turkish-German changed their names into German in order to avoid being discriminated, which made name track not precisely accurate. Moreover, SOEP is more based on macroeconomic vision and data is not available for the latest time period. There are some related researches based on SOEP data in 2010s, but what we want to know is whether they still maintain in the same situation since after 2000 immigrant policy in Germany has changed a lot, and we need to study is long-term impact. Thus, in this paper we decide to use a new way to collect data instead of present data from SOEP. It might be necessary for us to make a survey among group of respondents to get some basic conclusions in order to provide ideas for deeper analysis so we can only focus on the factors we care about according to the theories we discussed in the previous part, especially ethnicity and religion. Social survey is a very common way to collect some original data directly related to the research questions and we need to make sure that the samples and respondents we choose are representative, comprehensive and significant. The author will send questionnaire to as many respondents as possible by email through author's own social relation in Germany. Respondents include only second and third generation Turkish-German who were born in Germany. Gender will be taken into consideration to see the impact of gender equality in different culture. To make the comparison, we will make survey to equal number of respondents from both Turkish immigrant community and natives. The questions are related to education, skills and occupation, income, language proficiency, religion and gender. We try to get as many factors as we can related with human capital

and cultural assimilation to see whether they are really the key factors which affect the Turkish immigrant's economic status. Survey is based on the model shown as bellow to test whether our assumptions are correct. All the surveys were written in German with Turkish translation.

The final questionnaire is showed as in Appendix 1. All the questions are set based on human capital theory, cultural assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory. What we care most is the impact of educational background, gender, religion, occupation and ethnicity towards economic output. We need to get as much information as possible in order to support out descriptive quantitative analysis. The questionnaire is written in both German and Turkish which includes:

1) What gender are you? Male or Female?

The first question is asking respondents whether he/she is a female or male. This is to measure the impact of gender towards occupational advancement. Gender is also an important factor in human capital and we want to test whether Islam belief really brings less occupational participation for females.

2) What kind of education do you have? Senior high and below or university and above?

Second question is whether the respondent reaches the high education. This is measuring the education level of respondent to see how does education affect income. According to human capital theory and signaling model, a person should have more occupational advancement and income with higher education. Though we assume that Turkish might have less education compared with natives, still we want to see whether during the same level of education, Turkish got less income than natives. If yes, then we might say that Turkish-Germen suffer from

3) What kind of job are you doing? Blue-collar, skilled-technique workers, white collar or non-skilled?

The occupation of respondents is an important factor for us to measure the occupational advancement. Based on previous studies, we assume that Turkish-German gather in lower-technique jobs such as blue collar and non-skilled. Blue collar here refers to those who are doing basic work in places such as factories and construction sites, while non-skilled refers to those who are doing private business such as kebab restaurant, grocery stores or unemployed. White-collar is defined as those who are working in the office while skilled workers are those jobs which requires technical skills such as engineer and mechanic. Occupation is an important variable for income but it can also be an output for education. Higher-skilled occupations usually requires better educational background which brings better salary and income. To make it easier to quantify, we categorize occupations into four categories and set it as a categorical variable.

4) How is your language proficiency? Full proficiency, limited proficiency or low proficiency?

Language proficiency plays an important role in human capital. Good language proficiency is not only the base of occupational advancement, but could also make cultural assimilation

easier. The previous studies show that even second-generation Turkish-German got a low language proficiency. We still don't know whether language proficiency is really related with education since German language education was not very common and focused on in German education system before the 1990s, as what we have mentioned in the previous part. If there is no relation between education and language proficiency, then we might conclude that low language proficiency is common among Turkish-German immigrants no matter what kind of education they have.

5) What kind of religion do you believe in? Islam, atheism or others

Religion is what we need to consider about when studying cultural assimilation. According to stereotype, many Germans still believe that Muslims are more difficult to get involved into native society due to huge difference in social value, such as female status, education level and ethnicity, etc. We want to take a look at how much is the proportion of Muslims in Turkish-German community and whether becoming a Muslim really brings negative towards income. If not, then stereotype is totally unreasonable.

6) Are you Turkish-German immigrants or natives?

Ethnicity is what we want to know from empirical survey, and also the reason why we collect data by ourselves rather than using SOEP. We want to know whether a respondent's ethnic really matters in their occupation. This might be able to answer our questions whether Turkish-German earn less than natives, whether Turkish-German really gather in low-skilled jobs, whether Turkish-German community has worse gender equality, etc.

7) What is the range of your current wages? Above average (3975 Euro/month) or below?

We cannot ask for too much details about individual salary due to privacy protection, thus we can only set a range for the wages. Income is used as economic output of respondents, and we will use it as dependent variable of our model.

For the questionnaires, all the respondents are anonymous to protect privacy, but only those questionnaires whose questions are totally answered will be taken into count in order to guarantee data integrity. The questionnaires are only sent by email.

5.2 Data collection, bias response and limitation

We sent 153 surveys by email and got 133 replies. 67 are Turkish immigrants with 35 males (52.24%) and 32 females (47.76%) and 66 are natives with 40 males (66.7%) and 26 females (33.3%). For education, we set the categories of low education (senior high and below), and high education (bachelor and above). The results indicate that only 5 Turkish males (14.29%) got high education and for females, only 2 (6.25%) have received high education in universities or professional universities. For natives, 28 male respondents (70%) received high education certificates and for females, the number reaches to 17 (65.38%). For occupations, the categories are set as blue collar (factory and labour workers), skilled workers (technique workers), white collar (office workers) and non-skilled (unemployed or self-employed

business). From the results we can see that for Turkish males, 12 respondents (34.29%) are blue collar, 3 respondents (8.57%) are doing technical works, together with 5 white collar (14.29%) and 15 non-skilled (42.86%). For Turkish females, the numbers reach to 1 blue collar (3.13%), 0 skilled worker (0%), 6 office workers (18.75%) and 25 non-skilled (78.13%). For native males, 12 respondents (30%) are blue collar, 10 respondents (25%) are working in the office, 16 respondents (40%) are technical skilled workers, and only 2 respondents (5%) are non-skilled. For native females, 2 respondents (7.7%) are blue collar, 14 respondents (53.85%) are working in the office, 1 respondent (3.85%) is technical worker and 9 respondents (34.62%) are non-skilled. For average salary, according to Statista, in 2021 the average gross annual salary in Germany was 47,700 Euros per year, or 3975 Euros per month. Thus, we set the barrier of 3975 Euros and find out that for Turkish males only 12 respondents (34.29%) are above the average, while for Turkish females the number drops to 7 (21.88%). For Natives, 32 male respondents (80%) reach to the average while 16 female respondents (61.54%) also get over the average. For language proficiency, among all 67 Turkish immigrants about 11 (16.42%) are with no or little German language proficiency, including 3 males (8.57%) and 8 females (25%), and 43 (64.18%) got limited but not full proficiency, including 22 males (62.86%) and 21 females (65.63%), and finally only 13 respondents (19.40%) claim to have native proficiency, including 10 males (28.57%) and 3 females (9.38%). For religions, among Turkish immigrant respondents only 3 of them are non-Muslim and all of them are males. Among natives, religions are becoming more diversity with catholic, protestant, Buddhism, etc., but the biggest group is still atheism with 27 native respondents (40.91%) don't believe in any religion. We make tables and figures to instruct some most important results we get from the surveys, including education, occupation, income and language proficiency to make a clearer view of summary.

Respondent		Natives				Turkish Immigrants			
		Male		Female		Male		Female	
		Num	Perc	Num	Perc	Num	Perc	Num	Perc
Education	Senior and below	12	30%	9	34.62%	30	85.71%	30	93.75%
	University and above	28	70%	17	65.38%	5	14.29%	2	6.25%
Occupation	Blue-collar	12	30%	2	7.7%	12	34.29%	1	3.13%
	Skilled	16	40%	1	3.85%	3	8.57%	0	0%
	White-collar	10	25%	14	53.85%	5	14.29%	6	18.75%
	Non-skilled	2	5%	9	34.62%	15	42.86%	25	78.13%
Income	Above average	32	80%	16	61.54%	12	34.29%	7	21.88%
	Below average	8	20%	10	38.46%	23	65.71%	25	78.12%
Language Proficiency	Low	-	-	-	-	3	8.57%	8	25%
	Limited	-	-	-	-	22	62.86%	21	65.63%
	Full	-	-	-	-	10	28.57%	3	9.38%
Religion	Muslim	0	0%	0	0%	32	91.43%	32	100%
	Non-Muslim	40	100%	26	100%	3	8.57%	0	0%

Table 5.2.1: Results of survey

Whether results of a survey are reliable depends on many factors including the choice of samples, filtering of data, variations, statistical caliber, etc. Change in any one of the factors could all lead to the change of representativeness, comprehensiveness and significance of results. Thus, the results of this survey are just for reference for the further precise analysis based on previous related studies. From the figures we can see that Turkish immigrants do have a great disadvantage in education, career and income. Both Turkish males and females have lower educational level and they work mostly in low skilled and blue-collar jobs which require less educational background but usually also bring less salary. We need to notice that females suffer a huge advantage in Turkish immigrant community compared with natives. Native females got similar status in education, salary, occupation compared with native males, which means gender equality is doing quite well among natives, while for Turkish immigrants, females appear to have extremely low education and perform far much worse than males in career and salary, especially for career we can see Turkish females gather in non-skilled and unemployed, which refers to the cruel fact that Turkish females suffer serious gender inequality. An assumption could be made that gender inequality is brought by conservative religion since Turkish immigrant respondents got high percentage of Islamic belief. While for language proficiency, though compared with natives, respondents with immigrant background would definitely suffer from language barrier and inconvenience, but we are still not sure how large the negative impact is. For cultural assimilation factors such as religion and language proficiency, it is better to make more comparison analysis between Turkish immigrants and other immigrant group such as Polish, Greek and Yugoslavians, though in the survey due to limited number of respondents we were not able to further subdivide the samples.

There are also some bias and limitation about the data we collected which might affect the representativeness, comprehensiveness and significance of results. First, the respondents we find are basically based on author's own social relation and might not be fully random. The author first sent the questionnaire to both Turkish-German and natives who he knows, then those respondents would send the questionnaire further to their friends or family, which might get similar background as them. For example, the primary native respondents are more likely to be university students and office workers who got similar education and occupation as author while the next respondents they find have high possibility to be similar to them as well. Thus, to prevent respondent selection from being too concentrated, we have to collect as many respondents as possible who don't know each other at the first round to increase diversity and also find respondents with different background from the beginning. The second bias is data continuity. Many choices could have been more detailed, such as for income, below average and above average is a very rough classification. It could be better if we can add more choices smaller range to make a more detailed classification so when we are running regression model, we can get a better fit model. Religion is rough classified as Islam and other because we only want to discuss how is the impact of Islamic religion in assimilation. If we study other immigrants such as Greek and Spanish in the future, then we need to add more religion in the variable. The respondents geographically locate mainly in Berlin rather than evenly distributed in Germany, but since Berlin is the capital city

and also the biggest city in Germany with complete occupational labour market, human capital factors could still be representative.

5.3 Models and Results

We set an OLS model to see the relation between economic outcome and other factors we take into count according to human capital theory, cultural assimilation and segmented assimilation theory. We need to notice that due to bias and limitation of data we collected, the regression model might not have a good fit, thus the result of regression will just be a reference for our paper and will be used together with further descriptive quantitative analysis based on the data we got from empirical survey.

$$Y_{income} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{education} + \beta_2 X_{occupation} + \beta_3 X_{gender} + \beta_4 X_{language\ proficiency} + \beta_5 X_{religion} + \beta_6 X_{immigrant} + \varepsilon$$

We choose income as dependent variable to measure the economic output of respondents. Education is one of the most important factors we use by human capital theory together with language proficiency. We set gender as an independent variable to see how much does cultural impact gender equality among both groups. Religion is closely related to cultural assimilation and finally, dummy independent variable is set to divide natives and Turkish immigrants to make a comparison analysis. The variables are set as Table 5.3.1.

Variable Name	Type	Variable Explanation
education	categorical	Reports the educational level 1: Senior high and below 2: Bachelor and above
occupation	categorical	1: blue collar-factory and labour workers 2: skilled-technique workers 3: white collar- office workers 4: non-skilled- unemployed or self-employed business
gender	dummy	0: female 1: male
Language proficiency	categorical	1: low proficiency 2: limited proficiency 3: full proficiency
religion	dummy	0: none Muslim 1: Muslim
immigrant	dummy	0: natives 1: Turkish immigrants
income	dummy	Monthly average income is 3975 Euro in Germany

		1: below average 2: above average
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Table 5.3.1: Independent and dependent variables

We input all the data into STATA and set three models to test. In Model A we will test all the 133 observations with variables of education, occupation, religion, immigrant and gender. We will drop language proficiency in Model A since all the natives can speak with full proficiency. In Model B we will test only Turkish immigrants with variables of education, occupation, language proficiency, religion and gender. Dummy variable of immigrant will be dropped because all 67 observations are immigrants. Finally, in Model C we only test natives with variables of education, occupation and gender. Language is dropped because everyone is native speak. Religion and immigrants dropped because all the 66 observations are natives and non-Muslims. We get the result as what Table 5.3.2 shows.

Variables	Model A	Model B	Model C
Dependent Variable: Income			
Education=2: Bachelor and above	0.114	-0.304*	0.326**
Occupation=2: skilled	0.512***	0.187	0.312**
Occupation=3: White-collar	0.518***	0.509***	0.357**
Occupation=4: non- skilled	-0.405***	-0.344***	-0.296***
Language=2: limited	-	0.008	-
Language=3: full	-	0.508***	-
Religion=1: Muslim	0.173	0.116	-
Immigrant=1: Turkish	-0.142	-	-
Gender=1: Male	0.011	-0.053	0.096
Constant	1.376***	1.242***	1.277***
Observations	133	67	66
Adjusted R-Squared	0.798	0.800	0.762
R-Square	0.809	0.825	0.742
***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1			

Table 5.3.2: Results of regression

We can have a brief review at the result we get from STATA. We can see that education plays different roles in different groups. For natives, higher education results in higher income, while for Turkish immigrants, the impact of education could be negative, which means that not all the Turkish university-graduates benefit from their educational background. Language proficiency plays a very important role in economic assimilation, as those who speak German with full proficiency have significant better income compared with others. Religion isn't negative towards income. Also, there is no evidence to prove that in Turkish community females earn exact less than males. In fact, it seems that among German natives becoming a male is more advantageable. Finally, being an immigrant has negative

impact towards respondents' income, but still the impact is not as much as occupations.

There are many limitations of regression came from bias and limitation of data we collected. During data collecting, due to privacy, we didn't ask respondents about the exact monthly or yearly salary, instead we just ask for a very vague range, thus we cannot get a continuous data to make the model fit better with higher coefficient. As we can see some of the coefficient results got very low confidence level and also adjusted R-square is not perfect. An exact number could be more applicable, or at least more detailed categories such as 1000-2000 Euro, 2000-3000 Euro, 3000-3950 Euro, etc. Second, respondents were mainly collected from our own social relations such as families, friends and neighbors, thus sampling might don't have enough randomness. Some might have collinearity problem. For example, those who got better education and language proficiency usually also have better occupational advancement. Fortunately, with vif test we find that collinearity is controlled in a small range. Third, some variables are not detailed enough, such as for education senior high and below, it could have been more divided into gymnasium, gesamt schule, realschule and hauptschule to see how many Turkish-German respondents suffered from unreasonable institutional discrimination in education. Finally, language proficiency is a very subjective evaluation based on how much proficient the respondents believe themselves are. Many might get a wrong self-judgement, thus decrease the accuracy of the model.

6 Analysis and Discussion

A linear regression model provides us correlation between economic outcome and some factors of human capital and cultural assimilation which we discussed in the previous part. However, due to limited number of respondents, the regression model might cannot provide a perfectly strong quantitative support to our analysis. Thus, in the discussion part we will use both descriptive quantitative methods and results from regression model to explain the reason of difficult assimilation of Turkish-German.

6.1 Education and Occupation: the reason of difference?

According to human capital theory, education is one of the most important human capitals with signaling effect, workers with higher education would get a better job with higher salary since the employers judge a worker, especially a graduate student's ability mainly based on his educational background and working experience. According to the previous reading we assume that Turkish-German suffer a lower average education level due to institutional discrimination, and from our data it seems also applicable. From Figure 6.1.1 we can see that Turkish-German respondents got obvious lower education than native respondents. 85.71% male respondents haven't received high education while females are even worse. But the difference between male and female are not very obvious for both

groups. As we can see the education of males and females among Turkish-German are very similar, as both of them suffer from low education. For natives, both genders seem to have equal chance to get into universities. There is not very much difference in gender, but more related with ethnicity.

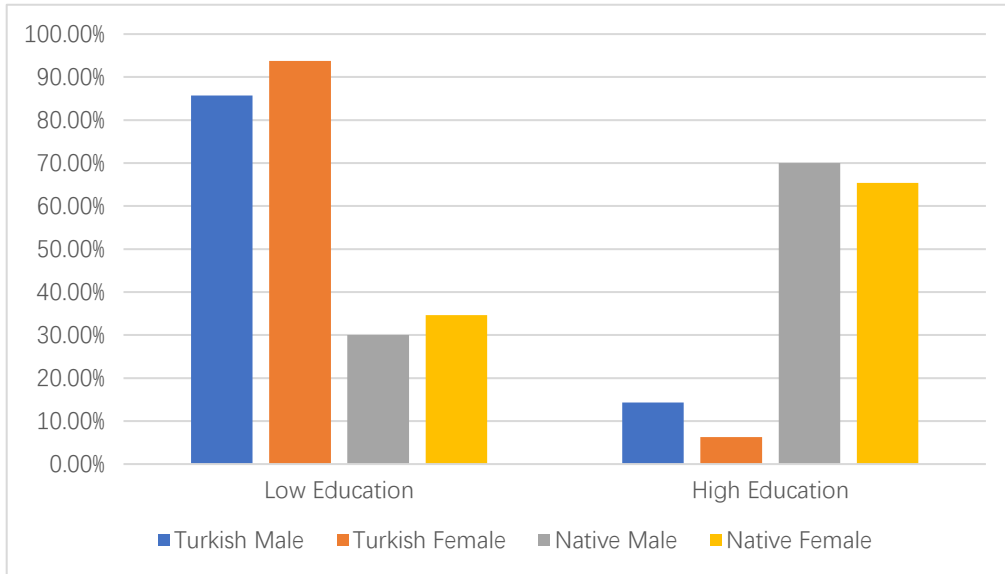


Figure 6.1.1 Education Distribution for Turkish immigrants and Natives

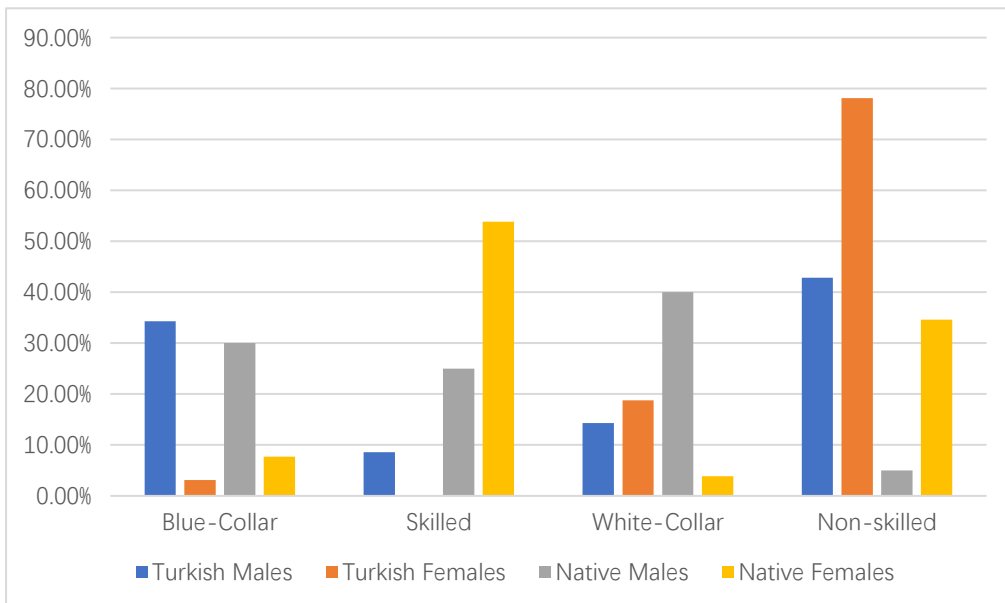


Figure 6.1.2 Occupation Distribution for Turkish immigrants and Natives

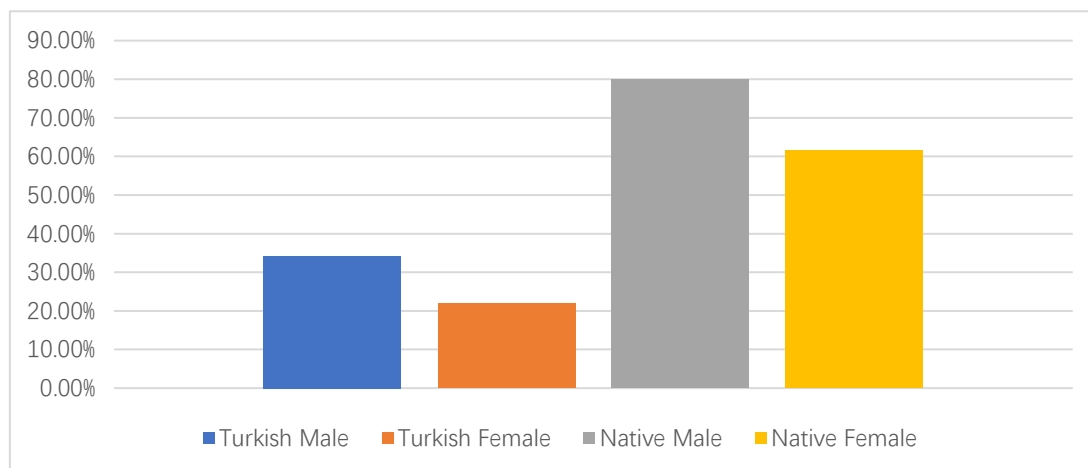


Figure 6.1.3 Percentage of Respondents income above average

Education affects the economic outcome in both occupational background and income. Better jobs such as office workers and technical workers would earn better salary and get better income because those jobs ask for higher educational and skill requirements which leads to less training cost. From Figure 6.1.2, the data we collected also shows similar conclusion as what previous studies show. Turkish immigrants mostly gather in blue collar and non-skilled jobs. Especially for non-skilled jobs, Turkish males are extremely more than native males. In skilled and office work area, native males got more participation than Turkish males. While for females, the difference is even more significant. Though native females also participate in non-skilled jobs such as house wives, still we can see that 78.13% of Turkish females gather in non-skilled jobs, while for native females still more than half are doing skilled jobs such as school teachers, librarians and secretaries. The reason might be due to Turkish females' lower education standard and gender inequality in Turkish society. As we can see the education standard of both Turkish males and females are similar, while Turkish females seem to have worse occupational advancement. From Figure 6.1.3 we can also see that Turkish females got lower income than Turkish males, while the inequality exists on both sides, as native males also got advantage in salary compared with native females. What we need to know is how much impact the education has towards income among groups. Do the same education level lead to same occupational advancement for both natives and Turkish-German? Are there any factors besides education in occupational involvement which we might haven't take into consideration? We want to know that among those who earn more than average, how many of them have high-education background and what kind of jobs are they doing to see what is the correlation among them.



Figure 6.1.4 Percentage of Education and Occupation in higher income

From Figure 6.1.4 we can see that there is a positive correlation between education and income in most respondent groups. For example, higher education leads to more income for both Turkish-German and natives, while the impact of education seems to be more significant for natives, as 87.5% higher-income are occupied by high-education respondents, while for Turkish only 41.67% higher-income are occupied by high-education respondents. For Turkish males, even with low education, there is still a chance to get income above average, thus the impact of education is smaller than the one towards natives. For females it is even more significant. For Turkish females, 71.43% low educated respondents are still able to get higher income, while for native females all the higher-income respondents are high-educated. The impact of education is more significant towards natives than Turkish. For occupation, among higher-income respondents there are more working as blue-collar and office workers while for native males there are more skilled workers. While for higher-income females, there is not much differences between Turkish and natives, as white collar tends to occupy the majority of higher-income among both groups.

Why is education more important for native males than Turkish males? One possible explanation is because of occupational diversity. For German males, the higher-income occupation is simpler. Almost half of higher income respondents work as skilled and technical workers in high-tech manufacturer, which requires more professional skill training, while for Turkish males there are more blue-collar workers with lower education who can also achieve higher salary. Civil society creates many internal economic circles where immigrants can live with independent income without much rely on external economy. Among blue-collar workers it is easier to form a sense of belonging to make workers feel they belong to this group, and social relation is more common for them to introduce those they know or from the same community to find a job. Or we can say that compared with natives who rely on educational background to apply for jobs, in civil society immigrants got more different methods to earn income. It is not rare for immigrants to create an internal economic environment and start their occupation based more on social relation and family rather than ordinary educational background (Zihnioğlu, 2019), or we can say that for Turkish-German the occupational participation could be more diverse and independent

from main society. On the other hand, from the employers' side, unfair competition in job searching could also exist. It is not rare for applicants with foreign background, for example, foreign names, got eliminated during the CV check and usually local companies are more willing to hire natives than foreigners (Sá, 2011). Some are due to the worry that applicants with foreign background could not get involved into local culture, while stereotype towards immigrants still exists, especially in conservative countries like Germany and Nordic countries. Unfairness towards immigrants can also make immigrants less interested in going for better education to compete with natives but rather stay in their own circle and use family and social resources to find jobs. Immigrants, especially vulnerable groups with less advantages like to hold together, which makes them more independent from main economy and stay in civil society.

What we need to pay attention is that according to the regression results we got from STATA, from Table 5.3.2 we can see that coefficient of education for Turkish immigrants is even negative, which means that education in fact plays a negative role in economic outcome. Though it might be because that among the respondents of empirical survey for Turkish immigrants there are far much more low-educated respondents than high-educated ones, but still, we can see that for Turkish immigrants, education itself is not as important as natives. Human capital theory does not apply on Turkish immigrants very much and less benefits brought by education can also lead to less motivation for better education for Turkish immigrants. However, education could still be related with another important part of human capital - language proficiency.

6.2 Language proficiency

Language proficiency is another important part of human capital especially when we are studying immigrant assimilation. Language is the base of working ability in labour market and language proficiency is positively related to economic outcome. According to the results we got from regression, as instructed in Table 5.3.2, the coefficient of limited proficiency is close to 0 while coefficient of full proficiency is 0.508, which means that full language proficiency plays an important role in economic outcome. From Figure 6.2.1 we can see that among our respondents, in total still Turkish-immigrants got majority of limited language proficiency in community. Also, females got lower language proficiency than males. The reason could be because female respondents got high proportion of non-skilled jobs such as housewives and private business which rely more on family and civil society. Also, different occupations require different language ability. For example, for non-skilled and blue-collar, simple labour works could be done without high language ability, meanwhile for skilled jobs such as technical workers and office workers, high language proficiency is usually required for most of positions. It is important for us to find the correlation between occupation and language proficiency.

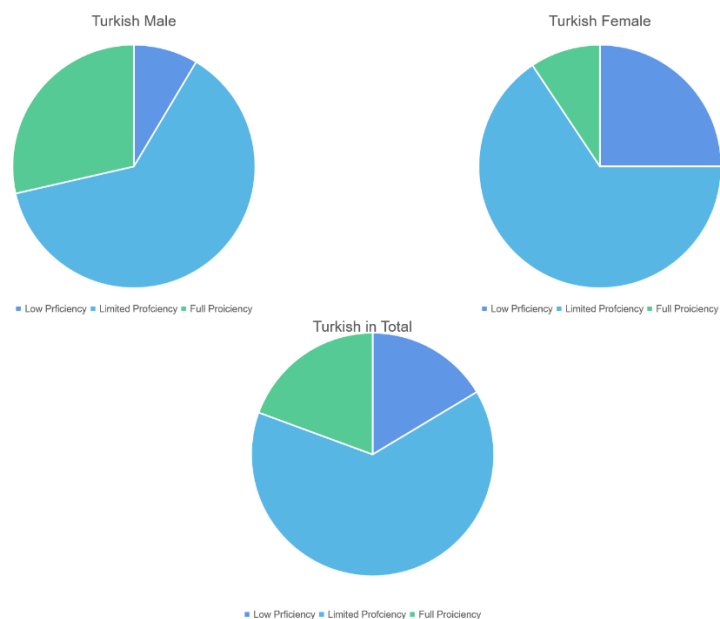


Figure 6.2.1 Language proficiency of Turkish immigrants

	Turkish male			Turkish female		
Language proficiency	Low	Limited	High	Low	Limited	High
Non skilled	20%	80%	0%	32%	68%	0%
Blue-Collar	0%	83.33%	16.67%	0%	100%	0%
Skilled	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
White-collar	0%	0%	100%	0%	50%	50%

Table 6.2.1 Impact of Language proficiency towards occupation

From Table 6.2.1 we can clearly have a review of the impact of language proficiency towards occupation. As we can see, almost all the high paid jobs such as white-collar and skilled require high language proficiency while respondents with limited and low language ability are mostly gathered in blue-collar and non-skilled jobs. Thus, from the data we confirm the assumption that language proficiency does significantly positive related with occupational advancement. From results of regression, we can see that coefficient of white-collar job, which requires highest language proficiency, is 0.509, which means that becoming a white-collar could more likely improve economic outcome for Turkish immigrants. But now there comes another question: what is the reason that Turkish-German suffer from lower language proficiency? According to the previous studies, we know that there are unfair opportunities for Turkish-immigrants to get into high education due to institutional discrimination from German educational system, and until 1990s Germany still hasn't established a complete language teaching system as they were supposed to leave after 2 years of labour contract. What we can assume now is that if language teaching is effective, then higher the education background a respondent has, better language proficiency he will

get. According to the empirical survey, Turkish immigrants were not successfully assimilated into main society as many young second-generation respondents also don't have a full language proficiency, and also previous studies show that Turkish immigrants got lower language proficiency compared with many other immigrants' groups (Ali, et al, 2015). Thus, correlation between education level and language proficiency might bring us a clearer view to explain the reason of low language proficiency.

Language proficiency	Turkish male			Turkish female		
	Low	Limited	High	Low	Limited	High
Senior High and below	10%	73.33%	16.67%	26.67%	70%	3.33%
University and above	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%

Table 6.2.2 Impact of education towards language proficiency

The data from empirical survey shows that those with higher educational background got significant better language proficiency and would be easier to get a job as office worker. Thus, what we can see is that after the reform of education system in 1990s in German, the language teaching system has in fact started working. Higher language proficiency is also a basic requirement for students to get accepted by universities. Thus, education might not be as important for Turkish immigrants as for natives in job searching, but affects economic outcome through language proficiency. More language teaching is beneficial for immigrants to get more participated into labour market and also more assimilated into local culture with more communication among different communities.

6.3 Religion and gender equality

There are always debates about how much impact does religion have towards assimilation. Religion could affect assimilation through social value, identification and life habits. Different religion could lead to different social value, different self-identification and makes immigrants feel themselves more different from main society and then more tend to stay with their own and form civil society. It is quite difficult to make an appropriate model to measure the impact of religion because many impacts are quite difficult to quantify. For example, self-identification is a very fuzzy definition, as many second-generation definite themselves as German natives but still couldn't be regarded as part of native community due to their limited language proficiency. Social value is mainly related with attitudes towards family, occupation and new different culture, while how to quantify those factors are still under consideration. Turkish-German got an extremely high proportion of Muslim population while among native Germans proportion of Muslims is very low, except those who get married with Muslims and have to convert into Islam. Huge gap of social value between Muslim and native culture, mostly Christianity, is assumed to be the reason of

difficult cultural assimilation and civil society (Croucher, 2013), but there is no data to support that. For the regression model we are using here, since almost all the Turkish respondents are Muslims and none of the natives believe in Islam, coefficient of religion could be regarded as the same as ethnicity. As we can see from results of Model A, both coefficients of ethnicity and religion are close to 0. There are only 3 among Turkish respondents who are not Muslims and they do work in better occupation and earn higher than the average, but the number of samples is not enough to support a significant conclusion. There might be some impact from religion, but as not important as language and occupation in our model.

Another argument is about gender inequality. We assumed that under Islamic culture women have lower social status and might suffer from worse occupational advancement and less educational opportunity (Charrad, 2009). According to the results of regression model B and C as shown in Table 5.3.2 we can see that coefficient of gender as a male is closely equal to 0 for both Turkish and natives, which means that gender is not that much important for both sides. If we look back to the results we get from empirical survey, as Table 5.2.1 shows, we can see that among low-educated respondents, among Turkish respondents, female only got 8.04% higher than males, while for natives, females also got 4.62% higher than males. For income, among Turkish, females got 18.46% more proportion of lower income than males, while for natives, the number is also around 12.41%. It seems that for both Turkish and German the gap between gender exists and the difference is not that much. In fact, we can find some theoretical support for this finding. There are some studies about gender inequality in Europe which show that though feminism is improving occupational advancement of females, still in Europe there is gender segregation in the labour market, and females still suffer from certain unfair in salary and occupational positions (Aisenbrey, et al, 2008; Kleinert, et al, 2023). Gender inequality is common in the modern world even in western society, and Turkish females suffer from low income, worse education background and occupational advancement might not because of gender inequality, but because their ethnicity, as both Turkish males and females facing the same problem. It is unfair to blame Turkish females' predicament merely on religion.

7 Conclusion

Immigrant assimilation studies of this paper is related to both economic and cultural assimilation. We had a review of previous studies, using human capital theory, cultural assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory to connect assimilation with economic outcome, education, language proficiency, occupation and the impact of religion towards civil society and gender inequality. Low income and low education were brought by historical reasons while from the results we find out that even until today, second-generation seems to be still unsuccessfully assimilated into local society. The social problems in Turkish community 20 years ago remains until today. Educational system has changed a lot since 1990s in order to provide Turkish-German a better education for

occupational advancement, but still the unfairness and institutional discrimination in German educational system exists. Also, civil society makes second-generation more rely on family social relation rather than merely education, and this might be the reason why Turkish-German tend to gather in the similar jobs. While on the other hand, less education leads to a lower language proficiency which makes it more difficult for Turkish-German to assimilate both economically and culturally. High language proficiency is usually required by many good jobs such as office workers and technical workers and also good language proficiency is the base of higher education. Both education and language could lead to a more segmented assimilation, where richer immigrants with higher education and better living standard tend to assimilate better into native society while the others go downward to another direction. Though there is still stereotype and certain discrimination towards immigrants' Islamic belief, our results however show that there is no significant evidence to prove that Islam is increasing gender inequality. In fact, gender inequality exists in both Turkish and native society, and it is unreasonable just blame everything on religion. Besides, the discrimination and stereotype could push them away from German self-identify to more Turkish self-identify, which increase the form of civil society. Multiculture will be difficult but society will turn into more segmented. This is a bad sign as more conflicts among different ethnics can be predicted. The unsuccessful assimilation of Turkish-German is not a result from single side, in fact it is more complex than we thought. Education has not played its dual role and what we need to realize is that second-generation can still make a living without much education, and this is the reason why they are economically independent from native society. Previous studies overestimated the impact of education, though they have pointed out that there was discrimination in German education system, but they haven't considered about the link between education, occupation and civil society. Also, academia focused very much on Turkish-German, but haven't paid enough attention to the influence from the native side.

If we take a look at some other immigrant group in modern EU, we can see that certain immigrant groups such as Arab and sub-Saharan African suffer from similar situation. What we can do is to get some experience from Turkish-German, as new immigrants who came into EU after 2008 may experience the same things Turkish-German did in the past 60 years, while the difference is that nowadays European society got fewer social resources such as welfare, education, medical insurance to share than before. Thus, we need to care more about assimilation in order to face the future challenge bringing by more immigrants with different cultural background. Further researches are necessary towards other immigrant groups such as Balkan, Greek, Latino and Asian so we can have a comparative analysis to find out what is special about Muslim immigrants since impact of religion is complex and affect economic outcome through different ways while it is also difficult to quantify. Such study and research could provide advices and references for public authority who can make timely adjustment of immigration policy to face new challenges.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Vielen Dank für Kooperation und Hilfe. Alle Fragebögen werden anonym sein. Bitte senden Sie sie vor dem 15. April 2023 per E-Mail zurück

İşbirliğiniz ve yardımınız için teşekkür ederiz. Tüm anketler isimsiz olacak ve lütfen 15 Nisan 2023 tarihinden önce e-posta ile geri gönderin.

Q1: Welches Geschlecht sind Sie? Männlich oder weiblich?

Cinsiyetiniz nedir? Erkek veya kadın?

- A. Männlich/Erkek B. Weiblich/Kadın

Q2: Welche Ausbildung haben Sie? Oberstufe und darunter oder Universität und höher?

Ne tür bir eğitimin var? Lise ve altı mı yoksa üniversite ve üstü mü?

- A. Oberstufe und darunter/Lise ve altı mı
B. Universität und höher/üniversite ve üzeri

Q3. Was für einen Job machen Sie? Arbeiter, Facharbeiter, Angestellte oder Laien?

Ne tür bir iş yapıyorsun? Mavi yakalı, vasıflı teknik işçiler, beyaz yakalı mı yoksa vasıfsız mı?

- A. Arbeiter/Mavi yakalı
B. Facharbeiter/vasıflı teknik işçiler
C. Angestellte/beyaz yakalı
D. Laien/yoksa vasıfsız

Q4. Dil yeterliliğiniz nasıl? Tam yeterlilik, sınırlı yeterlilik veya düşük yeterlilik?

(Sadece Türk katılımcılar için)

- A. Düşük yeterlilik
B. Sınırlı yeterlilik
C. Tam yeterlilik

Q5. An welche Art von Religion glauben Sie?

Ne tür bir dine inanıyorsun?

- A. Islam/ İslam
B. Atheismus/Ateizm
C. Andere/Diğerleri _____

Q6. Sind Sie türkisch-deutsche Einwanderer oder Einheimische?

Türk-Alman göçmeni misiniz yoksa yerli mi?

- A. Deutch/Almanca B. Türkisch/Türk

Q7. In welcher Spanne liegt Ihr aktuelles Gehalt? Über dem Durchschnitt (3975 Euro/Monat) oder darunter?

Şu anki maaş aralığınız nedir? Ortalamanın üzerinde (3975 Euro/ay) veya altında mı?

- A. Über dem Durchschnitt/ortalamanın üzerinde
- B. Unter dem Durchschnitt/ortalamanın altında

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