


Between Two Cultures: Multiculturalism and Voices of Children of Turkish Guest Workers on the Failed Project

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Abstract: This research explores German multiculturalism departing from the debate on failing to build a multicultural society. It demonstrates examples of lived experiences and voices of migrant children once objects become active subjects in breaking stereotypes and misconceptions. Multiculturalism in Germany is associated with immigration and non-European guest workers. Immigration and the “foreigner” problem started with the settlement of guest workers, who were invited as a need to fill the lack of labor force, in the West-Germany, after the Second World War. The request for a labor force did not intend to create immigrant communities with cultural differences to settle into the society. Thus, integration into German society became essential to prevent problems seemingly coming from migrant communities. “Leitkultur” [leading culture], embodying notions of monocultural German society and cultural identification of “Germanity,” influenced educational approach, recognition of diversity, and social equality towards immigrant children. Nevertheless, migrant children found ways to deal with multicultural issues and empower themselves to build a multicultural society in their understanding.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Turkish Migrants, German Education, Integration, Identity, Guest Workers

İki Kültür Arasında: Çok Kültürlülük ve Türk Misafir İşçi Çocuklarının Başarısız olan Projeye dair Görüşleri

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Öz: Bu çalışma Alman çokkültürlülüğünün çokkültürlü bir toplumun inşasında başarısız olduğu tartışmasına değinerek, bu sürece maruz kalan göçmen çocuklarının stereotipleri ve göçmenlere dair yanlış kanıları yıkmakta aktif özne haline gelmelerini yaşanmış deneyimler ve duruma dair görüşleri üzerinden incelemektedir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında, Batı Almanya'nın iş gücü eksikliği sebebiyle davet ettiği misafir işçilerin yerleşmesi ile göçmen ve yabancı sorunları başlamıştır. En baştan beri farklı kültürden gelen misafir işçilerin oluşturduğu bir göçmen topluluğunun yerleşmesi düşüncesi kabul görmemiştir. Bunun sonucu göçmen topluluklarından gelebilecek olası sorunların önlenmesi için entegrasyon ve çokkültürlülük politikaları önem arz etmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle eğitim üzerinden misafir işçilerinin çocukları Alman toplumuna adapte edilmeye çalışılmış, fakat pedagojik yaklaşım olarak çokkültürlülük unsurlarından farklı olarak Alman kültürü değerlerini temel alan Leitkultur [yöneten kültür] etkisinden uzaklaşamamıştır. Alman toplumundan izole ve ayrı bir şekilde iki kültür arasında kalan göçmen çocukları ise bu süreçte toplumda yer edinmenin yollarını aramakta olup çokkültürlü bir toplum oluşumu için aktif olarak faaliyetlerde bulunmaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çok kültürlülük, Türk Kökenli Göçmenler, Alman Eğitimi, Entegrasyon, Kimlik, Misafir İşçi

Introduction

Multiculturalism refers to the public acceptance of migrants and minority groups that are distinguishable in terms of language, culture, and social behavior from the majority of the population.¹ As a term first attested in the 1960s, multiculturalism is characterized by the “preservation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society, as state or nation.” Multicultural education, accepted as a synonym for multiculturalism, aims to recognize commonalities and differences between two or more

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¹ Stephen Castles, “Migration, Citizenship, and Education”, *Diversity and Citizenship Education*, ed. James A. Banks (San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass, 2004), 17-48.

cultures.² It features the notion that all students should have an equal opportunity to learn regardless of their ethnic, socio-cultural, and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, multicultural education should improve tolerance, respect, awareness, and acceptance of self and others in a multicultural environment.³

According to Muchowiecka⁴, multiculturalism varies in terms of the way it is encountered. She differs it as “state measures introduced to cope with diversity” and “lived experience of multiculturalism,” which are substantial changes in some Western countries resulting in more ethnic and cultural diversity. Muchowiecka claims that taking multiculturalism in a normative sense enabled conservative politicians to question it as a “crisis” or “failure.” In other words, the politicians doubted policies based on the philosophy of multiculturalism. This criticism focus on multiculturalism as “a state of being of diverse populations” against immigration and immigrants, particularly Muslims.⁵ Having said that, in 2010, the statement of German Chancellor Angela Merkel that Germany “utterly failed” to create a multicultural society can be considered in this context.⁶ Germany did not intend to become a multicultural society but inviting a labor force resulted in the immigration of diverse populations.

Following the aftermath of the Second World War, a need for a labor force made the European countries encounter labor immigration, bringing its challenges defined as multiculturalism. Germany, one of the destinations, mainly welcomed people from different European countries as guest workers. An exceptional agreement was made to accept “Gastarbeiter” [guest worker] from Turkey despite aiming to receive a labor force only within Europe.⁷ This bilateral agreement between Germany and Turkey (October 31, 1961) was an important milestone⁸ for both countries. However, the agreement did not aim to establish a settling ground for immigrant communities. Guest workers were expected to work for a short term. Even though some aimed for a long-term stay, conditions were prepared for the supposed return to their homeland. One of the visible features was how immigrants’ children were included in German schools.

German School System prepared the guestworkers’ children for a possible return to their country of origin.⁹ Nevertheless, the expectations were not met, and guest workers started to settle with their families. Germany faced an unpredicted obstacle, “Gastarbeiter und deren Kinder,” the integration of immigrants and their children into German society. Consequently, it developed its own integration system involving education, employment, and language.¹⁰ Since schooling is compulsory from the age of 6, the children of so-called “guest workers” started attending school in West Germany. It updated the pedagogy dealing with immigration issues of “needed but not wanted” people. The “foreigners” pedagogy (Auslaenderpaedagogik) was based on the idea of “otherness,” considering the migrants as a homogenous group of people.¹¹

Martin Sökefeld argues that the struggle started when Germany perceived immigrants as a “problem” rather than once called a “solution to a problem” such as a lack of labor supply. He continues that Germany did not seek for non-European guest workers. However, they reached an agreement under particular

² Georgeta Rață, “Bi-, Cross-, Inter-, Multi-, Pluri-, or Trans-Cultural Education?”, *Multicultural Education: From Theory to Practice*, ed. Hasan Arslan and Georgeta Rață (UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), pp. 7-8.

³ Hasan Arslan, “Multicultural Education: Approaches, Dimensions and Principles”, *Multicultural Education: From Theory to Practice*, ed. Hasan Arslan and Georgeta Rață (UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2013).

⁴ Laura Muchowiecka, “The End of Multiculturalism? Immigration and Integration in Germany and the United Kingdom”. *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse*, (2013) 5: 6, pp. 1-40. (Accessed, 8 October 2022).

⁵ Muchowiecka, “The End of Multiculturalism?”, 1-3.

⁶ *Spiegel*, “Merkel erklärt Multikulti für gescheitert” (16 October 2010), 1.

⁷ Martin Sökefeld, “Das Paradigma kultureller Differenz: Zur Forschung und Diskussion über Migranten aus der Türkei in Deutschland.”, *Jenseits des Paradigmas kultureller Differenz: Neue Perspektiven auf Einwanderer aus der Türkei. Kultur und soziale praxis*, ed. Martin Sökefeld (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2004), 9-34.

⁸ Faruk Sen “The Historical Situation of Turkish Migrants in Germany, *Immigrants & Minorities*”, (2003) 22:2-3, pp. 208-227.

⁹ Daniel Faas, “The Europeanisation of German ethnic identities: the case of German and Turkish students in two Stuttgart Secondary Schools”, *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 17/1 (June 2007), 45-62.

¹⁰ Marat Zufarovich Galiullin, Evgenievich Tumanin, V., Kimovich Kalimonov, I., Kimovich Kalimonov, I., Imbelevna Kamaletdinova, E. y Vasilievich Pokudov, Z., “The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Modern Germany”, *Propósitos y Representaciones*. 9, SPE2 (mar. 2021), pp. 1-7.

¹¹ Frauke Miera, “German Education Policy and the Challenge of Migration”, EUV Frankfurt (Oder) Paper prepared for the EMILIE project, (December 2007), pp.1-44.

conditions (e.g., no family unification) lifted in the following years. Nevertheless, German perceptions in politics, migration studies, and pedagogical approaches considered immigrants as a “problem” based on being from different cultures. The solution to this “problem” was the integration of immigrants to be able to control conflicts. This approach built a basis of “othering” and brought issues of integration/assimilation to German society.¹²

German multiculturalism policies aimed to solve the immigrants’ integration problem in this relation. Therefore, the integration of migrant children through multicultural education was linked with the aspects of “Leitkultur” [leading culture] [leading culture] rather than recognition of diverse populations. According to “Leitkultur” [leading culture], immigrants are expected to adapt to an existing culture based on German cultural values. Perceptions of homogeneity and “monoculturalism” in German society influence debates on cultural identity and “Germanity.”¹³ This “Leitkultur” [leading culture] approach applied to the education and integration of migrants caused separation and incapacitation.¹⁴ The immigrant children were placed in schools where the educational system targeting immigrant youth was in disorder. As a result, the immigrant children faced problems of intolerance, lack of awareness, recognition, and isolation at school and in society.¹⁵ The most disadvantaged groups were the children of Turkish immigrants.¹⁶ Most of them attending the least prestigious school Hauptschule, were not given a promising school career and would not be able to contribute positively to the economy and society.¹⁷

On October 16, 2010, the German Chancellor made a remarkable declaration accepting the crisis of Germany’s multicultural system.¹⁸ Merkel’s statement was based on the book published by Thilo Sarrazin, a former member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank. Sarrazin accused Muslim immigrants (majority of Turkish and Arab origins) of lowering the intelligence of German society. His anti-Muslim immigrant views triggered discussions of failed multicultural policies among European politicians.¹⁹ Merkel stated, in her speech to a meeting of young members of her Christian Democratic Union party (CDU), that the idea of people with different cultural backgrounds living well “side by side” did not work.²⁰ Her declaration emphasized that Germany failed to implement the “project of Multiculturalism.”²¹ As a public policy, multiculturalism had failed to give a promising school career and precondition for economic and social participation in Germany.²²

Departing from Chancellor Merkel’s statement “the failed multiculturalism project” mainly related to Turkish immigrants’ settlement, this study discusses multiculturalism, education, diversity, recognition, and social equality in Germany from the perspective of Turkish guest workers’ children. It draws from Stephen Castles’ definition of multiculturalism as a public policy and Martin Sökefeld’s discussion on the case of Turkish immigrants, cultural differences, and integration in Germany. In this way, it explores “failed” German multiculturalism in the scope of building a multicultural society and education. For insight, it refers to interviews of migrant children as a base of lived experiences of the objects of multiculturalism. Also, it demonstrates video contents of Datteltäter to reveal cases of migrant children shifting from passive to active roles in a multicultural society.

The paper argues that German multiculturalism is based on expectations of integration into German culture and values-based society, where migrants are subjects of “othering.” As a result, they are perceived

¹² Sökefeld, “Das Paradigma kultureller Differenz”, 11.

¹³ Wolfgang Mitter, “Educational Issues in the Multicultural Society of Germany” - In: Ray, Douglas [Hrsg.]; Poonwassie, Deo H. [Hrsg.]: *Education and Cultural Differences. New Perspectives*. (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1992), pp. 429-447.

¹⁴ Miera, “German Education Policy and the Challenge of Migration”.

¹⁵ Castles, “Migration, Citizenship, and Education”, 32-35.

¹⁶ Serhat Güney, Bülent Kabaş, and Fatih Çömlekçi, “A Place for Immigrants in the Ghetto: The Rise and Fall of the *NaunynRitze* Youth Centre”, *Space and Culture*, (2018) 22(4), pp. 1-18.

¹⁷ Güney et al., “A Place for Immigrants in the Ghetto: The Rise and Fall of the *NaunynRitze* Youth Centre”, 1-2.

¹⁸ Galiullin Zufarovich et.al, “The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Modern Germany”.

¹⁹ Muchowieka, “The End of Multiculturalism?”.

²⁰ *Guardian*, “Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed'” (17 October 2010), 1.

²¹ Molly Wolf, “Is Multiculturalism Really Dead?: A Closer Look at the Multiculturalism Debate within the Context of Berlin’s District of Kreuzberg” *Honors Projects* 67 (2011), 2-4. (Accessed, 9 June 2022).

²² Sigrid Luchtenberg, “Multicultural Education: Challenges and Responses”, *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education* 4/1 (2005), 31-55.

as “foreigners” rather than being recognized as a part of a diverse society. Nevertheless, the second generations, once objects of multicultural education, are becoming subjects and empowering migrant youth via media content production. They share their experiences and opinions on inequality, exclusion, and multiculturalism in Germany. In other words, they are active agents in making meaning of their lives, negotiating cultural identities, and ways of reconciling their immigrant parental culture with the culture of the society they live. Furthermore, they demonstrate the ways they engage in recognition of diversity and social equality by sharing their own experiences through creative content.

Firstly, this study refers to interviews performed in 2013 and 2015 for a study on multicultural education in Germany, for building a basis of lived experiences of Turkish second generations who felt not part of multiculturalism but found individual solutions to adapt to their circumstances. Secondly, it examines YouTube video content and comments concerning the interviews to demonstrate the shift of migrant youth becoming active agents in creating a multicultural society. The interview results include Turkish second and third generations’ views and experiences on multiculturalism, multicultural education, and lives in Germany. The YouTube video contents and comments belong to Datteltäter, a group of young Muslims from Berlin, an example of youth being active and empowering to break stereotypes and prejudices.²³ The usage of interviews and video content data reveals that lived experiences and problems of young migrant generations faced ten years ago or nowadays did not change dramatically. However, in the video content, through social media, they create a space to explain and share their experiences and express their understanding of multiculturalism and inclusion. Moreover, they negotiate and form their identities.²⁴

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with three female and two male university students aged 20~25, born into German society with Turkish backgrounds, and studied in different departments. Interviewees were introduced by acquaintances residing in Germany. The interviews were conducted between 2013 and 2015 by E-mail due to the distance. The questions were asked in English, yet answers were received in English and Turkish. Secondly, data for this study is obtained through YouTube videos produced by Datteltäter, a group of young Muslims from Berlin who aim to build ‘Satire-Kalifat’ on YouTube.²⁵ Datteltäter defines itself as;

“A team of diverse, incredibly good-looking, multi-religious, multi-ethnic creatives who strive to change the mainstream narratives surrounding Muslim and migrant communities. In short, we are YouTubers, a production company, workshop leaders, stage acts, and most recently, we founded a non-profit association.”²⁶

They aim to talk about their own experiences to inspire other Muslims and people with migrant backgrounds to fill the lack of Muslim voices in the media. Regarding Datteltäter’s chosen videos, the focus is on video content in which they talk about main issues such as “Leitkultur” [leading culture] [leading culture], multiculturalism, and people with a Turkish background. It is expected to contribute to the scholarship on young generations with an immigrant background becoming visible and active in pointing out problematic issues regarding multiculturalism, recognition, diversity, and identity in multicultural Germany.

1. Multiculturalism and its Dimensions

Multiculturalism is the preservation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society, as a state or nation, and/or the policy of maintaining a diversity of ethnic cultures within a community.²⁷ Another definition is that multiculturalism emphasizes protecting the rights of minority groups or immigrants to increase a sense of recognition and belonging in society. Its essential argument is that the practice and recognition of cultural traditions, language, and religion are vital to individual and

²³ Charlie Winter and Johanna Fürst, “Challenging Hate: Counter-speech Practices in Europe”, *ICSR* (2017), pp.1-44.

²⁴ Sonja de Leeuw and Ingegerd Rydin, “Migrant Children’s Digital Stories: Identity Formation And Self-Representation Through Media Production”, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, (2007) 10(4), pp. 317-326.

²⁵ Katharina Pfannkuch, “„Datteltäter“ – Ein deutsch-muslimisches Empörium”, *Die Welt* (14 July 2015), 1-4.

²⁶ Datteltäter, “About Datteltäter”, (18 August 2021).

²⁷ Wolf, “Is Multiculturalism Really Dead?”, 5-8.

group identity. A precondition is successfully integrating into all other spheres of life and society.²⁸ In the process of public acceptance of immigrants and minority groups, governments mostly use multiculturalism as a public policy to help them integrate into society and live side-by-side with the members of the host country. In the act of public policy, multiculturalism has two dimensions; recognition of cultural diversity and social equality for members of minorities.²⁹

Recognition of diversity means that the majority and minority of the population agree on being not monocultural but instead made up of groups with differing languages, religions, and cultural values and practices. A society where the majority defines themselves as relatively homogeneous, yet with a lack of interaction with different faiths and lifestyles, would have difficulties recognizing the religious and cultural practices of the immigrants, which is their self-defined identity. On the other hand, immigrants might think that the host society lacks respect. Historical experiences of conflict might also contribute to cultural clashes, especially between different religions. Social spaces need to be developed to resolve such intercultural communication and accommodation issues.³⁰

Social equality for a member of minorities is mainly considered as the action by the state to guarantee that members of minorities have equal opportunities for participation in all fields of society. The most important fields are education and the labor market, considering that access to economic opportunities is connected to social and cultural outcomes. The state action here could be divided into negative and positive measures. The negative measure includes reducing discrimination and racism; on the other hand, the positive measure is increasing minority members' capacities and opportunities to participate. For instance, to provide immigrants language courses to learn the official language of the host society.³¹

Both dimensions of multiculturalism are public policies that western governments often implement. If a society faces multiculturalism, a beneficial way for immigrants and the host community would be to search for reasons for conflicts that are primarily hidden in these dimensions. In the German context, multicultural policies were implemented due to the absence of solid policies on minorities. The Turkish and other migrant groups were regarded as foreigners who had the right to maintain their culture but harder to preserve the right to citizenship. This attitude has isolated them from mainstream society.³² In this relation, the concept of "Leitkultur" [leading culture] plays a significant role in discouraging the integration of immigrants into German society.

The "Leitkultur" [leading culture] concept argues that migrants should adapt to the existing culture. The conservatives mainly forced this notion in terms of immigration law in Germany. Luchtenberg claims, "The concept of "Leitkultur" [leading culture] hinders the acceptance of diversity within a democratic frame and demands assimilation." He adds that actually, this understanding contrasts with the reality of diverse German culture.³³ Sökefeld³⁴ asserts that the "Leitkultur" [leading culture] concept is closely related to the perception of "culture conflict." In other words, the problem is that the "Heimatkultur" [home culture] of non-European Turkish immigrants is different from German culture. The multicultural project, in this context, was to integrate/assimilate Turkish immigrants into German culture rather than the society. The "Leitkultur" [leading culture] concept was left in discussions long ago. Nevertheless, the understanding of immigrants' cultural conflict arises from their contradicting experiences of two cultures, one of their parents and the culture of the host society takes effect in the present day. It harms the processes of integration, multicultural education, and happily living side by side with immigrants.

²⁸ Thomas Faist, "The Blind Spot of Multiculturalism: From Heterogeneities to Social (In)Equalities", *Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD)-Working Papers* 108 (2012), 1-31.

²⁹ Castles, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 24-25.

³⁰ Castles, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 25.

³¹ Castles, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 24-25.

³² Muchowieka, "The End of Multiculturalism?"

³³ Sigfrid Luchtenberg, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", *Diversity and Citizenship Education* ed. J. A. Banks (San Francisco, CA :Jossey-Bass, 2004), 260-261.

³⁴ Sökefeld, "Das Paradigma kultureller Differenz".

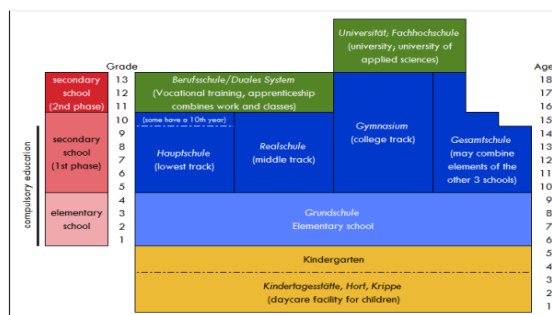
2. Accommodating Children of Turkish Guest Workers in German Schools

2.1. Contemporary History of German Education

Germany found its well-known education system when various European countries had to rise from the ashes of the Second World War. The German education system foundation had two phases; post-1945 and post-1989 education systems.³⁵ After the Second World War (1945), Germany was divided into West and East Germany. The victorious Allied powers occupied the western part, and the eastern part was under the influence of the Soviet Union. The division did form not only the borders but also the German people, policies applied, education, and curricula. For instance, West Germany claimed to be the only legitimate successor state to the Third Reich, which had consequences of totalitarianism in school curricula and ensured that the Nazi period remained firmly in the German collective memory as a lesson from the past. On the other hand, East Germany blamed Hitler and his acts because of capitalism and was not accepting any relation to the Nazi period. The influence of the Soviet Union was visible in every part of East Germany and on each page of books in school.³⁶

In the post-1945 period, the opposite political movements highly affected both divided territories. The western part was under the influence of Allied powers, mainly the Americans, which also formed the school system. It was not an easy debate to form the new school system. Not only the guilt of Nazism and lack of teachers but also the Länder (federal subdivisions of Germany) were not shaking hands quickly. Finally, after long debates, in 1955, the Länder agreed on a tripartite secondary-school structure. Four years of compulsory primary schooling were followed by a *Hauptschule* (five additional years), a *Realschule* (six additional years), or a *Gymnasium* (nine additional years), which was a requirement to graduate and enter university.³⁷ (Refer to figure 1).

Figure 1 German Education System (simplified view)



Source: Statistical Report on the Education of Children with an Immigration Background in Hessen (2011-2012), Ministry of Justice for Integration and Europe of the State of Hessen.

After constructing the school structure, another complex matter emerged as “civic education” in the 1960s. With the deep marks of the Holocaust, West Germany was determined to have a “civic education” in schools so that any ideology would not appropriate schools. While the West was dealing with these issues, the Soviet zone that occupied East Germany had a school system with a standard structure and teaching materials imposed by the Soviet military.³⁸ During the Cold War, the differences between East and West German schools became increasingly stressed, and a re-definition of class and class differences in German

³⁵ Sonja Grimm, “Germany’s Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems”, *World Development Report 2011 Background Papers* (2010), 1-9.

³⁶ John Borneman, “State, Territory, and National Identity Formation in the two Berlins, 1945-1995”, *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta-James Ferguson (Durham-London: Duke University Press, 1997), 93-117. Sonja Grimm, “Germany’s Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems”, 1-9.

³⁷ Sonja Grimm, “Germany’s Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems”, 1-3.

³⁸ Sonja Grimm, “Germany’s Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems”, 2-4.

society had to be made. Political and cultural repression, together with economic hardship, caused the rise of a spectacular phenomenon called the 'Berlin Wall' (1961-1989).³⁹

The post-1989 period is after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of East and West Germany. It was a spectacular phenomenon when the Wall fell at its start. However, the excitement and happiness soon left itself to worry. It was a new beginning for both sides and brought an orientation challenge of differentiated societies. The orientation started with education, where the West region was more dominant than the East, and the Eastern part had to adopt it.⁴⁰ After the unification, the tripartite schooling system was adopted in every region of Germany. The Turkish guest workers had arrived in a divided Germany but they, positioned as "foreigners," experienced the unification and orientation process along with German society.

2.2. Educating Children of Turkish Guest Workers in German Schools

The Turkish guest workers came to West Germany in the late first phase when the Berlin Wall was built (1961). The reason for inviting guest workers was to cover the labor shortage, as the population decreased because of the War and the separation of the German population into East and West. In 1961, when the Wall was built, the bilateral agreement between Germany and Turkey was signed.⁴¹ From that year on, Turkish workers left families behind and entered for the first time West Germany as "Gastarbeiter," referred Turkish Guest workers. They expected to build a new life in a foreign society full of opportunities.

After a while, the restrictions on unifying with family members were lifted, and Turkish guest workers invited their families and children to settle. Parallel to this, Germany accepted a two-pronged educational policy concerning the guest workers' children. This kind of education aimed to integrate into the German education system and assist in learning German, as well as re-integration into the educational system of the country of origin and supplementary instruction in the mother tongue. Even though the families reunited, the host country did not intend to become a country of immigration. Although the expectations were temporary settlement of Turkish immigrants, a change in the situation foregrounded the first aim ever since in educating children of immigrants.⁴²

The education type applied to children of guest workers was "exclusionary education." It was based on the notions of differential exclusion as a way of controlling differences.⁴³ Germany was accepted as not a country of immigrants.⁴⁴ The guest workers were temporal subsystems of society necessary for their economic role: the labor market, basic accommodation, work-related healthcare, and welfare. Germany supported Turkish guest workers' children with German and mother tongue classes for temporary integration.⁴⁵ Mother tongue tuition had improved in Germany since the 1970s when it was mainly regarded as a support for remigration to the countries of origin. The children could at school choose their mother tongue language as a second language, which was primarily Turkish.⁴⁶

Furthermore, in the 1970s, cultural conflict was applied as an approach to explain the problematic immigrants. In the beginning, children of Turkish guest workers were not involved with German education but more a part of a dual strategy concept. To be seen as temporary, it was more important to prepare them for their return rather than integration into society. However, since Turkish immigrants started settling, remigration had to be put on ice, and integration became a primary challenge for Germany. Nevertheless, the unification of East and West Germany added to the challenge of re-educating East Germans and the

³⁹ Volker Berghahn- Uta Poiger (ed.), "Occupation and the Emergence of Two States (1945-1961)", *The Berlin Ultimatum* (November 27, 1958), pp. 1-17, in *German History in Documents and Images (GHDl)* 8, German Historical Institute. (Accessed, 05 April 2022).

⁴⁰ Sonja Grimm, "Germany's Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems", 1-9.

⁴¹ Faruk Sen, "The Historical Situation of Turkish Migrants in Germany", 208-212.

⁴² Peter Broeder - Guus Extra, "Integration", *Immigrant Policy for a Multicultural Society, A comparative study of integration, language, and religious policy in five Western European Countries*, ed. Hans Vermeulen (Brussels: Migration Policy Group, 1997), 15-35.

⁴³ Castle, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 32.

⁴⁴ Luchtberg, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 32-33. Wolf, "Is Multiculturalism Really Dead?", 10.

⁴⁵ Castle, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 34.

⁴⁶ Luchtberg, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 252.

children of immigrants of non-European origin. Furthermore, Germany struggled with a lack of solid policies on minorities, which became another challenge to overcome through multicultural policies.

3. Multiculturalism Through Lived Experiences and Voices of Migrant Youths in Germany

3.1. Multicultural Education at Schools

Turkish immigrants, seen as “the other” due to non-European origin and cultural differences, have been facing prejudices about not being able to integrate well into German society.⁴⁷ They were not perceived as a part of society from the beginning. Nevertheless, they were considered foreigners invited for the time being due to the lack of a labor force. The isolation of Turkish and other migrants from the mainstream caused a lack of mutual understanding. Immigrants have been challenged with recognition of their cultural roots, identity, and rights to practice hybrid culture. German Chancellor Merkel started the discussion by questioning multiculturalism in a normative sense and claimed the ‘failure’ of building a multicultural society. She based her argument on Sarrazin’s accusation towards Muslim immigrants, in majority Turkish and Arabs, who are the reason for falling behind because they lack the intelligence to integrate into the host society. It was a long-awaited acknowledgment for the majority of the Turkish immigrants whose children were mainly affected by this crisis, especially in terms of education. According to the interview results, interviewees were not surprised by the statement “failed project.” Some have stated that it is good to see that German authorities acknowledged the failure because multicultural policies did not aim for a multicultural society since the beginning.

Interviewees emphasized that multiculturalism or a multicultural education was not present in recognizing minorities and social equality. Diversity notions in school environments were mainly focused on German cultural values. They shared their own or witnessed experiences of feeling excluded, discriminated against, looked down or not valuable, mostly related to the difference in their cultural-religious identity.

“It is a correct statement. As long as we are not facing an understanding of Merkel’s project of multiculturalism, this (her) project of multiculturalism will fail.” (Interview, 11.12.2013)

“She (Merkel) is right; at least they accept it. I think it was a different historical thing. They thought of the new coming people as “guest workers,” but they stayed, they made roots, and their kids accepted this place as home. And so, they failed, but I hope this declaration will be the beginning of new basics.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

“I do agree. However, it is a bit ridiculous to hear this from Merkel herself. I think this statement is not sincere and does not aim to produce solutions.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

Multicultural education focuses on integration and rejects assimilation;⁴⁸ however, it is said that German authorities used the concept of integration more as an assimilation concept and insisted on the unilateral perfect knowledge of the German language.⁴⁹ Language as an essential factor of identity and mother tongue regarding a self-definition⁵⁰ already caused children of immigrants to question their cultural belonging.

“Yes, I heard about it (multicultural education). I think it is a good and productive approach to a better and more valuable education for children with immigrant backgrounds. However, this might fail in a disaster because the (German) government would not permit educating the children in their origin culture.” (Interview, 11.12.2013) (Brackets added for clarification)

“Multicultural education is an attempt to educate a group of people belonging to different cultures the way you want them to be. In the end, the people who have been educated have to share the same values most widely so that the aim of a society living in peace can be achieved. There cannot

⁴⁷ Catherine J. Ross, “Perennial outsiders: The educational experience of Turkish youth in Germany.” *American University International Law Review*, 24/5 (2009), 685-710.

⁴⁸ Luchtenberg, “Migration, Citizenship, and Education”, 251-253.

⁴⁹ Nermin Abadan-Unat, “Modernity and Transnationalism: The Turkish Optic”, *Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD) Working Papers* 107 (2012), 1-14.

⁵⁰ Sigrid Luchtenberg, “Identity Education in Multicultural Germany”, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19/1 (1998), 51-63.

be any tolerance for individuals who do not share the same values, ideology, or worldview. As a Muslim, I have my values and worldview and cannot accept adapting to others' ideologies. I want to be accepted the way I am. In my opinion, it is indeed possible for a society to live in peace, without having all individuals referring to the same values." (Interview, 12.12.2013)

"Multicultural education to me is when teachers accept diversity and treat all students the same. Especially international students sometimes have some lacks which the teachers and the school system should accept and treat preventively. This needs a lot of training. I witnessed in person and at my university now from friends who study to become teachers very few classes in psychology or strategic preparation for migration. Migration is a fact in Germany. Especially the divide after the 4. grade is mostly very unfair. Since the German school system does not catch these wisely." (Interview, 08.03.2015)

Considering the interviews, the experiences of the second and coming generations at school differ from the definition of a multicultural environment focused on diversity. Instead, interviewees stated that stress on Germanness, language, and cultural values, is the focus. In the present day, these sensitive topics are the main debate subjects. Datteltäter highlights issues of racism, discrimination, invalidation, and ignorance in various video contents. They dealt with these issues in irony under a subject named 'Wenn Rassismus ehrlich wäre [When racism was honest].' A video named 'When racism was honest-School' was created through numerous requests from followers. The video demonstrates how it would be if German teachers would honestly talk to their students from multicultural backgrounds. It starts with a German teacher entering the classroom, putting his bag on the table, and looking at his students while saying these words:⁵¹

"Thank you, Merkel! I will probably not experience a pure German class until my end, but instead, I will have to struggle with Mohammeds or Bumbas. Well, we cannot do anything; this should be the 'new' Germany. I am not someone who will applaud you at the train station." (Datteltäter, 19.01.2018)

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Interviewees' feelings and experiences of exclusion, discrimination, lack of value, and respect towards young generations with an immigrant background are still valid and reflected in the video content. As one of the interviewees mentioned, migration is a fact of Germany, yet the way immigrants and integration have been dealt with shows that authority circles and pedagogical approaches have ignored this fact. Perceiving a German society as monocultural pushes immigrants to the side as a homogenous group of people with cultural differences. In this way, stereotypical images and prejudices of "foreigners" or "the other" remain but change forms influenced by the social agenda.

3.2. Struggle for Recognition and German Identity

Recognition of diversity means that the majority and minority of the population agree on being multicultural. It might not have been easy in terms of a homogeneous society, but Germany is defined as heterogenic.⁵² If the host society, defined as homogenous, encounters a distinct culture, they might see it as strange, unacceptable, or a threat to 'the other.' Although Germany consists of different "Bundesländer" [sovereign federated states] with their own cultural remarks, Turkish culture is seen as 'the other.' Some reasons are based on the marks of history, the ongoing conflict between Christianity and Islam based on prejudice. Also, the way Turkish immigrants were perceived from the beginning of their settlement, such as short-term workers, determines hardships in accepting them into society.

"I was thinking that I'm wholly accepted (integrated) in the school, but some situations showed me the other side of the coin." (Interview, 11.12.2013)

"It was most intensively depending on which teachers I head. Some teachers were very tolerant of my identity, especially in elementary school. Other teachers, primarily those at my grammar school, were rather intolerant. Some teachers even considered that people of Turkish origin shall

⁵¹ Datteltaeter, "Wenn Rassismus Ehrlich Wäre Schule" *YouTube* (19 January 2018), 00:00:30-00:01:00. Translation by author.

⁵² Castle, "Migration, Citizenship, and Education", 26-27.

change their surnames into German names because the pronunciation was difficult sometimes.” (Interview, 12.12.2013)

“Yes, I felt accepted and understood. However, I do not know if I am a typical example of this or more of an exception. Since I was raised bilingual, I did not have difficulties with education or so. But regarding religion, it was quite hard for the teachers to accept me wearing a headscarf.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

As stated in the interviews, we can argue that there is an emphasis on ethnic, and cultural-religious differences regarding acknowledgment. Some interviewees have German roots, such as a German grandmother or a mother with one German parent. Even in their cases, cultural-religious symbols such as the headscarf make inclusion difficult. Furthermore, recognition brings up another topic to question, which is identity.

Identity is complex in terms of defining one’s self, as it can be multiple and being acknowledged under the identity definition of society. Migration and unification of East-West Germany started discussions of “German” identity. Views of the German government and conservative Germans were that Germany was not a country of immigration, which was far from reality.⁵³ Although German identity is based on a state-nation building process, the Bundestag-German Parliament’s entrance is written in capital letters “Dem Deutschen Volk” [to the German nation]. This point brings us back to how German, aka Germaneness, is defined.

According to the law *jus sanguinis*, a German is someone born (blood-related) to a German parent. Therefore, there is no discrete definition of German identity. The Germans are confused and sensitive in matters concerning German national identity due to their heterogeneous composition and dark part of history. However, immigrants feel the pressure of a ‘German’ identity based on German values rather than a multicultural identity.

“I think the Germans failed to create a new “German identity,” under which other cultures could have been subordinated and aggregated. Though they somehow managed to build the common basis of values and perceptions, the distinct cultural groups can refer to them (...) I do not only feel Turkish; I am Turkish. I should emphasize that for me being “German” or being “Turkish” is not associated with ethnic roots but rather is the manifestation of a worldview. Hence my identity as a “Turk” is an issue of topmost importance. Further, I think that the Germans still struggle to create their own worldview (since the end of WWII).” (Interview, 12.12.2013)

“I feel for sure both. When they ask me, I say “Deutschtürkin” (German-Turkish), so I think I welcome both nationalities and try to take the positives from both. As being in a binational partnership, I accept diversity and look at it as something beautiful and the future.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

“Both are of value to me. However, I can never identify myself as a German. That is why I could identify myself as Turkish, yet this does not mean that I am not German.” (Interview, 09.03.2015)

According to the interviews, second and third generations-of Turkish immigrants have different definitions of “German” identity and belonging. They have a more hybrid understanding. On one side, they feel connected to their parents’ culture through ethnical, cultural-religious bonds; on the other, they do not deny Germanness from a broader understanding. One clear point is that interviewees agree with the incomprehensibility of national identity in German society. This dilemma of feeling part of two cultures and understanding multiple identities is illustrated in videos created by Datteltäter.

In Datteltäter’s videos, identity issues are approached in terms of Kanak⁵⁴ vs. Alman subjects. The video demonstrates how most young immigrants feel about having multicultural identities. The interviewees highlighted carrying both cultural influences. For example, the video “Wenn Türken zu Almans werden - Kanak Light [If Turkish become Germans- Kanak Light]” shows how it would be when

⁵³ Luchtenberg, “Identity Education in Multicultural Germany”, 51-53.

⁵⁴ Kanak is a slang word used by Germans for Turkish migrants. However, the word underwent a semantic shift within time to a new and different “German-ness”. For details refer to Tulay Özbek, “Living in Germany as a Kanak: Some Thoughts About Nonbelonging”, *Psychoanal Rev.* 104/6 (December 2017), 707-721.

someone with a Kanak appearance is German inside, and if that is possible. In the video, Ali (31 years old) is accompanied by Hamzi Ibrahim to see how a day of Kanak light is. He complains to Hamzi Ibrahim that he does not understand why people do not take his habits coherently.⁵⁵

“Wearing a bicycle helmet, using the grammar correctly, reserving hand towels is not German to me. It is as a matter of course.”

“The food is delicious, Zeynep. Can you give me the recipe for it? (...) I do not want to define her purely in terms of motherhood.” (Datteltäter, 14.03.2021)

In the video, Ali’s character behaves like a German and is treated as awkward. They point humorously to critical problems such as ‘what is German-ness’ and how far a ‘new’ German identity is accepted. Although it is more of a heterogenic society, dealing with the Muslim-Turkish community in terms of conservative Germans is not easy.⁵⁶ However, the social reality does not exist only in conservative Germans’ views. Younger generations of Germans share similar views with their friends from immigrant backgrounds. In Datteltäter projects, Germans actively participate in questioning political and social discourses.

4. Efforts for Social Equality and Space for Cultural Practices

Social equality, a dimension of multiculturalism, is essential in education and labor markets. The German school system was training the guest workers for a possible return. From the beginning, the guiding principle of education was ‘foreigner pedagogy’ [Ausländerpädagogik], especially in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁷ As a result of the German school system, Turkish immigrants’ children followed high attendance in Hauptschule. Where else Gymnasium, the path to the university was more a dream for many guest workers’ children.⁵⁸ Through education, the chance to find a “good job” in the labor market is harder for the guest workers’ children.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it seems not becoming easier if one has better grades and education in job recruitment.

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“I feel treated equally at school and university. I have not had any problems till now.” (Interview, 11.12.2013)

“The treatment seemed to be equal in general, but this proves it to be erroneous regarding grading. Unfortunately, some teachers made it very difficult for me to get better grades than other (mostly German) students, who were not at the same level as me but still got better grades. Due to my ambition and performance, this did not happen too much, but it still happened.” (Interview, 12.12.2013)

“Totally. Even later with my hijab, I did not have problems in getting the part-time jobs I wanted. In this case, I think it depends on education and how you introduce yourself.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

“Although some behave differently, if you are successful at school no one says anything because grades speak instead. However, it is very difficult to enter a job, especially for a Turkish or Muslim, to find a job at a higher level. And if a woman veils, it becomes harder.” (Interview, 08.03.2015)

The interviewees agreed on the significance of individual performance at school and how it would help them succeed despite the discrimination. However, it requires more than individual success in terms of the labor market. Women with veils encounter a higher exclusion due to visible symbols of one’s religious view that is not seen as German-ness. Gulcan Cetin (30 y.o.), a medicine student, is a Youtuber and also a cast in Datteltäter videos who moved to Berlin four years ago. She shares her school and work experiences, struggles, and challenges as a veiled woman with a Turkish background. In her video “A Doctor with a

⁵⁵ Datteltaeter, “Wenn Türken zu Almans werden - Kanak Light”, *YouTube* (14 March 2021).

⁵⁶ Sarah Thomson Vierra, “At Home in Almany? Turkish-German Spaces of Belonging in West Germany, 1961-1990”, *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute(GHI)* 52 (Spring 2013), 55-73. Faas, “The Europeanisation of German ethnic identities”, 47-50. (Accessed, 9 June 2022).

⁵⁷ Gerd R. Hoff, Gerd, “Multicultural education in Germany: Historical development and current status”, *Handbook of research on multicultural education*, ed. James A. Banks (New York:Macmillan, 1995), 821-838.

⁵⁸ Catherine J. Ross, “Perennial outsiders”.

⁵⁹ Susanne Worbs, “The Second Generation in Germany: Between School and Labor Market”, *IMR Volume* (Winter 2003) 37: 4, pp. 1011-1038.

Headscarf? Gülcan vs. Prejudices I Time Machine",⁶⁰ she demonstrates her struggles and how she tries to overcome them. Through the video content, she encounters cultural and gender discrimination and her dilemma of being herself or what is asked of a part of the community.

In another video named "Das Kopftuchverbot und was es für mich bedeutet! [The Hijab Ban, and what it means to me!]", she shares her thoughts, experiences, and realities. It concerns being confronted as a veiled female medical student and what it means to her and others. The video is about her experience working as an operating technician assistant (OTA) before starting her medical studies. It begins by introducing herself before she starts her ward, and she is wearing surgical clothes.⁶¹

"Hello, I am the OTA, and I will work here the day after tomorrow. And they said, sure, no problem. Then I left. I had to put on my blue clothes on like everyone else, but I had of course my headscarf on because you cannot go to the ward with surgical clothes. I sat at the service hand over, the grin on my face, waiting with full excitement of it. So excited, in the station, I will learn a lot. Everyone gathers, everyone looks at each other and sits down. And then the nurse sitting next to me said:

"Since when is the Putzfrau [cleaning lady] service hand over together?"

And I think and look around, huh? There is no cleaning lady here around?! Guys! I did not get it that they meant me! I was stunned and did not know what to say. I introduced myself two days ago to everyone, and she took me for the cleaning lady. Why? Just because I wear a headscarf?! I do not know which cleaning lady you mean but I am the OTA student. I introduced myself two days ago to you. She said:

"Eh? How? With headscarf?"

I said, "Yes," and she said:

"Nope, with a headscarf, you cannot work here."

Ok, call my school and clarify with my teacher. I do not want to be involved in this. And they were really angry and called my school." (Datteltäter, 25.07.2021)

When they called the school, her teacher supported Gulcan, and they managed to keep her at the training. However, she continues to share that her hard time has just started. What Gulcan experienced demonstrates what was mentioned in the interviews with female participants. A decade has passed since the statement of failed multiculturalism project, yet younger generations are challenged with its consequences and problems in the present time. Although younger generations of migrants define themselves as German, they are not acknowledged due to their appearance or multicultural background. The struggle to receive a good education shifted to the need for recognition for one's education and professionalism regardless of cultural background. Nevertheless, the consequences of a failed project, the incomprehensibility of a shared identity definition, and meeting at a common ground will require more debates, active participation, and various voices to come to a solution.

Conclusion

This study departs from the statement that Germany has failed to build a multicultural society and examines multiculturalism and Turkish immigrants' integration in the German context. It also demonstrates the opinions of children of guest workers and younger generations on multiculturalism, their experiences, and how they stand up for their own voices. The research refers to interviews as a basis of lived experiences. In addition, it examines video contents of a young group with migrant backgrounds named Datteltäter, who criticize and question social issues and multiculturalism and tries to break prejudices on immigrants and minorities in Germany.

Immigration to Germany started with the lack of a labor force and was perceived as a short-term existence of foreigners as guest workers. When the non-European immigrants settled for the long term, Germany faced problems dealing with a group of minorities with different cultural backgrounds. Having a different cultural background, meaning non-European origin, was perceived as a "problem." The definition

⁶⁰ Datteltaeter, "A Doctor with a Headscarf? Gülcan vs. Prejudices I Time Machine", *YouTube* (19 July 2020).

⁶¹ Datteltaeter, "Das Kopftuchverbot und was es für mich bedeutet!", *YouTube* (25 July 2021).

of Turkish migrants as a “problem” categorized them as “the other” and isolated them from the mainstream. This perception reflected the multicultural policies aimed to integrate second and third generations of migrants to prevent causing trouble. Multiculturalism was used as a public policy in Germany, which was mainly based on German norms and values. Turkish guest laborers of non-European origin were hardly an issue of inclusion since the beginning of the guest labor agreement. Change of expectations and guest labors shifted social position to migrants were objects of cultural conflicts and multiculturalism. Along with the “Leitkultur” [leading culture] discourse, it influenced the attitude and educational approach to migrants.

Merkel’s statement that “multiculturalism utterly failed” refers to the dilemma of the perception of conservative German politicians. From their point of view, the policies were unsuccessful in building a multicultural society because the Turkish immigrants were not following expectations due to their low ability in intelligence. In fact, the “foreigner” status, categorization, and giving limited social space has been hindering migrants from contributing to society. As foreigners, they had a right to keep their cultures, yet, for inclusion, they had to integrate through adaptation of German norms and values. According to the interviews and video contents, the “Leitkultur” [leading culture] influenced German approaches towards second and third generations of immigrants, in which they felt like outsiders despite being born or growing up in German society. The second and third generations are situated to choose between keeping the ethnic, cultural-religious identity or blending into German society. However, they refuse to choose sides, accept their multicultural identities, and form a hybrid German identity through the richness of different cultural backgrounds.

As discussed, German education, founded during the post-1949 period, is more German history-oriented and coincides with the East German education system. German education did not aim to include children of Turkish immigrants. Teaching their own language to children of immigrants was not aimed at diversity and recognition in German society. Considered as foreigners, they could practice their culture in their close environment but adopt the host country’s culture in a broader society. However, they did not know that the society was, in fact, still in chaos and welcomed them temporarily due to a shortage of labor force. The situation became complex when the Berlin Wall fell and East-West Germany united. West Germany hoped that the brothers from the East would help them take over the guest workers’ labor work, but that was not the case. The brothers from the Eastside were also different in terms of mindset and culture.⁶² After the Turkish migrants moved to Germany as guest workers and settled, the next generations positioned themselves between the two cultures; immigrant backgrounds and the culture of the residing society.

Not to mention the significant cultural and social identity difference between West and East Germans, one questions the inclusion of Turkish immigrants in German-ness. If the Germans are confused about identifying themselves, should it be expected from generations with an immigrant background to define a pure “German” identity? In the interviews, almost all participants emphasized that Turkishness is significant to them regarding cultural-religious bonds, but they did not deny Germanness. Datteltäter uses the transformed word ‘Kanak’ as new German-ness and demonstrates diverse faces and voices to give German-ness a more comprehensive definition rather than based on pureblood. In the interviews and Datteltäter videos, young generations share their opinions of discrimination, exclusion, and hardship for new Germanness recognition. They break the one-dimensional notions and claim that individuals can have multiple influences and diverse identity traits – for example, Turkish-German or Muslim-German.

A critical point of multiculturalism is to give space for everyone to be able to identify themselves culturally. The prejudices against Turkish people are not impressions Germans became through encounters, but stereotyped images of Turkish immigrants were given as examples in textbooks or educational materials. Mostly, the images are people from the country side and described as not well educated.⁶³ The Turkish labor flow was diverse from cities and rural areas of Turkey. The first generations of immigrants, known as guest

⁶² John Borneman, “State, Territory, and National Identity Formation in the Two Berlins, 1945-1995”, 93-100.

⁶³ Luchtenberg, “Identity Education in Multicultural Germany”, pp.52-53.

laborers, worked in skill-full or less-skill-full jobs. However, this changed through the generations receiving German education and adapting to German society. Despite this transformation, stereotyped images stayed, unfortunately, in German minds. Such as, in Gulcan's case, they first recognize her headscarf and label her as a cleaning lady. Similarly, the German teacher generalized all male students calling them "Mohammad." The main problem is not cultural clashes but recognition of a non-European cultural-religious identity connected to historical events between Europe and Islamic world.

Finally, the multiculturalism failure needs to be considered on the policy and power level of the conservative German expectations. If Germany is heterogenic, then the question is for whom and in what way did multiculturalism fail. Firstly, multiculturalism was not successful since the beginning from the perspective of migrant communities. The German authorities expressed the crisis due to the failure to fulfill the host country's expectations. The integration intended to eliminate the cultural clash and how immigrants were positioned as 'the other.' In the Turkish-German case, it seems to be historical memories of conflicts belonging to non-European origin, different cultures, and religions.⁶⁴

Multiculturalism, the preservation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society, has existed in German history. Historically, societies were not viewed as majority and minority but as the plurality of cultural groups.⁶⁵ However, the young migrant generations highlight forming a collective identity based on the love of the country, where some are born or put much effort into the settlement. They aim to represent their families, who worked hard for German society, such as the Turkish immigrants. Also, they demonstrate themselves and the following young generations who feel at home and work hard for economic, social, and cultural wealth of Germany, the country they feel is home.

The free voices from German society mainly emphasize one of the famous districts of Berlin named Kreuzberg, which is well known for its reputation for being culturally diverse, creative, and liveliness. A substantial Turkish immigrant population lives in Berlin Kreuzberg, also known as "Little Istanbul."⁶⁶ Places such as "Little Istanbul" has produced new creative generations with immigrant backgrounds who can speak for themselves as subjects of the multicultural society. For instance, members of Datteltäter. Although the multicultural policies did not form the basis for recognizing diversity, inclusion, and social equality, the younger generations of immigrants challenge notions of multiculturalism, multiple identities, recognition, and inclusion. They create awareness and build a multicultural society by sharing their experiences and ideas in creative video content and social media platforms. They give voices to all, hoping for recognition and a better diverse, multicultural society.

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⁶⁵ Wolf, "Is Multiculturalism Really Dead?", p.8.

⁶⁶ Wolf, "Is Multiculturalism Really Dead?", p. 2.

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İki Kültür Arasında: Çok Kültürlülük ve Türk Misafir İşçi Çocuklarının Başarısız olan Projeye dair Görüşleri

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Bu çalışma, başarısız olan Alman çok kültürlülük projesini ve projenin etkilerini, Türk misafir işçi çocuklarının bakış açısından değerlendirmektedir. Almanya'daki en yüksek göçmen nüfusu %13'lük oran ile Türklere aittir. Türk misafir işçilerin serüveni, 1960'lı yıllarda Almanya ile imzalanan ikili anlaşma ile başlamıştır. İkili anlaşmadaki bir koşula göre Türk işçileri geçici olarak Almanya'da çalıştıktan sonra ülkelerine dönmeleri gerekmektedir. Anlaşmanın koşulları gereği, Avrupa kökenli olmayan bu işçilerin ülkelerine geri dönmeleri öngörülürken, beklenmedik bir şekilde bu misafir işçilerin bir kısmı Almanya'ya yerleşme kararı alır ve bu koşul etkisiz hale gelir. Böylece Almanya "Göçmen Problemi" olgusuyla karşı karşıya kalır. Bu süreci yönetebilmek adına, "kültür çatışması" modeli merkezinde bir entegrasyon politikası geliştirilmiştir. Bu süreçte özellikle sosyal bilimler alanında, kültür bakımından farklılık gösteren göçmenleri "kültür çatışması" modeliyle açıklamaya çalışmışlardır. Avrupa kökenli olmayan göçmenlerin Alman dili, normları ve kültürü temelinde entegrasyonu, bu sorunun çözüm olarak kabul görmüştür. Bu bağlamda çok kültürlülük kamu politikasının bir parçası olmuş ve uygulanmıştır. Çok kültürlülük kavramı temelde, göçmenlerin ve azınlık gruplarının, çeşitliliklerinden vazgeçmeden, toplumun her alanında eşit haklara sahip ve farklılıklarıyla kabul edilmesini önermektedir. Ancak kavramın ortaya koyduğu ilkelerin aksine, kamu politikasıyla ilişkili olarak Türk göçmenler Alman toplumunun birçok alanında sosyal ve kültürel ayrımcılık ve dışlanmaya maruz kaldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Göçmen kökenli ikinci ve üçüncü kuşaklar Almanya'da doğmasına rağmen hala ayrımcılık, dışlanma, kimlik tartışmaları ve aidiyet gibi gündem maddeleriyle mücadeleye devam etmektedirler. Almanya Şansölyesi Merkel'in 2010 yılındaki "Almanya'da çok kültürlülük projesi başarısız olmuştur" açıklamasıyla, muhafazakâr Almanların politik söylemi olan "Leitkultur" (öncü kültür) kavramını ve çok kültürlülük sorunu ile tekrar gündeme taşımıştır. Muhafazakâr Almanlar, başarılı bir entegrasyon sürecinin mümkün olabilmesi için göçmenlerin Alman norm ve değerlerine dayanan mevcut kültürü benimsemeleri gerektiğini savunmuştur. Kamu politikası olarak tanımlanan çok kültürlülük projesi de bu söylemden etkilenmiştir. Ayrıca, yıllar içinde köklenerek Türk göçmenlerin kültürel-dini farklılıklarına dair geliştirilen stereotipler, önyargılar ve ötekileştirilme çok kültürlülük projesinin başarısızlığını beslemiştir. Bu projenin başarısızlığına neden olan bir başka politika da göçmen kökenli çocuklara yönelik yürütülen Alman eğitim politikasıdır. Projenin bir parçası olarak, farklılıkları ve çeşitliliği destekleyen çok kültürlü bir eğitim modelini takip etmekten ziyade farklılıkları kontrol etmeye yönelik "farklılıkları dışlama" kavramına dayalı bir politika benimsenmiştir. Bununun neticesi olarak, Hauptschule gibi eğitim sisteminde daha düşük seviyede olan okullara göçmen çocuklarının yüksek payda katılımı gerçekleşmiştir. Bunun akabinde de Alman toplumunun ekonomik ve sosyal refahına daha az katkıda bulunması olgusu ortaya çıkmıştır. Çok kültürlülük projesinin başarısız oluşun bir başka nedeni olarak Türk göçmenlerin entegrasyona karşı direnişi gösterilmiştir. Günümüzde ise devam etmekte olan Türk göçmenlerin entegrasyon ve kimlik müzakereleri sürecine ikinci ve üçüncü kuşaklar da dahil olmuşlardır. Bu kuşaktaki gençler sosyal medya aracılığıyla kendi deneyimlerini, görüşlerini paylaşmakla kalmayıp, Müslüman ve göçmenlerin seslerinin eksikliğini gidermek için aktif olarak projeler de üretmektedirler. Bir zamanlar Türk göçmenlere hakaret amaçlı kullanılan "Kanaks" ifadesinin artık "yeni Alman" kimliğini ifade eden bir kavrama dönüştüğünü görmektedir. Bu çalışma, "çok kültürlülük başarısız oldu" açıklaması merkezinde Almanya'da çok kültürlülüğün ve çok kültürlülüğün boyutlarını genç Türk göçmenlerin bakış açısından ele almaktadır. Araştırma hem ikinci ve sonraki nesil Türk göçmenlerle yapılan röportajları içermekte hem de Datteltäter rumuzuyla sosyal medyada çok kültürlülük, göçmenler ve Almanya'daki entegrasyon içerikleri videolar üreten bir sosyal medya hesabını incelemektedir. Datteltäter, Müslüman ve göçmen toplulukları çevreleyen ana akım anlatıları değiştirmeye çalışan çok dinli ve farklı etnik kökenli bireylerden oluşan kreatif bir genç gruptur. Röportaj sonuçları dikkate alındığında, karşılaşılan mücadeleler, sorunlar, zorluklar ve gerçekler Datteltäter video içerikleriyle örtüşmektedir. Türk olduğu için hor görülme, Türk ismine sahip olma, başörtüsü takma ve benzeri nedenlerden dolayı kötü muamele, ayrımcılık, dışlanma görülmesi örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Burada dikkate değer olan bir husus, göçmen kökenli genç nesillerin çeşitli online platformlar (YouTube, Instagram vb.) aracılığıyla kendilerini anlatmaya istekli olmaları ve bunun için bir alan yaratmalarıdır. Ürettikleri videolarda sadece kendi deneyimlerini değil, aynı zamanda göçmen kökenli daha geniş bir çerçevede genç nesillerin yorumlarını ve taleplerini dikkate alarak onların da deneyimlerini paylaşmaktadırlar. Ürettikleri video ve projeler, çeşitli etnik ve din kökenli gruplar tarafından da kabul görmektedir. Başarısız olan çok kültürlülük projesinin sonuçları göçmenlerin çocukları ve göçmen kökenli kuşakları doğrudan etkilediğini söylemek mümkün. Ancak bu gençlerin konuyla ilgili görüş ve deneyimlerini dile getirebilecekleri mecralar oldukça sınırlı olduğunu söylemek gerekir. Bu çalışma, konuyu ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak Türk göçmenleri görüş ve deneyimleri üzerinden değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Doğrudan etkilenen bu kuşakların bu deneyimlerini paylaşarak sorunlara parmak basmak ve alternatif çözüm arayışlarının imkanını sorgulamaktadır.