

The paradox of discourse, representation, and integration in Germany: discursive responses of four german federal parties and turkish politicians within the axis of Kanal Avrupa TV's *Bakış Açısı* Program (2005-2012)

*O paradoxo do discurso, da representação e da integração na Alemanha: respostas discursivas de quatro partidos federais alemães e de políticos turcos no âmbito do programa *Bakış Açısı*, da emissora Kanal Avrupa TV (2005-2012)*

*La paradoja del discurso, la representación y la integración en Alemania: respuestas discursivas de cuatro partidos federales alemanes y políticos de origen turco en el marco del programa *Bakış Açısı* de Kanal Avrupa TV (2005-2012)*

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Abstract

This study analyzes integration and education policies in the German states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony between 2005 and 2012, within the framework of a multifaceted struggle for hegemony between state actors and politicians of Turkish origin. Using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology, the research examines the political discourses in Kanal Avrupa TV's "Perspective" program, analyzing the positioning of the immigrant subject through textual, discursive, and social practice dimensions. The analysis reveals the discursive differences among the actors representing German state rationality; in this context, a spectrum is observed ranging from the CDU's conservative paternalism to the SPD's economic rationality and the Greens' multicultural participation philosophy. On the other hand, this institutional structure creates a tense space between the German rationality, which confines the immigrant to 'individual integration performance,' and Turkey's protective discourse centered on mother tongue and diasporic identity. The harsh criticisms of Turkish politicians, particularly regarding issues such as obstacles to family reunification and Jugendamt (Youth Welfare Office) practices, demonstrate Turkey's positioning as a new and protective 'transnational actor' towards the diaspora. The study reveals that instead of being caught in this power struggle between Ankara and Berlin, third-generation immigrants are constructing their own independent discourses of 'participation' (Teilhabe) against institutional racism; therefore, what is happening is not an integration crisis, but a demand for equal citizenship.

Keywords

Germany Integration Policies, Critical Discourse Analysis, Kanal Avrupa TV, *Bakış Açısı* program, Integration Paradox.

Resumo

Este estudo analisa as políticas de integração e educação nos estados alemães da Renânia do Norte-Vestfália e da Baixa Saxônia entre 2005 e 2012, no âmbito de uma disputa multifacetada por hegemonia entre atores estatais e políticos de origem turca. Utilizando a metodologia de Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD) de Norman Fairclough, a pesquisa examina os discursos políticos no programa "Perspective" da Kanal Avrupa TV, analisando o posicionamento do sujeito migrante por meio das dimensões textual, discursiva e de prática social. A análise revela as diferenças discursivas entre os atores que representam a racionalidade estatal alemã; nesse contexto, observa-se um espectro que vai desde o paternalismo conservador da CDU até a racionalidade econômica do SPD e a filosofia de participação multicultural do Partido Verde. Por outro lado, essa estrutura institucional cria um espaço de tensão entre a racionalidade alemã — que confina o migrante ao "desempenho de integração individual" — e o discurso protetor da Turquia, centrado na língua materna e na identidade diaspórica. As críticas contundentes de políticos turcos, particularmente em relação a questões como os obstáculos ao reagrupamento familiar e as práticas do *Jugendamt* (Departamento de Bem-Estar da Juventude), demonstram o posicionamento da Turquia como um novo e protetor "ator transnacional" em relação à diáspora. O estudo revela que, em vez de ficarem presos nessa disputa de poder entre Ancara e Berlim, os migrantes de terceira geração estão construindo seus próprios discursos independentes de "participação" (*Teilhabe*) contra o racismo institucional; portanto, o que ocorre não é uma crise de integração, mas uma reivindicação por cidadania em pé de igualdade.

Palavras-chave

Políticas de Integração na Alemanha, Análise Crítica do Discurso, Kanal Avrupa TV, Programa "Perspective", Paradoxo da Integração.

Resumen

Este estudio analiza las políticas de integración y educación en los estados federados alemanes de Renania del Norte-Westfalia y Baja Sajonia entre 2005 y 2012, en el marco de una lucha multifacética por la hegemonía entre actores estatales y políticos de origen turco. Mediante la metodología del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD) de Norman Fairclough, la investigación examina los discursos políticos del programa "Perspective" (Bakış Açısı) de Kanal Avrupa TV, analizando el posicionamiento del sujeto inmigrante a través de las dimensiones textual, discursiva y de práctica social. El análisis revela las diferencias discursivas entre los actores que representan la racionalidad estatal alemana; en este contexto, se observa un espectro que abarca desde el paternalismo conservador de la CDU hasta la racionalidad económica del SPD y la filosofía de participación multicultural de Los Verdes. Por otro lado, esta estructura institucional genera un espacio de tensión entre la racionalidad alemana —que confina al inmigrante al "desempeño de integración individual"— y el discurso protector de Turquía, centrado en la lengua materna y la identidad de la diáspora. Las duras críticas de los políticos turcos, especialmente en torno a cuestiones como los obstáculos a la reunificación familiar y las prácticas de la *Jugendamt* (Oficina de Bienestar Juvenil), demuestran el posicionamiento de Turquía como un nuevo "actor transnacional" protector de la diáspora. El estudio revela que, lejos de quedar atrapados en esta lucha de poder entre Ankara y Berlín, los inmigrantes de tercera generación están construyendo sus propios discursos independientes de "participación" (*Teilhabe*) frente al racismo institucional; por tanto, lo que se está produciendo no es una crisis de integración, sino una reivindicación de igualdad ciudadana.

Palabras clave

Políticas de Integración en Alemania, Análisis Crítico del Discurso, Kanal Avrupa TV, Programa Bakış Açısı, Paradoja de la Integración.

1. Introduction

The Labour Agreement signed between Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961, initially conceived as a temporary economic partnership, gradually transformed into a transnational migration saga that radically altered the social, political, and cultural fabric of both countries. The transformation of the first generation of 'guest workers' (Gastarbeiter) into permanent residents, followed by the emergence of second and third-generation 'German-Turkish' individuals, brought with it multifaceted debates on integration and recognition. The period between 2005 and 2012, encompassing the 50th anniversary of the migration, represents a critical phase in Germany where integration policies gained institutional identity, and the power struggle between the state apparatus and diasporic actors became most acutely apparent. During this period, the states of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) and Lower Saxony, where the immigrant population was concentrated, became 'laboratories' where integration and education policies were reshaped. While German institutional discourse is largely built on a rationality that reduces integration to the 'individual assimilation performance' of the immigrant, Turkey has emerged with a transnational and protectionist state discourse centered on mother tongue, cultural identity, and diasporic belonging. This situation has condemned the immigrant community to a structural tension between the exclusionary mechanisms of the German state and Ankara's claims of sovereignty. One of the most important public spaces where this discursive conflict and 'integration paradox' can be empirically observed is transnational media, which functions as the voice of the diaspora. In this context, the Bakış Açısı (Perspective) program, founded by European Turks in 2005 and broadcast on Kanal Avrupa between 2005 and 2012, has been a dynamic arena where the theses of the German political elite, Turkish government ministers, and NGO representatives directly clash. The program hosted a broad spectrum of German politics, ranging from the CDU's conservative paternalism (Christian Wulff and Armin Laschet) to the SPD's rights-based discourse focused on economic rationality (Guntram Schneider) and the Greens' philosophy of multicultural pedagogical participation (Sylvia Löhrmann). On the opposing side, the ministers of the 60th government (Faruk Çelik and Kürşat Tüzmen), representing the Turkish side, formed a defensive line of resistance by sharply criticizing obstacles to family reunification, inequalities in educational opportunity, and rising Islamophobia. This study aims to examine the political discourses produced between these two dominant power centers, using the Bakış Açısı (Perspective) program as a focal point, through Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology (text, discursive practice, and social practice). This research deciphers the discursive strategies of dominant actors while simultaneously investigating how third-generation Turkish civil society actors construct an independent discourse of 'participation' (Teilhabe) and

'individuality' in the face of these oppressive structures. Thus, the study aims to demonstrate that the immigrant response, criminalized as 'nonconformity' in the dominant German discourse, is not actually an integration crisis but a conscious demand for equal citizenship against institutional racism.

2. Methodology

Fairclough proposes a three-dimensional analytical framework (matrix) for the analysis of any discursive event. Accordingly, the analysis in this study will be conducted in three stages: text (linguistic analysis), discursive practice (process of production, distribution, and consumption), and social practice (socio-cultural context/hegemony).

"Critical discourse analysis aims to make visible the power asymmetries, relationships of exploitation, domination, and institutional inequality in language and discourse; and to investigate how discursive practices are shaped by and serve social power struggles" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 11).

3. Paradigm Shift in Conservative Discourse: Lower Saxony Prime Minister Christian Wulff

The period 2005–2012 marks a structural break in the immigration and integration policies of the Christian Democrats (CDU) in Germany. The most concrete empirical evidence of this transformation and shift from a paternalistic-assimilationist reflex to inclusive conservatism is the exclusive interview given by Lower Saxony Prime Minister Christian Wulff to Kanal Avrupa TV's "Perspective" program during a historic summit attended by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel. Wulff's measured tone and intense discursive content in this interview have been analyzed under four main themes.

Wulff's statements to the host of Bakış Açısı are analyzed under the following thematic headings, reflecting their measured tone and dense discursive content:

The Two-Way Character of Integration and Emphasis on a Common Future [00:00–01:15]: In the introduction to the interview, Wulff softens the traditional CDU line, which views immigrants as a "series of obligations" imposed upon them. Stating that the Turkish community is a part of and a component of Germany, Wulff argues that the process is one of mutual acceptance, also demonstrated by the German state. The language used in this section moves away from portraying the immigrant as an "other," emphasizing instead a profile of a "founding employee" whose role is expanded at the institutional level.

Equal Opportunity in Education and Human Capital Potential [01:15–02:30]: Responding to the question about their disadvantaged position in the education system, Wulff adopted

a pedagogical and pragmatic tone. He recognized that the young Turkish population represents an economic and social potential (human capital) that the state of Lower Saxony cannot afford to lose. His emphasis on the institutional need to overcome inequalities in education symbolizes a clear break with the blaming state mentality that had previously directly declared immigrant children as the "source of failure."

Respect for Religious Identity and Discursive Infrastructure [02:30–03:45]: Wulff adopted a moderate stance on the issue of "cultural and religious differences," traditionally the area of greatest resistance from the conservative base. He argued that Turks could perfectly integrate into the German system while preserving their language, beliefs, and cultural roots. This 75-second segment is critical to the analysis of this article; the discursive and intellectual foundations for Wulff's later historic declaration as President of Germany, "Islam belongs to Germany," were actually laid on the screens of immigrant media during this period.

Promotion of Bureaucratic and Political Representation [03:45–05:00]: In the final minutes of the interview, the interviewer drew attention to the low representation of Turks in the German bureaucracy (1%) and their invisibility in politics. Instead of taking a defensive stance against this legitimate criticism, Wulff opted for a rhetorical position that affirmed the claims. He stated that Turkish-origin actors should not be limited to the workforce and free enterprise, but should have more opportunities in administrative positions, ministries, and political parties, defining integration not as assimilation but as "institutional participation" (Teilhabe).

4. Inclusive Conservatism and the Institutionalization of Integration: the Discourse of Armin Laschet

In the history of integration in Germany, North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), with its immigrant population of over four million, half of whom are of Turkish origin, serves as a policy laboratory. The establishment of the first "Ministry for Intergenerational Relations, Family, Women and Integration" in this state triggered a paradigm shift at the federal level. Armin Laschet, who was the Minister for Integration at the time, would later rise to the positions of Prime Minister of NRW and the CDU's candidate for Chancellor of Germany.

The Institutionalization of Integration and Political Responsibility: At the opening of the two-hour "Perspective" program, broadcast from Kanal Avrupa TV's Duisburg studios with the participation of Armin Laschet and representatives of Turkish NGOs, the presenter, referring to the previous broadcast six months earlier, asked, "What has changed in your migration policy?" Laschet responded by emphasizing the institutional status that integration has gained within the state: he stated

that the establishment of an independent Ministry of Integration in NRW was a historic turning point, and that this model in Düsseldorf was recognized by Berlin (the federal government), leading to the appointment of an Integration Undersecretary reporting to the Chancellor. Laschet's discourse is based on an institutional rationality that transforms migration from a temporary phenomenon into a fundamental issue of state administration.

[24:00–30:00] Immigration and Citizenship Policy as Election Material: Unlike the CDU's traditional base, Laschet explicitly opposed the use of immigrants and integration processes as a polarizing tool in election campaigns. "We are at an important stage in the integration process, a new era. We cannot win elections with immigration issues. We must make more immigrants citizens, we must increase this rate." He declared that the North Rhine-Westphalia government and the CDU absolutely did not approve of or endorse the "Islam Test" (Giseler Survey) practices, implemented in other conservative states like Baden-Württemberg, which targeted Muslim immigrants. He attempted to rationalize this approach by limiting it to tests based solely on constitutional commitment and general knowledge of the country. He also offered an economic justification by linking the sustainability of the pension system to the immigrant workforce: "Having immigrants is a good thing, it is thanks to them that our pension system runs."

Bilingual Pedagogy and PISA Results Analysis [48:12- 55:12]: While discussing equal opportunities in education and failures in PISA tests, Laschet responded to the criticism from a representative of the North Rhine-Westphalia Integration Council (LAGA), who stated, "They are shifting the responsibility directly onto foreign children instead of the education system," by focusing on language policy. He argued that German language tests and language courses were mandatory in kindergartens, and approached then-Chancellor Angela Merkel's "Speak German at home" directive with a more flexible and scientific vision. "Those who know their mother tongue well will also learn German well. Children can grow up very well bilingual. At home, the mother should speak her mother tongue, and at school, the students should speak German." He stated that despite the indebted state budget, they had doubled the kindergarten budget, arguing that they had transformed integration from a discursive level into a financial investment. He also stated that religious education should be provided within school boundaries and in German, impartially to all faith groups (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim).

Turkish Islam, the Atatürk Tradition, and the Danish Cartoon Crisis [01:23 - 01:25]: The most strategically significant part of the interview, from a discursive perspective, is Laschet's praise of the secular-modern identity of Turkish Muslims. Stating that he is in close dialogue with institutions such as DITIB and LAGA, the minister theorized the integration capacity of the Turkish

community. "Turkish Muslims come from the Atatürk tradition; they have a consciousness of the separation of religion and state. This is not true for all Muslims in Europe. Muslim Turks are an advantage for us because they know the modern West well, so their integration is easy." He emphasized that thanks to this secular/modern Islamic identity, the violence during the Danish cartoon crisis did not occur in Germany, and that Muslims, Jews, and Christians reached a consensus on respecting religious feelings through joint statements. He concluded his speech with a Turkish wish, "Have a good weekend," thus building bridges of sympathy and belonging on the immigrant screen.

The Discursive Response of Turkish Civil Society and the Diaspora: İsmail Zengin (DİTİB): In response to Minister Laschet's institutional and inclusive discourse, the strongest reflex representing the rights and social memory of the migrant subject came from İsmail Zengin, the Vice President of DİTİB Europe, who was present at the same program as the minister. Zengin's discourse is a legal and honorary manifesto of the "transition from guest to host":

Transition from Guest to Full Member [05:55-07:05]: As an actor living in Germany since 1976, Zengin declared the sociological transformation of the Turkish community with these words: "We are no longer in the position of guest workers. We are now members of this society and we feel at home. Foreigners must end their alienation and live in complete harmony with this society." This discourse is a series of spatial and political claims against the German state mentality that constantly codes the immigrant as the "other" who comes from outside and needs to be integrated. He reminds us that DİTİB, founded in 1984 with 230 associations, has today transformed into a massive civil network with over 870 mosque associations, creating a basis for dialogue as equal partners. **A Rights-Based Objection to the 'Islam Test' Discourse:** Zengin, while sharply criticizing the politicization of immigrants during election periods, has produced the most radical resistance against the "Islam Test" imposed by some CDU states: "This test has offended our nation; there are questions that touch upon people's dignity. If such a test is to be conducted, the opinion of civil society should have been taken into account. Compared to immigrants in England, France, and the Netherlands, the Turkish community in Germany is much better integrated and creates fewer problems."

5. Economic Rationality and Rights-Based Social Democratic Discourse: Guntram Schneider

On the 50th anniversary of migration to Germany, the SPD and Green coalition government in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), in contrast to the conservative CDU era, set a new roadmap focusing on class rights and economic benefits. One of the most prominent figures of this period, NRW Minister for Labour, Social Affairs and Integration Guntram Schneider, was analyzed on

Saturday, February 26, 2011, on Kanal Avrupa TV's "Perspective" program (Duisburg Studio), through his discursive practices regarding the institutional position of more than one million Turks living in the state.

Education, the Dual System, and Export-Oriented Economic Rationality [00:00–05:50]:

At the beginning of the program, Minister Schneider, responding to the presenter's question, "What have you done for immigrants?", began by acknowledging the structural problems of the institutional German state mentality (the education and employment crisis) on a rational basis. She based her discourse not on the moral obligation of immigrant integration, but on economic necessities:

"Many students leave school without a diploma. This is unacceptable; all students should remain in school. Unemployment among immigrant youth is very high. We encourage and want them to participate in vocational training (Ausbildung), to join the Dual System which combines vocational school with employment. We also aim for immigrant youth to obtain the Abitur (university entrance diploma)."

Minister Schneider justified this educational initiative not as a favor, but in light of Germany's position in the global market. Pointing out that 49% of the population under 25 in Cologne, the state's largest metropolis, has an immigrant background, he admitted that "the German economy is dependent on exports" and that industry cannot survive without training this young workforce. He defined the concept of integration pragmatically, not as cultural fusion, but as "facilitating life by building good relationships in the workplace and social life between young people of immigrant and German origin."

Multiculturalism, Bureaucratic Normalization, and the Discourse of Dual Citizenship [05:50–15:30]: The area where Minister Schneider most clearly differs from the CDU in terms of discourse is his anti-assimilation definition of multiculturalism:

"Immigration is absolutely not about someone leaving their culture or abandoning their own culture. On the contrary, multicultural life is beneficial. We now live in a highly globalized, multinational society." As an institutional reflection of this "globalized society" discourse, he argued that the employment of immigrants in state positions should no longer be an "exception" but a "normality," referring to the appointment of Zülfiye Kaykın to the position of Undersecretary within the Ministry. He presented the election of mayors of foreign origin in North Rhine-Westphalia as evidence of this normalization. Attributing the decline in naturalization rates to young people's reluctance to renounce their native citizenship, the SPD reiterated one of its biggest promises at the federal level: legalizing dual citizenship.

Turkish Civil Society and Diaspora's "First-Class Citizenship" Discourse Against Institutional Exclusion [15:30–35:40]: In contrast to Minister Schneider's reasonable and rights-based SPD-centric discourse, Turkish civil society representatives in the studio responded with a language of resistance based on dignity and equality against the institutional system's continued "marginalization" of them despite their more than 40 years of established presence:

Critique of the Lack of Solutions [15:30–22:15]: Ramazan Özdemir, a representative of the European Turkish Islamic Union (ATIB), who was on the same program as Minister Guntram Schneider, questioned the sympathetic and inclusive language used by German politicians on immigrant television channels with a structural critique: "For years, brilliant speeches have been given on integration. However, Turkish civil society representatives are not taken seriously in any real sense. The same problems have been discussed at the table for years, but no fundamental solution has been produced."

The Crisis of Religious Education for Muslim Children and the Sylvia Löhrmann Agreement [22:15–28:40]: The presenter and Turkish representatives discussed the issue of Islamic religious education, which Sylvia Löhrmann, then the Green Party's Minister of Education, attempted to include in the curriculum but faced difficulties in implementation. The representatives noted that Muslim children were growing up without receiving their own religious education within the school system, highlighting that this constituted a "potential danger" both in terms of children's identity development and the lack of oversight within German society. The discourse was based on the criticism that the state created an exclusionary environment by failing to institutionalize religious education.

Demand for Political Participation and Local Election Rights [28:40–32:10]: Turkish representatives strongly protested the fact that promises of dual citizenship remained abstract and that Turks who have lived and paid taxes in the state for 40 years did not even have the right to vote in local elections: "We have been here for 40 years. We want not only to be elected, but also to have a say in local elections. It is our most natural right to be treated as first-class citizens in this community."

Class Barriers and S. Atabek's Critique [32:10–35:40]: Participating in a discussion on education in the Duisburg studios, S. Atabek, the head of the Teachers' Union, explained the SPD's vision for education through a class-based reality: "Unfortunately, immigrant children from working-class families with poor social conditions cannot overcome the barriers of the German education system and receive an education. How will the SPD solve this class inequality in integration and education?" With this question, Atabek emphasized that systemic racism and class exclusion have become the fate of immigrant children.

6. The Discourse on Multicultural Pedagogical Participation: Sylvia Löhrmann (Green Party)

In 2010, the SPD-Green coalition government that came to power in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) dismantled the security and performance-oriented integration approach of the conservative era and constructed a new discourse centered on pedagogical reform, equal opportunity, and multicultural participation (Teilhabe). This paradigm shift, spearheaded by NRW Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education Sylvia Löhrmann (Greens), was evaluated using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology in the two-hour "Perspective" program broadcast from Kanal Avrupa TV's Duisburg studios, with the participation of the presenter and Turkish civil society representatives:

Pedagogical Reform and Equality of Opportunity in the Education System [00:00–07:44]: Evaluating his first year in office at the opening of the program, Minister Löhrmann announced that they had removed the biggest structural obstacle in the German education system that worked against immigrant children: "Previously, teachers decided which type of school the child would attend after 4 years of primary education. Now we have given this right directly to the parents. We have divided the decision-making process into a three-legged structure: mother, father, teacher and student."

Löhrmann announced the launch of 14 new community school (Gemeinschaftsschule) models to prevent immigrant children from being separated into different groups at an early age after the fourth grade. Arguing that children should not be separated according to their abilities at an early age, the minister stated that in this model, the school placement decision is left until after the sixth grade; this flexible structure has been met with great satisfaction by Turkish parents and is seen as an "opportunity to obtain an Abitur (university entrance diploma)." Löhrmann stated that they have dealt a blow to mechanisms that fuel class and ethnic discrimination in education; he emphasized that they have abolished school fees and the "social behavior and diligence grade" system, which is the most controversial aspect of the system. The abolition of university fees and the free book project in kindergartens are part of a discourse on pedagogical rights developed against the commodification of education.

Faith-Based Islamic Religious Education and the Crisis of Institutional Representation [09:27–09:45] / [24:00–24:51]: Regarding Islamic religious education in schools, one of the most important issues for the Turkish community of over one million people living in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), Minister Löhrmann announced a historic institutional step. Emphasizing that there are 320,000 Muslim children in the state and that these children have a constitutional right to religious education, the minister shared the formula they developed to overcome the lack of legal

status for Muslim organizations: "According to legal rules, we need an official counterpart. Since the recognition process for Muslim organizations can take a long time, we established an 'Advisory Board' in February in agreement with the Muslim Coordination Council. I will bring this draft to the state parliament in June. I am proud of this achievement." S. Löhrmann guaranteed that this course would not be a superficial religious education (Islamkunde), but a faith-based course given within the curriculum during regular class hours, just like Catholic and Protestant courses. He also added that teacher training departments for Islamic religious education have been established at Münster and Osnabrück universities.

Discursive Responses of Turkish Civil Society and Teacher Network [14:15–01:51]:

Minister Löhrmann's progressive and reformist vision, given the damage left by previous governments, was met with both support and cautious satisfaction by the immigrant actors in the studio:

Cahit Başar (Spokesperson for the NRW Network of Teachers of Immigrant Background): Visibility and Diversity [14:15–22:16]: Cahit Başar stated that he welcomed the elimination of subjective grading and teacher hegemony in school selection, and drew attention to the low number of immigrant students in high schools. Minister Löhrmann agreed with Başar's statement, making an institutional commitment by stating that they want diversity in school corridors and teacher's rooms: "If a student sees a teacher of immigrant background like Cahit Başar, they will have the motivation of 'if he succeeded, so can I.' We need concrete role models, not just on paper."

Mustafa Duman (DİTİB Bavaria Representative): An Example for Bavaria: Mustafa Duman, a guest from the state of Bavaria, praised the religious education initiative in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), comparing it to Bavaria's. Duman emphasized that the project, launched in Bavaria in 2009, is still in the "model trial" phase, but the NRW government has transformed it into a direct, permanent practice and "a real religious education course based on the principles of Islam," thus confirming Minister Löhrmann's policy on behalf of immigrants.

Mother Tongue Education and the Obstacle to Local Voting Rights [01:43:30–01:51]:

After Duman reminded him that previous governments had restricted and abolished mother tongue education, Minister Löhrmann promised to improve mother tongue education both quantitatively and qualitatively. However, when it comes to the right to vote in local elections, a right that immigrants have been denied for 50 years, the limitations and paradoxes of the institutional German state mentality come into play again: "Our coalition agreement includes the recognition of the right to vote and stand for election at the municipal level. But this requires a constitutional amendment, and the CDU is blocking it. We do not have this majority in parliament."

Minister Löhrmann's Closing Message and Parental Responsibility: At the end of the program, Minister Löhrmann stated that structural reforms can only succeed with the integration of immigrant families into the system, and made an institutional appeal to parents: "We are working together to achieve this. Regardless of their background, mothers and fathers must understand education and accompany their children on their educational journey. They should attend parent-teacher meetings at school and speak directly with teachers."

7. Transnational Patronage and Sovereign State Discourse: Minister Faruk Çelik

As the 50th anniversary of Turkish labor migration is celebrated, the policy axis of the Republic of Turkey towards the diaspora has evolved from a passive "observer" position to an active and protective transnational actor model defending the rights of its citizens at the international level. The answers given by Faruk Çelik, who served as Minister of State and Deputy Chairman of the AK Party responsible for Foreign Relations after his experience at the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, to questions on integration and education issues in the Bakış Açısı program in the Kanal Avrupa TV studios, were analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology and time codes:

50 Years of Neglect, Institutional Discrimination, and Islamophobia [01:20–15:35] /: Minister Çelik, who conducted a half-century historical assessment of the Turkish presence in Europe, constructed a discourse of "neglect" pointing to structural shortcomings in both host countries and past Turkish policies. He defined the fluctuating graph of the migration process with concrete crisis headings:

"When we look at 50 years of labor migration in Europe, we see many instances of neglect and disregard. In our meetings with both the German government and state ministers over the last three years, obstacles to family reunification, exclusion, institutional discrimination, chronic unemployment, especially among immigrant youth, and the rising Islamophobia and exclusionary views of right-wing marginal movements towards foreigners have emerged as our most pressing problem areas." Minister Çelik's discourse differs from the Eurocentric rhetoric that reduces integration to an individual adaptation problem. By framing the problem directly through macro-systemic structural obstacles such as "exclusion, institutional discrimination, and Islamophobia," it seeks to attribute the responsibility for the socio-economic bottlenecks experienced by Turkish society not to the individual, but to the system.

Turkey's Alternative Power Discourse in Youth and Vocational Training [15:35–01:20:10]: Faced with the exclusion of Turkish youth from the German education system and their

being pushed into a spiral of unemployment, Minister Çelik presented Turkey's operational competence and institutional infrastructure as an alternative solution:

"There are problems in Germany regarding the vocational training of young people. In Türkiye, we have created institutional structures that will provide vocational certificates. Let's train these young people within the program; we have the conditions and the power to train them in every skill you want and need. Currently, we are training 450,000 young people in various vocational fields in Türkiye. Send them to us, we will train and certify these young people, and then send them back to Europe." This rhetoric is a "reverse capacity-sharing" move in the context of international relations. Offering to substitute the solution that the German education system (especially with the obstacles of Hauptschule/Realschule) cannot produce with Turkey's potential to train its young workforce, Çelik displays a protective state mentality that holds bargaining power against the dominant German bureaucracy.

Youth Welfare Offices (Jugendamt) and Foster Care Crisis: "Children Should Not Be Blamed": Minister Çelik addressed the crisis of "German Youth Welfare Offices (Jugendamt) taking Turkish children away from their families," which has been the focus of journalists' attention and has caused deep wounds in Turkish society, at both sociological and pedagogical levels:

Comparing Criteria and Seeking Dialogue: Çelik argues that the processes of separating children from their families must be transparent: "We need to know very well the institutional criteria for why children are taken from their families. Each child should be examined individually, and this crisis should be resolved through dialogue with the administrative structures of the host country."

"Houses of Love" and a Reference to Traditional Family Structure: In contrast to the bureaucratic coldness of the German system, he refers to Turkey's compassionate institutional model and the broad bonds of the Turkish family structure: "If necessary, we can send the children to Türkiye. We have 'Houses of Love' in Türkiye with extremely modern standards; we raise and nurture our children there with love. Furthermore, these children don't just have mothers and fathers; they also have grandmothers and grandfathers. They have a large family structure."

Structural Preservation Discourse: It emphasizes that the price of socio-economic or cultural constraints faced by families should not be paid by children who lose their identity: "Families may face difficult situations, but the bill should not be passed on to the children; institutional assimilation should not be allowed. The problem must be solved, and we have the power to solve it."

"We Will Take It by Force If Necessary": Declaration of Transnational Sovereignty Based on Rights: The most radical sentence in the article and program, pushing the boundaries of diplomacy

and taking the "transnational patronizing state" character to its peak, is the statement made by Minister Çelik at the end of his speech:

"There are very important developments and a major infrastructure project in Türkiye. Our problems are not completely over, but the old Turkey is gone. Wherever our citizens are in the world, as the Republic of Turkey, we will sit down at the table with the administrative structures of the host countries and take their constitutional and human rights by force if necessary. We will discuss this with the administrative structures with this determination." [01:20:10]

8. Global Competition, Demographic Power, and Lobbying Discourse: Kürşat Tüzmen

On the 50th anniversary of the Turkish presence in Germany, the Republic of Turkey's approach to the diaspora has not been limited to social rights or protective protection; the issue has been redefined in terms of global trade, demographic projections, and strategic lobbying power. The answers given by Kürşat Tüzmen, who served as Minister of State (responsible for Foreign Trade and Customs) in the 58th, 59th, and 60th governments of the Republic of Turkey and subsequently as Deputy Chairman of the AK Party responsible for Foreign Relations, to questions on the "Perspective" program in the Kanal Avrupa TV studios, have been analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology.

Entrepreneurial Power, Inequality of Opportunity in Education, and Bureaucratic Representation Crisis [00:00–15:45]: While evaluating the fifty-year evolution of the Turkish community in Germany, Minister Tüzmen stated that while some restrictions on political, social, and religious freedoms have decreased, they still persist. He based his discourse directly on "economic success and entrepreneurial spirit":

"In Germany, we saw how three generations of entrepreneurs created suitable job opportunities and made an enormous contribution to foreign trade for both Germany and Turkey. This means that our workforce produces very good results when conditions are right. However, on the other side of the coin, there are serious problems in the education of our compatriots. Equality of opportunity in education is not fully provided; our compatriots cannot progress to higher levels of education, i.e., to high-level positions. Providing them with equal opportunities in education and employment is vital."

Tüzmen criticized, with harsh numerical data, the fact that the tremendous success of the Turkish community in the commercial field is not reflected in political and administrative mechanisms. He pointed out that despite immigrants being a significant part of the population, their representation in the bureaucracy remains at only 1 percent. Emphasizing that the path is open,

Tüzmen argued that Turks should be represented at much higher levels than they deserve in politics, culture, bureaucracy, and the business world. He described the root cause of this impasse in a self-critical tone, stating, "Our lobbying efforts are extremely inadequate," and emphasized that Turkey's legitimate arguments and power should be focused directly there, in Germany.

"21st Century Recruitment Technique," Family Structure and Demographic Collapse Projection [15:45–01:27:05]: In the program, Tüzmen presented a geopolitical and demographic manifesto against the Youth Welfare Offices (Jugendamt) separating Turkish children from their families and the language barriers imposed for family reunification through marriage:

"If Germany is using this as a '21st Century Recruitment Technique,' this needs to be clearly stated and explained. Our stance on this is clear: Turkey has the power to easily educate its own children; a stone is heavy in its place. On the other hand, it is the most natural right for married people to bring their spouses to Germany; we must voice our opposition to this language barrier and the obstacles to family reunification through every channel."

Tüzmen has exposed Europe's structural dependence on immigrant children and young workers through striking population projections. He warned host countries to make smart and forward-looking plans, stating, "Germany must take this into account." He pointed out that by the end of the 21st century, Europe would be a much older and smaller continent, with Germany's population projected to fall to 30 million and Italy's to 22 million, implying that attempting to assimilate the young Turkish workforce would mean destroying their own future. (The text then abruptly switches to a different topic: Tüzmen has presented striking population projections.)

"There's a Handsome Turkey in the Mirror": The Reversal of Power Balances: Minister Tüzmen's most powerful rhetorical move, shaking the Eurocentric elite discourse, is hidden in his third speech, where he expressed the economic-political shift in Turkey's position with a symbolic metaphor:

"The old times are over, 'Europe's sick man' has recovered. Today, Greece and Italy are in very difficult economic situations, experiencing major crises. Now, when we look in the mirror, there is a very handsome Turkey with its economic dynamism and young population. Germany is an exemplary country in terms of democracy; I believe it will not remain indifferent to the issues of education, representation, and religion that we have raised here. These issues will also be raised loudly in the European Parliament, and no country can remain indifferent to this. I think they will make the necessary legal arrangements." [01:27:05]

9. The Discourse of Radical Participation and Rights-Based Diversity: Arif Ünal, Member of Parliament for the Green Party in North Rhine-Westphalia

As Germany marks the 50th anniversary of immigration, the most radical and structural critique As Germany celebrates the 50th anniversary of immigration, the most radical and structural critique of the one-sided "integration" pressure generated by the dominant political discourse has come from an actor within the system who uncompromisingly defends the immigrant identity. Arif Ünal, a Green Party Member of Parliament in the North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) State Parliament, had his responses to questions from civil society representatives and journalists on the Kanal Avrupa TV program "Perspective" analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology and conversation time codes:

Rejection of the Concept of Integration and the Paradigm of "Participation (Teilhabe)": MP Ünal began his speech by reversing the "integration" terminology used by the dominant German right/conservative literature to suppress immigrants. He purged the concept of integration of its assimilationist remnants, shifting it to a radical liberal-democratic line:

"Integration is about accepting everyone as they are; no one has to be like anyone else. To ensure equal opportunity, immigrants need to learn German; we have no objection to that. No one says 'I don't want to learn this language.' The real issue is whether the state fully provides the opportunity and infrastructure for language learning; that's what we look at in parliament. We now say 'participation and integration.' Because expecting people to integrate without giving them a real chance to participate in society is a structural deception."

Ünal's discourse removes integration from being a moral duty for the immigrant and transforms it into a legal obligation for the state. By framing participation (Teilhabe) as a prerequisite, it argues that a state that does not remove institutional barriers (lack of voting rights, educational barriers) has no right to demand integration.

Honoring the First Generation: "The Most Adapted Generation" and the Myth of Crime [05:10]: Against the tendency of the dominant media and bureaucracy to criminalize immigrants as "criminal elements," "parallel societies," or "nonconformists," Ünal has produced a counter-discourse focused on honor, positioning the first generation (Gastarbeiter) as sociological heroes:

"In this society, many immigrant people pay their taxes down to the last penny. Paradoxically, the most integrated into this society are those first generation who speak the least German. They are the people who are afraid to even cross at a red light on the streets of Germany, who have never been involved in a criminal incident in their lives, who have worked day and night, and who have made

the greatest contribution to the development of this country. What more could these innocent people have done for this country?"

This rhetorical move is one of the practices of "defending historical truth against the memory-erasing operation of the dominant ideology" in Fairclough's CDA model. By eliminating the language that views the German language barrier as a criterion of "nonconformity," Ünal argues that true integration should be measured through social morality, labor, and adherence to the law.

Multiculturalism, State Responsibility, and 35 Years of Structural Loss: Responding to the program host's question, "Does the individual have the opportunity to preserve their own identity in this participation process?", Ünal presented the Greens' vision of a multicultural society as a legal obligation for the state:

- **Diversity as Wealth:** "The state must absolutely give individuals the chance to preserve their own identity. Multiculturalism and multi-religiosity are not a deficiency, threat, or weakness; on the contrary, they are an immense asset for society."
- **Rights First, Then Criticism:** Ünal states that the state does not have the luxury of blaming the immigrant before fulfilling its responsibilities: "The state must fully ensure equality of opportunity in legal, social, and institutional terms. If, after these are fully ensured, an individual comes out and says, 'I am not using these rights and opportunities given to me,' then let's sit down and talk about the individual's integration. You cannot impose responsibilities without granting rights."
- **An Admission of the "Guest Worker" Hypocrisy:** A bold exposé of Germany's institutional denial and blindness to its immigration history: "In this country, we wasted 35 years out of 50 years of immigration. Because we never discussed the phenomenon or sociology of immigration. We simply dismissed the incoming people as 'guest workers' (Gastarbeiter) to be exploited. 35 years wasted. The issues of integration and rights that we are discussing here today are unfortunately the product of a belated discussion of the last 15 years."

10. Intergenerational Trauma, Belonging, and Rebellion Discourse: Prof. Dr. Hacı Halil Uslucan

As the 50th anniversary of Turkish migration to Germany draws to a close, the academic world has brought the most in-depth structural analysis to the integration debate, moving beyond political rhetoric and focusing on objective data and psycho-social dynamics. The empirical findings shared by Prof. Dr. Hacı Halil Uslucan, Director of the Essen-based Center for Turkish and Integration Studies (TAM) Foundation, on the phenomenon of migration, intergenerational differences, and the

psychological state of Turkish youth, during the Kanal Avrupa TV program "Bakış Açısı" (Perspective), were evaluated using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology and speech time codes:

Migration Motivation, "Social Positioning," and Intergenerational Disconnect: Prof. Dr. Uslucan began his presentation by disrupting the homogenizing integration discourse prevalent in the political and media: "We don't have a single picture regarding integration." Uslucan explains the fundamental philosophy of migration with the concept of "Social Positioning":

"The basic motivation for migration is to improve life. The first generation carried this burden; they worked under the conditions of that time and achieved social advancement. However, this linear link, unfortunately, broke in the third generation; there is a structural decline."

Uslucan refutes the German narrative, which attributes this decline to the individual laziness of young people, with an empirical paradox: third-generation young people, despite knowing German and having good grades, cannot find vocational training places (Ausbildungsplatz) due to systemic discrimination in the market.

The Justified Rebellion of the Third Generation Against the "Good Foreigner" Myth: The most striking layer of academic discourse is the part that deciphers the assimilationist myth that "the first generation was compliant, the third generation is corrupt":

"In Germany, the perception that 'the first generation was a good foreigner, the third generation is rebellious' is widespread. However, in-depth analyses show that young people have actually adapted very well to this country. The reason for the rebellion is that they see themselves as part of Germany. Their feeling of belonging here and the fact that they do not perform the same tasks and have equal rights as German youth is driving them towards a structural rebellion."

Uslucan reveals the difference between generations with the following analysis of mentality:

- First Generation (Passive Gratitude): They saw themselves as guests and second-class citizens. They didn't object to structural disadvantages, contenting themselves with "They gave us jobs."
- Third Generation (Authentic Belonging and Resistance): They were born and raised here. They see themselves as equals to the majority and demand the same rights. The "anger and rebellion" they display is not a sign of nonconformity; it is a "search for holistic belonging and equal citizenship."

Statistical Reality: "The Percentage of Those Rejecting Integration Is Not Even 2%"

Prof. Dr. Uslucan refutes populist claims with concrete data: According to my scientific research, the percentage of those who definitively reject integration and living together with this

society is not even 2%. The problem is not with the intentions of the immigrants; the real problem is the exclusionary perspective of German society and institutions, which claim to be pluralistic, towards immigrants, towards the 'other'." [10:15]

11. Findings and Discursive Responses Matrix: Actors' Integration and Education Paradigms

The "Perspective" program, produced in the Kanal Avrupa TV studios, served as a litmus test regarding integration, education, and rights demands in Germany on the 50th anniversary of migration. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology, the findings, discursive strategies, and time codes generated by the German institutional mindset (CDU-SPD-Greens), the Presidency, the Turkish Republic state apparatus (AK Party), immigrant civil society, and academia (TAM Foundation) were classified as follows:

12. German Federal and State Level: Institutional Reform, Expansion and Borders

Christian Wulff (Federal President of Germany - CDU): "Islam Belongs to Germany" Manifesto [02:10]: By presenting a historic turning point, it has equated Germany's official state ideology with multicultural reality. On the 50th anniversary of immigration, it has removed national identity from a homogeneous "Christian-Jewish" sphere and registered Muslims and Islam as a founding and essential element of Germany within the constitutional framework.

- The Inclusive Belonging Discourse: This called for a renewal of the social contract by elevating immigrants from the status of "foreigners who need to integrate" to that of "stakeholders building Germany's future."

13. Armin Laschet (Then Minister for Generations, Family, Women and Integration of North Rhine-Westphalia - State Premier, CDU Candidate for Chancellor of Germany)

- Institutionalization of Integration and the "Land of Opportunity": As the first politician to establish a nationwide "Ministry of Integration" in Germany, he transformed the issue from a security concern into a structural cabinet policy. He implemented the "Land of Opportunity" paradigm, which envisioned language incentives and institutional support networks from kindergarten onwards to enable immigrant children to climb the educational ladder.
- The Multicultural CDU and the Conservative Contradiction: Resisting the hardline assimilationist group within his party, he argued that immigrants could remain loyal German citizens while preserving their ethnic and religious identities. While acknowledging the

existence of institutional discrimination, he aimed to pave the way for merit-based advancement.

Guntram Schneider (NRW Minister of Labour, Social Affairs and Integration - SPD)

- **Education and Economic Rationality [00:00 - 05:50]:** Justified integration policies not as a moral imperative, but through global competition and export balances. Pointing out that almost half of the population under 25 in metropolises like Cologne consists of immigrants, he linked the Dual System and Abitur initiatives to the labor needs of German industry.
- **Bureaucratic Normalization and Dual Citizenship [05:50 - 15:30]:** Defined multiculturalism as a "useful asset"; presented the appointment of Zülfiye Kaykın as Undersecretary as a step to make the representation of immigrants in the public sector the "norm" rather than the "exception". He reiterated the SPD's promise of dual citizenship.

Sylvia Löhrmann (Deputy Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Minister of Schools and Education - Green Party)

- **Pedagogical Reform and Equal Opportunities [00:00 - 07:44]:** They announced that they have transferred the authority to choose the type of school after primary education directly to the parents. To prevent early elimination of children, they launched 14 new community school (Gemeinschaftsschule) models; they stated that they have abolished the grading and fee system for social behavior and diligence.
- **Faith-Oriented Islamic Religious Education [09:27 - 09:45] / [24:00 - 24:51]:** They announced that an "Advisory Board" has been established in agreement with the Muslim Coordination Council to ensure the constitutional right to religious education for 320,000 Muslim children in the state, and that they will submit a bill to parliament. They confirmed that the lessons will be faith-oriented (Bekenntnisorientiert) and the curriculum will be based on religious texts; and that teacher training chairs have been opened at the universities of Münster and Osnabrück.
- **Institutional Boundaries and Parental Responsibility [01:43:30 - 01:51]:** They admitted that although the coalition protocol included the right to local elections, they were unable to implement it due to CDU obstruction and the lack of a majority required for constitutional amendments (institutional deadlock). In closing, they called on parents to attend school meetings and speak with teachers to overcome these structural problems.

Arif Ünal (NRW Green Party Member of Parliament)

- **Rejection of Integration and the Condition of Participation:** By stating "No one is obligated to conform to anyone else," he rejected the assimilationist aspect of the concept of integration

and replaced it with the concept of "Participation (Teilhabe)." He argued that it is a systemic deception for the state to expect integration from immigrants without fully guaranteeing equal opportunities, legal and social rights.

- **Historical Critique and the First Generation:** He declared that Germany wasted the first 35 years of its immigration process by viewing people only as "guest workers." He argued that the first generation was the most integrated despite the language barrier; he debunked the myth that people who paid their taxes, worked, and were even afraid to run red lights were "incompatible."

14. The Transnational Patronage and Strategic State Discourse of the Republic of Türkiye

Faruk Çelik (Minister of State, Minister Responsible for Religious Affairs and Turks Abroad - AK Party)

- **Identifying Systemic Obstacles [01:20 - 01:25]:** It was determined that there has been serious neglect in Europe over the last 50 years; obstacles to family reunification, institutional exclusion, discrimination, youth unemployment, and increasing Islamophobia are the biggest structural obstacles faced by immigrants.
- **Alternative Capacity and the Jugendamt Crisis [15:35 - 01:20:10]:** As an alternative to vocational training, which the German education system cannot produce, they stated that they have provided certified training to 450,000 young people in Türkiye and that they can send these young people to Germany. Against the practice of the Youth Welfare Office (Jugendamt) separating children from their families, the importance of not assimilating children was emphasized; the "Houses of Love" model in Türkiye and the extended Turkish family structure (grandmothers/grandfathers) were presented as institutional alternatives.
- **The Declaration of Sovereignty elevated its protective role to the level of diplomatic power, stating:** "Wherever our citizens may be, as Türkiye, we will reclaim their rights [by negotiating with German administrative structures]."

15. Kürşat Tüzmen (Former Minister of State, AK Party Head of Foreign Relations)

- **Lack of Capital, Bureaucracy, and Lobbying [00:00 - 15:45]:** It was noted that while Turks have generated significant entrepreneurial and foreign trade volume over three generations, this economic success has not been reflected in administrative mechanisms; despite the Turkish population, their representation in the bureaucracy remains at 1%. While calls for

increased representation in politics and higher bodies were made, the fundamental deficiency was identified as "the inadequacy of our lobbying activities."

- **Demographic Collapse and Criticism of "Child Recruitment" [15:45 - 01:27:05]:** The Jugendamt's child recruitment and language barriers in family reunification were described as "21st-Century Recruitment Techniques." Reminding that Germany's population will fall to 30 million and Italy's to 22 million by the end of the century, a warning was issued regarding the need for proper planning in aging Europe instead of assimilating the young Turkish workforce.
- **The Power Balance Metaphor:** He argued that Europe, grappling with economic crises (Greece, Italy), had regressed to the status of a "sick man," while in the mirror, there was a "handsome Turkey"; that Germany could not remain indifferent to these problems in the face of changing power balances, and that regulations would be made at the European Parliament level.

The Discourse of Resilience in Migrant Civil Society and Education Networks: Ramazan Özdemir, Representative of the European Turkish Islamic Union (ATIB):

- **Critique of Showcase Dialogue [15:30 - 22:15]:** This segment exposed how politicians' on-screen, sympathetic rhetoric of rapprochement doesn't solve structural problems. It implied that Turkish civil society representatives are not taken seriously and that institutional dialogue mechanisms have been transformed into showcase projects designed to stall migrants.
- **Cahit Başar (Spokesperson of the KRV Network of Teachers of Immigrant Origin)**
- **Systemic Barriers and Role Models [14:15 - 2:16]:** While welcoming the removal of subjective grading and the granting of school selection rights to parents, they drew attention to the low number of immigrant students in high schools. They received a promise of support from the Ministry for the "Teachers Network" and argued that the visibility of teachers of immigrant origin (role models) in school corridors and teachers' rooms is essential for structural success.

16. Mustafa Duman (DİTİB Bavaria Representative)

- **Curriculum and Mother Tongue Achievements:** This study compared the faith-oriented (Bekenntnisorientiert) religious education initiative in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) with that in Bavaria. It noted that Bavaria's project, launched in 2009, remained at a superficial level of religious knowledge (Islamkunde) and in the "model" stage; while NRW pioneered by implementing a genuine religious education course based on religious texts. Furthermore,

it presented a request to the government for quantitative and qualitative improvements in mother tongue education, which had been weakened by previous administrations.

Academic Knowledge Production and Psycho-Sociological Analysis: Prof. Dr. Hacı Halil Uslucan (Director of TAM Essen Foundation)

- **Sociological Disconnection and Structural Discrimination:** It has been stated that the primary aim of migration is "Social Placement," that is, building a better life. The first generation achieved this within the conditions of the job market, but this connection has been found to have broken down in the third generation. It has been empirically proven that third-generation youth, despite knowing German and having good grades, are unable to find vocational training places solely due to their ethnic identity (structural discrimination).
- **The Collapse of the "Good Foreigner" Myth and the Reaction of Belonging:** It has been found that the first generation accepted a profile of a "good foreigner" who was passive, grateful, and did not complain about disadvantages, saying, "Thank God they gave me a job"; however, the third generation, born and raised here, feels completely belonging to this country. Therefore, the language of "anger and rebellion" among young people is not due to incompatibility, but rather to a "suppressed reaction of belonging" created by not having equal rights with German youth, as deciphered at the psycho-social level.
- **Empirical Data:** Scientifically demonstrating that the percentage of Turkish immigrants who absolutely reject integration is less than 2%, the problem lies not in the immigrant's intentions, but in the exclusionary perception of the "other" held by the society and institutions that claim to be pluralistic.

Table 1

Findings Comparison Table

Actor / Institution	Basic Integration Paradigm	View on Education System	Definition of the Source of the Problem	Proposed Solution / Strategy
C. Wulff (CDU / Pres.)	Constitutional Patriotism & Pluralistic Belonging	National curriculum must be inclusive; exclusion must end.	Historical exclusionary identity definitions and the monopoly of "Germanness."	Proclamation of Islam as constitutionally and symbolically belonging to Germany.
A. Laschet (CDU)	Institutional Integration & "Opportunity State"	Early language promotion, strengthening of preschool education.	Bureaucratic inertia and barriers of institutional discrimination.	Establishing an Ministry of Integration, vertical social mobility.
G. Schneider (SPD)	Economic Rationality & Export-Oriented Labor Force	Development of the Dual Education System; promoting Abitur.	High unemployment among immigrant youth and graduation without diplomas.	Normalization in the public sector (appointing undersecretaries) and dual citizenship.

Actor / Institution	Basic Integration Paradigm	View on Education System	Definition of the Source of the Problem	Proposed Solution / Strategy
S. Löhrmann (Greens)	Pedagogical Equal & Opportunity Multicultural Participation	Common School (Gemeinschaftsschule), abolition of tuition/fees.	Barrier of early tracking/separation into school types and bureaucratic obstacles.	Freedom of choice for parents, Islamic religious education via parliamentary path.
Arif Ünal (Greens MP)	Radical Participation (Teilhabe) & Multiculturalism	The state's structural obligation to provide language learning opportunities.	Germany's 35-year denial of its migration history and the "guest worker" misconception.	Rejection of integration pressure, unconditional delivery of legal rights.
Faruk Çelik (AK Party)	Transnational Patronage & Rights Advocacy	Alternative vocational training in Turkey against the exclusionary German system.	Institutional discrimination, Islamophobia, risk of Jugendamt (youth welfare) assimilation.	Tough negotiations with administrative structures, institutional protection models.
Kürşat Tüzmen (AK Party)	Global Trade, Demography & Lobbying Power	Immigrant children not reaching the peak in academia.	The 1% representation barrier in bureaucracy, language barriers in family reunification.	Etkin lobi, Effective lobbying, becoming a focus of capital against Europe's demographic collapse warning.
NGOs and Teacher Networks	Honor-Based Equal & Citizenship Visibility	Lack of immigrants in high schools, restrictions on native language, "window-dressing" projects.	The gap between the rhetoric of politicians and practical implementation.	Employment of immigrant teachers in schools, religious education focused on authentic texts (nass).
Prof. Dr. H. H. Uslucan (TAM)	Social Positioning & Psycho-Social Belonging	The paradox of 3rd generation individuals who are excluded despite language skills and good grades.	Exclusionary institutional/social perspective and the lack of equal rights.	Recognizing the "rebellion" of youth as a sign of belonging, ending racism.

17. Analysis of Parties' Discourses and an Assessment from the Perspective of the "Integration Paradox"

The paradoxical discourse on integration presented by the guests on the "Perspective" program is evaluated below.

Christian Wulff's (CDU) discourse on the program is a strategy to shift the institutional racist reflexes, which constantly portray the immigrant as a "deficient, radical subject in need of integration," towards a dialogue-oriented and liberal-conservative framework. His speaking in this flexible tone on Kanal Avrupa TV, a platform for immigrants, during a high-level diplomatic summit (the Erdoğan-Merkel meeting), has academic value in demonstrating the micro-level softening of the "Integration Paradox" of that period. The dialogue between Armin Laschet and İsmail Zengin clearly confirms the "Integration Paradox" that emerged in Germany in the 2000s. Laschet's discourse produces a progressive-conservative state rationality that seeks to include immigrants in the system, allocates budgets, and positions Turks as "acceptable Muslims" with reference to Atatürk's modernism. In contrast, the discourse of DİTİB representative Zengin, while appreciating this institutional inclusivity, is a rhetoric of independent individualism that rebels against

exclusionary/security-oriented policies such as the "Islam Test" infiltrated by the state through the back door, based on "human dignity" and "equal citizenship." This proves that the third generation is not incompatible with Germany, but rather has transformed into a substantial subject seeking their rights with a sense of Turkish identity.

Guntram Schneider's (SPD) discourse shatters the conservative reflex that views immigration as a cultural threat; it recodes it through globalization, labor market requirements, export balances, and multicultural richness. In this respect, the SPD represents a progressive state mentality that sees immigrants as "rights-based and economic partners." This discourse in Guntram Schneider's program is the practice of "unmasking the ideological mask of the dominant discourse" in Fairclough's ESA model. Özdemir implies that institutional dialogue mechanisms have turned into showcase projects that distract immigrants. However, the discursive responses developed by the Turkish actors in the studio (ATİB, the Teachers' Association, and civil representatives) decipher the "Integration Paradox" in this progressive rhetoric. Civil society argues that symbolic gestures, such as the appointment of an undersecretary (Zülfiye Kaykın), cannot conceal structural racism and deprivation of rights; that immigrants remain in a "second-class" position as long as the denial of the right to vote in local elections, structural class barriers in education, and the impasse in religious education persist. This defiant stance of third-generation representatives is a genuine rebellion for equal citizenship and dignity, exceeding the reasonable integration limits drawn by the SPD and refusing to submit to institutional exclusion.

Sylvia Löhrmann and the Green Party's discourse; breaking away from the CDU's rigid assimilationist and exclusionary paths, the Greens base their integration on pedagogical equality, religious freedom (the right to Islamic religious education), and cultural diversity. In this respect, immigrant civil society (DITIB and the Teachers' Network) has found strong common ground with the government on granting parents the right to choose schools, eliminating subjective grading, and committing to faith-based education; however, they have maintained a cautious stance, recalling the restrictions on the mother tongue during previous conservative periods. Nevertheless, the "Integration Paradox" in the Greens' institutional discourse becomes apparent when demands for rights clash with systemic obstacles. Minister Löhrmann acknowledges an institutional deadlock, admitting that fundamental mechanisms of political participation, such as the right to vote in local elections, are blocked at the federal level and by the opposition (CDU). While rhetorically promising full equality, the continued deprivation of immigrants of the most basic democratic right – the right to vote – reveals the political limitations. Ultimately, the Minister's closing remarks, which placed individual responsibility on parents to solve structural problems by urging them to "attend meetings and speak

with teachers," are a classic liberal-democratic discursive reflex that risks shifting the burden of institutional exclusion and systemic obstacles onto the shoulders of immigrant subjects seeking their rights.

In contrast to German institutional discourses focused on "economic rationality/export-oriented labor needs" by Guntram Schneider and "pedagogical reform/liberal participation" by Sylvia Löhrmann, Minister Faruk Çelik's discourse shifts the integration debate entirely into a "transnational struggle for rights and sovereignty." While German politicians frame the immigrant as a "local subject to be educated and integrated," Çelik positions the immigrant as a "global citizen under the protection of the Republic of Turkey." This situation sharpens the "Integration Paradox" in migration literature: while the German state apparatus obstructs the most basic mechanisms of political participation, such as the right to vote in local elections, with domestic legal obstacles, the Turkish Minister proposes alternative structures (similar to "Houses of Love" and vocational certification in Turkey) that interfere with the sovereignty of German domestic law, from vocational training to child protection policies (the Jugendamt crisis). The phrase "we will take their rights by force" is, in Fairclough's critical discourse model, a strategy to transform the diaspora from a state of oppression and minority psychology into a sovereign diplomatic subject. However, this powerful patronizing discourse also carries a risk: it detaches the Turkish community's pursuit of rights from the internal dynamics of the host country and reduces it to a "power diplomacy" between two states, risking the transformation of the issue of local integration and permanent political rights (dual citizenship, local suffrage) into a chronic foreign policy tension. Ultimately, Çelik's discourse is a discursive manifesto of an honorable diaspora image that, on its 50th anniversary, no longer finds itself a passive working-class community but a rising regional power. The discourse of former Minister of Foreign Trade Kürşat Tüzmen, on the other hand, completely rejects classical approaches that view the diaspora as "victims" or "pure objects of assimilation." Tüzmen codes the Turkish presence as a strategic actor that directly controls foreign trade in the global market, generates capital, and saves Europe from demographic collapse. The German institutional mindset's demand for "immigrants to participate in education" is strategically countered by the question, "Why do you impose a 1% threshold in the bureaucracy, why do you close the highways?" Tüzmen's conceptualization of "21st Century Recruitment Technique" is an attempt, within the context of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, to decipher the dominant assimilationist intention behind the pedagogical and social welfare policies of the host country. The metaphor of "There is a handsome Turkey in the mirror" declares that the balance of economic power has shifted and therefore immigration policy can no longer be conducted with a top-down tone. However, this discourse also contains an "Integration Paradox": while Tüzmen invites Germany's

internal institutional structure (with an emphasis on the example of democracy) to rationalize its arrangement, he simultaneously delegates the solution to international power centers such as "effective lobbying" and "pressure from the European Parliament." Defending the permanent future and rights of the Turkish community in Germany through the rationality of global foreign trade and population mathematics makes them essential elements of macroeconomic balances between the two states, rather than making them rights-based local actors. Ultimately, Tüzmen's discourse is a visionary diasporic manifesto outlining a vision of "resistance through lobbying against assimilation and existence through global capital" on the 50th anniversary.

The discourse of Green Party MP Arif Ünal goes beyond Minister Schneider's (SPD) "economic benefit/export-oriented workforce need" approach and Minister Löhrmann's (Greens) "reformist" style within institutional-pedagogical boundaries, directly elevating the integration debate to the level of the German state's historical hypocrisy and constitutional violations. While his German counterparts create a liberal area of responsibility by blaming "parents who don't attend school meetings" or "individuals who don't learn the language," Ünal places the state structure, which "wasted 35 years and only sees people as laborers," in the dock. Ünal's metaphor of "the most compliant first generation who stop at red lights and pay their taxes" is a sociological shield that invalidates all arguments produced by the dominant assimilationist discourse. The statement "No one has to be like anyone else" is a discursive blow to the majority society that views integration as submission to the dominant culture. However, Ünal's radical discourse on rights, constructed from within parliament, also contains an "Integration Paradox": the claim that the state will have the right to question those who do not integrate "after legal and social rights are fully provided" demonstrates that the nation-state has not entirely abandoned its mechanisms of control and surveillance, but has modernized by producing consent. Nevertheless, Ünal's discourse is one of the most effective political manifestos that, on the 50th anniversary of migration, enabled the diaspora to transcend its passive minority psychology and assume a founding and unique German subject identity that "demands its rights from the state and asserts multiculturalism as a richness." Professor Dr. Hacı Halil Uslucan's academic discourse, on the other hand, completes the missing link between the "institutional integration duties" of German politicians (Schneider and Löhrmann) and the "transnational patronage" theses of Turkish political actors, and scientifically exposes the "Integration Paradox" in the rhetoric of both sides. While the German state defines integration as a mechanical process of "learning German and following the rules," and blames young people who fail, Uslucan proves that young people are pushed to the margins of the system due to structural racism, "even though they know the language and follow the rules." The language of "rebellion" and anger displayed by young

people is not a cultural break or integration crisis as politicians claim, but rather a "pursuit of fundamental rights" and a "reaction of repressed belonging" within Fairclough's discourse model. Rejecting the passive and grateful "outsider" position of the first generation, young people declare themselves the founding subjects of this country. Uslucan's analysis shows a complete scientific parallel with the thesis of Member of Parliament Arif Ünal, "Expecting integration without giving participation a chance is deception." Ultimately, the discourse of the TAM Foundation Director eliminates the shallow political approach that views the Turkish immigrant community as a "pathological mass in need of improvement" on its 50th anniversary; Instead, it constructs a rational, empirical, and socio-psychological manifesto of rights that calls on the German state to confront its own constitutional promises (equality of opportunity and human dignity).

18. Final Assessment

18.1 Overcoming the Integration Paradox and the New German Subjectivity in the 50th Year

This Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), conducted through Kanal Avrupa TV's "Perspective" program, reveals that the discourses surrounding integration, education, and rights demands in Germany, marking the 50th anniversary of Turkish migration, constitute a multi-layered arena of conflict and negotiation. The discourses produced by the actors in the studio demonstrate that the dominant assimilationist language is beginning to unravel, but institutional structures have not yet fully adapted to this transformation.

18.2 Discursive Fractures and Power Balances

In light of the analyzed findings, the main discursive positions focused on in this article can be summarized as follows:

German Political Institutions (Wulff, Laschet, Schneider, Löhrmann): They have shifted integration from a law-focused/assimilationist framework to a pedagogical, constitutional, and economic rationality. The recognition of Islam as belonging to Germany, the establishment of the Ministry of Integration, and faith-based religious education initiatives are historical achievements. However, this discourse falls short of completely eliminating structural racism and institutional bottlenecks; it often creates a liberal legitimacy by shifting responsibility to "parents who do not attend school meetings."

The Transnational Line of the Republic of Turkey (Çelik, Tüzmen): It has positioned the immigrant community as part of the demographic and economic power balances in the European arena. The radical critique that characterizes the practices of the "Jugendamt" (Youth Welfare Office)

as "21st-Century Recruitment Techniques" is a protective reflex against the assimilation of the diaspora. However, this patronizing language risks triggering conflicts over national sovereignty; it overshadows the immigrants' struggle for localization and equal citizenship within Germany.

Radical Participation and Academia (Ünal, Uslucan): This has formed the axis that most profoundly shakes the status quo. The rejection of the concept of "assimilation" as a tool of oppression and its replacement with the condition of "Participation (Teilhabe)" has broken the integration monopoly of the dominant majority. Psycho-social analyses, supported by data from the TAM Foundation, have scientifically confirmed that the "rebellious" language exhibited by the third generation is not a crisis of incompatibility; on the contrary, it is a justified reaction stemming from a complete sense of belonging and a desire to "have equal rights with German youth."

19. Future-Oriented Synthesis and Discursive Paradox

All the arguments analyzed point to the greatest paradox of the sociology of migration in Germany: as integration becomes more successful, conflict and rebellion increase.

The undemanding, grateful, and passive "good foreigner" profile of the first generation has given way to the "resistance discourse" of the third generation—multilingual, educated, self-aware, and raising their voices against institutional discrimination. Therefore, the rising narrative in German public opinion that "immigrants have become worse/incompatible" reflects not a sociological reality, but the defensive discourse of the dominant majority society, which fears losing its privileges and homogeneous identity. Consequently, the trajectory extending from the 50th anniversary of migration to the future necessitates abandoning the view of immigrants as a "pathological mass that needs to be cured." The solution is... The solution lies in moving beyond mere window dressing by implementing institutional reforms that will overcome the 1% representation threshold in the bureaucracy, constitutionally guaranteeing native language and religious rights, and, most importantly, recognizing the rebellion of the third generation not as a threat, but as the birth pangs of a pluralistic Germany and a symbol of authentic belonging.

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