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**How did the portrayal of Turkish
Gastarbeiter in the German news media
evolve in response to their changing
demographic and social status in Germany
from the 1960s to the 1970s?**

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How did the portrayal of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in the German news media evolve in response to their changing demographic and social status in Germany from the 1960s to the 1970s?

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Introduction

‘The Turks are coming – save yourself, who can’ – *Der Spiegel* 1973¹

This was the headline that was painted over newspaper stands across West Germany in July 1973, just a few months before Germany stopped recruiting guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*). This marked the transition from the revered *Gastarbeiter* who helped rebuild Germany to the vilified Turk who threatened German society.

Between 1955 and 1973, Germany recruited 11 million *Gastarbeiter* from countries including Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey to help maintain its economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*).² They were deemed temporary low-cost labour until the end of 1972, in the build-up to the recruitment ban (*Anwerbestopp*) in September 1973. Their alleged transience was based on the initial rotational law where workers would be sent home after two years, but this was abolished in 1964. Hence, whilst an increasing amount of *Gastarbeiter* were permanently settling in Germany with their families, the government remained idle in failing to redefine them as more than ‘temporary labourers’. Failing to accept its status as an immigrant country, West Germany made insufficient concessions to manage the influx of workers, encouraging the formation of a sizeable ethnic minority.³ Although the *Anwerbestopp* was supposed to curb the influx of *Gastarbeiter*, families continued to arrive increasing their numbers which already stood at 2.6 million, of which 206,000 were Turkish.⁴

The build up to the *Anwerbestopp* in September 1973, which was instated in response to the oil crisis, saw an explosive change in the perception of the *Gastarbeiter*.⁵ This dissertation will deepen the understanding of this transition by examining the aggressive response of the German news media to this change, transforming its portrayal of the *Gastarbeiter* from a marginalized yet valued portion of society to a Turkish mob which was taxing on every part of German society.

¹ ‘Die Türken kommen – rette sich wer kann’, *Der Spiegel*, 29.07.1973

² Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling, Anton Kaes, *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005* (University of California Press, 2007), p. 5; The Turkish workers were recruited from 1961.

³ Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the federal Republic of Germany*, p. 5

⁴ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p. 11

⁵ Jennifer Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany: hidden lives and contested borders 1960s to 1980s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p. 163

Highlighting the media's dramatic shift, this dissertation is separated into pre- and post-1972, with both drawing on the themes within three mainstream newspaper archives and linking these to the societal status and demographic of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter*. **Chapter one** examines the media's response to the pre-1972 status of the *Gastarbeiter* as a short-term aid to the German economy and a small, marginalised group who existed within the confines of their segregated living. The media portrayed the *Gastarbeiter* as a useful addition to the German economy and defended their position in Germany against exploitation however, they were not a prioritised story. **Chapter two** explores how the Turkish exodus in the early 70s and the lead-up to the *Anwerbestopp*, where the *Gastarbeiter* was no longer deemed as a low-cost solution to economic growth, turned the media to vilifying and scapegoating the 'invasion' of the Turks.⁶ This chapter will draw on my conversations with two Turkish-Germans, Hatice Akyün and Osman Engin, to better understand the broader derogatory angle adopted by the media.

This topic holds historical importance as it combats existing assumptions within history. Firstly, the idea that post-Nazi Germany was immune to racism. Historian Rita Chin combats this notion, stating that historians have operated under this unspoken assumption for too long, advocating that race should be a focal point for analysing post-war Germany.⁷ This dissertation adds to Chin's argument as it reveals racism towards the *Gastarbeiter* across mainstream platforms, central to German society. Secondly, by presenting how the media depicted Islam as the aggressive religion of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, this dissertation contests the historical illusion that Western Islamophobia was established after 9/11.

This dissertation is not directly studying the impact of the media, yet it is important to note that these media platforms had a huge influence giving the results of my research greater significance. These three newspapers were national newspapers with vast circulation, influencing a broad range of people. Given that the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* were a marginalised group with limited contact with German society, their portrayal in the press often served as the sole source of information for the German public's perception of them.⁸ As the German media began to depict the Turkish population as a burden and a danger to society, this would have

⁶ 'Die Türken kommen – rette sich wer kann', *Der Spiegel*, 29.07.1973

⁷Rita Chin, 'Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race', *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe*, (2009), pp.80-102, (p. 12)

⁸ Nail Alkan, 'Deutschland und die Türkei im Spiegel der Medien: die Verantwortung der Medien in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen', Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1998

shaped the perception held by much of Germany. Disseminating this image would therefore have contributed to the Turkish population's alienating surroundings, which many historians contend led the Turkish community to form closer connections within sub-communities, exacerbating their separation from Germany.⁹ This dissertation therefore holds historical value by contributing comprehensive evidence to the marginalisation of the Turkish population in Germany and the creation of the Turkish minority we see today.

Literature Review

The West German *Gastarbeiter* has attracted scholarly debate throughout sociology, political sciences and history, being an integral part of Germany's post-war revival and having influenced its demographic immensely. Literature has studied how Germany initially received the *Gastarbeiter* positively in the 1960s, transitioning to a more hostile response after the *Anwerbestopp*, and the effects of the Turkish communities' permanence, both historically and continuing into the present. Studies have addressed these themes with varying approaches, ranging from macro analyses involving policy and statistics to more focussed examinations emphasizing the everyday lives of the immigrants. Early works starting in the 80s tend to focus more on socio-political analysis whereas more recent works focus more on giving agency to the hidden diversities within the Turkish-German population. Within the field, it is acknowledged that the news media played a role in the *Ausländerproblem* (Foreigner Problem); however, I have yet to find a study that deeply analyses how central German news outlets depicted the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* during the first 20 years of their presence in Germany.

Sociologist Stephen Castles, who was highly influential in modern migration studies, pioneered early discourse surrounding the *Gastarbeiter*. He wrote many policy-invoking works about how legal reforms were needed within Germany to accept that the *Gastarbeiter* were a permanent fixture.¹⁰ He famously wrote an obituary for the *Gastarbeiter* outlining how Germany's exclusion of them and failure to consider their long-term implications entrenched

⁹ Esin Bozkurt, *Conceptualising "Home": The Question of Belonging Among Turkish Families in Germany*, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2009); Sandra Bucerius, *Unwanted: Muslim Immigrants, Dignity and Drug Dealing*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 21

¹⁰ Stephen Castles, 'The Guests who Stayed – The Debate on 'Foreign Policy' in the German Federal Republic', *International Migration Review*, vol. 19, issue iii, (1985), pp. 517-534; Stephen Castles et al., *Here for good: Western Europe's new ethnic minorities*, (London: Pluto Press, 1984)

an ethnic minority and permanently transformed Germany's social fabric.¹¹ Paul Adams had a similar policy based stance where he critiqued Germany's failure to consider the consequences of labour migration, specifically regarding family unification, pointing out cracks within Germany's welfare state.¹² Being in the height of the socio-political turmoil which Germany's ignorant policies, or lack thereof, had created, these works were advocating for reform. Nevertheless, they lacked diversity in their sources failing to integrate the voice of the *Gastarbeiter* into their bibliography, making space for later literature to explore.

Joyce Mushaben adopted a similar socio-political angle in *The Changing faces of Citizenship*.¹³ Publishing two decades later as the question of naturalisation came into the forefront of *Ausländerpolitik* (foreigner politics), a large part of her argument was based on the relaxation of Germany's citizenship laws to allow migrants to 'identify with and participate in host culture'.¹⁴ She further diverged from older works by broadening her source base, which allowed her findings to uncover diversities within German *Gastarbeiter* groups. She refuted the myth of the male *Gastarbeiter* giving female workers deserved attention.¹⁵

Mushaben advanced the study into labour migration however, she along with other earlier historiography failed to digress beyond using 'integration' as a linear perception of migration and settlement. Her idea of integration is how migrants assimilate into the host country by becoming more 'German' rather than analysing the interchangeable impact which these people have on Germany and Germany has on them.

In 2007, the focus shifted away from socio-political analysis of the *Gastarbeiter* with the publication of *Germany in Transit* and Rita Chin's *Guest Worker Question*, marking the first English-language histories of the *Gastarbeiter*.¹⁶ These historical analyses concur with previous literature regarding the impacts of exclusion and the perception of the workers as 'temporary'. However, they excel in their methodology by incorporating an extensive source

¹¹ Stephen Castles, 'The Guest-Worker in Western Europe – An Obituary', *International Migration Review*, vol. 20, issue iv, (1986), pp.761-778

¹² Paul Adams, 'Family Policy and Labour Migration in East and West Germany', *Social Service Review*, Vol.63, No. ii, (1989), pp. 245-263

¹³ Joyce Marie Mushaben, *The Changing Faces of Citizenship: Integration and Mobilization Among Ethnic Minorities in Germany*, (Berghan Books, 2008)

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 6

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. viii

¹⁶ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*; Rita Chin, *The guest worker question in postwar Germany*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009)

base, including political policies, press coverage and immigrant literature. *Germany in Transit* is a sourcebook which chronicles the journey of the *Gastarbeiter* from 1955 till 2005, making it a frequently cited work.¹⁷ Chin believes that policy making and cultural production should be understood as ‘constituent parts of ... public dialogue’, with policy and intimate *Gastarbeiter* counternarratives forming the two main pillars in her book.¹⁸ Their comprehensive grasp on the topic allows these works to illustrate the various ways in which the *Gastarbeiter* redefined Germany as a whole.

In collaboration with other historians, Chin also published another work in 2009 that established race as a focal point for analysis in an otherwise racially immune post-Nazi Germany.¹⁹

Historiography has also looked closer into the unknown diversities within the Turkish-German population to reveal hidden causes and effects of marginalisation within German migrant communities. Ruth Mandel emphasizes the importance of studying and distinguishing between the vast diversity within the Turkish German diaspora, revealing that despite their differences, they shared a conflicted sense of belonging.²⁰ Esin Bozkurt’s book, analysing the concept of home, similarly necessitates sensitivity to individual differences yet notes again that throughout generations and genders, all were unified on feeling excluded from German society leading to a desire to maintain unity at home and a need to protect it from ‘over-foreignization’.²¹ Sandra Bucerius, while focussing on a narrower group - 55 second-generation Turkish men living in Kreuzberg – arrives at a similar conclusion: exclusion within Germany encouraged them to forge stronger connections within subcultures, making them feel foreign to Germany yet intrinsically linked to the land they inhabited.²² This notion of exclusion is compelling, and as Sandra reveals through her interviews, the press possesses significant power to exclude.²³ My dissertation contributes to this concept through personal interviews and by demonstrating how readily the press shifted from ally to adversary in 1973.

¹⁷ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*

¹⁸ Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Post War Germany*, p. 31

¹⁹ Rita Chin, ‘Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race’, *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe*, (2009), pp.80-102

²⁰ Ruth Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties: Turkish Challenges to Citizenship and Belonging in Germany*, (Duke University Press, 2008)

²¹ Esin Bozkurt, *Conceptualising “Home”: The Question of Belonging Among Turkish Families in Germany*, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2009)

²² Sandra m. Bucerius, *Unwanted: Muslim Immigrants, Dignity and Drug Dealing*, (2014)

²³ *Ibid*, p. 183

Sarah Thomsen Vierra and Jennifer Miller both publishing in 2018 have a similar aim of conveying the diversity within the Turkish community however stress the importance of the everyday lives of Turkish Germans.²⁴ They employ a more ethnographical approach both examining areas such as religion, social lives and home life. They acknowledge how the media overlooks this individual agency, with Vierra homing in more acutely on this in her fifth chapter where she unveils the negative stereotypical media image surrounding the Muslim Turk.²⁵

Miller is unique as she starts her analysis in Turkey and focusses on the arrival of the *Gastarbeiter* in Germany.²⁶ Contemporary scholars often focus on the complex developments within second and third-generation *Gastarbeiter* however I found Miller's return to the beginning compelling. This factors into why this dissertation returns to the start to reveal the less protruding media image of the 60s.

Early works use the press for primary sources, and later works start to acknowledge its role within the German '*Ausländerproblem*' yet there is limited work on how the central media depicted the *Gastarbeiter* from the 60s until the end of the 70s. There are a small number of reports which talk about the depiction of the *Gastarbeiter* in the German media; however, these cover the topic in a general sense. For example, Zambonini's report for the migration policy institute skims over the media image of migrants in Germany as a whole, or two Friedrich Ebert reports on the media's role in Turkish-German relations, briefly discuss the impact of Turkey's image in the German news.²⁷ The lack of specialised media-driven works is in part due to the inaccessibility of newspaper archives as I will cover in my methodology. It is understood

²⁴ Sarah Thomson Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany: Immigration, Space, and Belonging, 1961-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2018); Jennifer Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany: hidden lives and contested borders 1960s to 1980s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018)

²⁵ Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany: Immigration, Space, and Belonging*, (p. 163-192)

²⁶ Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany: hidden lives and contested borders 1960s to 1980s*

²⁷ Gualtiero Zambonini, 'The Evolution of Media Coverage of Migration', *Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute*, 2009 - <<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-GermanMedia.pdf>>[accessed 2 February 2024]; Alkan, Nail in 'Deutschland und die Türkei im Spiegel der Medien: die Verantwortung der Medien in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen', *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, 1998, <<https://library.fes.de/fulltext/bueros/istanbul/00252.htm>> [accessed 28 February 2024]; *Wiso Diskurs: Expertisen und Dokumentation zur Wirtschafts-und Sozialpolitik*, 'Zur Rolle der Medien in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft', *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, August 2010, <<https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07394-20100820.pdf>>[accessed 19 April 2024]

within many works that the media was a major actor in the history of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* however it remains understudied. This dissertation will fill this gap by giving a nuanced comprehensive insight into how three of Germany's highest-circulation papers responded to the *Gastarbeiter* in the years in which they were establishing themselves and transitioning into the German Turkish minority of today. By including both a macro insight through the lens of the media and a micro through the voice of the *Gastarbeiter*, this dissertation will adopt effective methods from previous works.

Methodology

This dissertation is based on the publications surrounding the *Gastarbeiter* or the Turkish population within the newspapers *Die Zeit*, *Der Spiegel* and *Die Welt* from the years 1961 to 1979. I chose this period because it starts at their initial recruitment, seeing a major shift in 1972/3 with the *Anwerbestopp* and transformation of their status, finishing at the end of the decade allowing a manageable source base to research.

Using these newspapers is a valuable approach because they were and are highly influential central news platforms within Germany. An Economist article reporting on the death of the former editor of *Der Spiegel*, stated that it was 'one of Europe's most influential magazines' also mentioning *Die Zeit* and *Die Welt* within the four widest circulated post-war German newspapers.²⁸ These newspapers were the 'reliable' central leaning news outlets, having immensely broad influence making my findings of their depiction of the *Gastarbeiter* all the more alarming. Using three similar leaning news outlets gives value to my dissertation by making the pre and post 1972 situation directly comparable and by clarifying that the transformation was collective.

Adrian Bingham's article on the digitization of newspaper archives helps frame the difficulties and limitations of using newspapers as a primary source base, explaining why there is such a large gap in news-driven studies on this topic.²⁹ Non-digitized sources are hard to access and the sheer quantity of content makes it hard to find relevant content.³⁰ Nevertheless, by cross-

²⁸ 'His country's mirror: Germany's Der Spiegel blazed a trail. Now the country has caught up', *The Economist*, 14.09.2002

²⁹ Adrian Bingham, 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 21, No. 2, (2010) pp.225-231

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 225, 226

referencing dates and by searching at random, I uncovered a sufficient amount of articles from *Die Welt*'s physical archives. The access difficulties, especially with the recent limited access in the British library, and the consumption of time, proved frustrating at the time, however, it allows this dissertation to have a nuanced source base. Bingham rightly states that digitized papers cannot be received in the same way a physical one can be, especially when using keyword searches.³¹ Though this holds true, I employed strategies to mimic the physical experience of reading the paper as closely as possible. This included using a broad range of synonyms for keywords, judging article relevance by article length and placement within the paper, noting the significance of the last page and by seeing if it was a story published across more than one of the papers.

This dissertation does not focus on the news impact as its effects are difficult to measure and are beyond this study's scope. However, the impact that the circulation of the papers must have had within Germany can roughly be scaled against their vastness, *Der Spiegel* being the biggest at a million weekly readers in the 80s.³² I have woven the impact of the media within this dissertation because acknowledging it gives my research greater significance. However, I have avoided delving too deeply into its incalculable effects.

Instead, this dissertation situates the media reports in response to the changing demographic and societal status of the *Gastarbeiter*. This research will be drawn from a range of academic literature including books, articles and reports within fields of history, sociology and political sciences. Macro historical works are used more in understanding the changing demographic and micro socio-cultural analyses appear more in societal status and how Germany and the *Gastarbeiter* respectively received each other.

I will be using my own email conducted interviews with two Germans of Turkish origin, Hatice Akyün and Osman Engin.³³ Hatice is a journalist and Osman is a satirical writer. These interviews are central to the final part of my dissertation where I discuss the one-sided, derogatory manner of the media which removes agency from the Turkish individual. Although academics have conducted more in-depth research on individuals within the Turkish German population they have not been directed from the angle of the media. These interviews are

³¹ Ibid, p.229,230

³² 'The History of DER SPIEGEL', *SPIEGEL International*, 05.10.2011

³³ Hatice Akyün, personal contact, 06.02.2024; Osman Engin, personal contact, 31.01.2024

unique and have provided my dissertation with media-driven information from the voice which the press drowns out. Limitations to these sources are that both Osman and Hatice missed the 1960s in Germany and Hatice was still a child in the 70s. Nevertheless, their input proves invaluable with Osman recalling the 1970s and Hatice addressing foundational problems within the German media which should have only got better with modern standards.

The research of this dissertation has necessitated German language fluency as the primary research is based solely on the German language. Furthermore, breaking into German literature has been beneficial especially in ideas surrounding media depiction as although it is understudied in general, German articles allude to it more acutely as it is more central to German society.

Chapter 1 – The Welcomed *Gastarbeiter*

Before the end of 1972, the *Gastarbeiter* were favourably reported on in the German news media, receiving coverage on their benefits to Germany or being defended against mistreatment within Germany. Despite being depicted well in the media, they were not frequently covered until the 1970s, when a significant influx of Turkish workers and their families led to an increase in coverage. This is indicative of the reality that, before the 1970s, the small population of *Gastarbeiter* existed on the edge of society being seen as a temporary help to rebuilding post-war Germany. Throughout this, the Turkish population was rarely singled out in the news as they did not become a majority until 1972, hence why this chapter will focus on the image of the *Gastarbeiter* in general. I will first present how their demographic in the 1960s allowed them to be seen and portrayed as economic boosters and as victims of German exploitation. This chapter will conclude by analysing the transitional period of the early 1970s with the changing demographic leading to reporting on family exploitation, laying the foundations for the negative transformation in their media image at the end of 1972.

The *Gastarbeiter* in 1960s media were depicted as their intended outcome, temporary economic boosters. The 1965 Foreigner Law gives good background to why the media celebrated them in this way, as it stated that foreigners could stay in Germany as long as they continued to serve ‘the needs of the federal Republic’.³⁴ This reflected society and the media’s view that the *Gastarbeiter* were useful, as if they were not, they would no longer be allowed to stay in Germany. This is seen in *Die Zeit* in 1966 and 1967 where they publicised how the *Gastarbeiter* knew their position to be less stable than those of their German counterparts and therefore were hard working and factories often preferred to employ them over nationals due to lower absenteeism and conscientiousness.³⁵ They were also depicted as demand-side boosters of the economy with *Die Welt*’s article about Edeka realising the potential gains in changing advertisement to appeal to the *Gastarbeiter*.³⁶ Thus, before 1973, it is evident that the media was supportive of the workers and what they were bringing to Germany in line with the understanding that they were in Germany to help rebuild post-war Germany.

³⁴ Deniz Göktürk, David Gramling, Anton Kaes, *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005* (University of California Press, 2007), p. 10

³⁵ Werner Höfer, ‘Gestern begehrt, heute überflüssig?’, *Die Zeit*, 30.12.1966; Ferdinand Ranft, ‘Unter den *Gastarbeitern* wächst die Angst’, *Die Zeit*, 06.01.1967

³⁶ ‘Oktopus für Griechen’, *Der Spiegel*, 03.13.1966; Edeka is Germany’s biggest supermarket.

The arrival of the *Gastarbeiter* upgraded the German workforce as approximately 2.3 million Germans left industrial and agricultural jobs to become managers while foreign workers filled their space.³⁷ The German media's response to this is presented in a 1970 *Der Spiegel* article: 'Guest Workers, often for less money, do the work that German citizens no longer want to do' and without the guest workers 'the achievements of the German economy would not be maintained'.³⁸ This supports Stefan Luft's argument that the *Gastarbeiter* were 'perceived in their economic function' in the 60s.³⁹ This can be linked to their small population of workers, many of whom lived in dormitories provided by their employers; German society's contact with them was limited encouraging judgement to be impersonally based on economic contributions to Germany.⁴⁰ They were after all employed by Germany to boost the economy however as Dauverge and Marsden state, this economic advantage exists only when the labour is controllable and temporary, or if concessions are implemented to manage the inevitable permanence of temporary labour.⁴¹

Media coverage in the 1960s deployed a victimised image of the *Gastarbeiter*, where German entities exploited them, suggesting their defiance of those who took advantage of the workers. A *Die Welt* article proves the defensive tone of the German media before 1973 stating that companies were exploiting *Gastarbeiter* by finding them at train stations, coercing them into working for them, and then paying them hourly and giving them no health insurance.⁴² *Die Zeit* similarly published an article about the 'human trafficking' of *Gastarbeiter* by German intermediaries who falsely promised legal migration and employment, only to abandon them as undocumented immigrants without support on their arrival.⁴³ One could argue that the limited material for scandalisation which the *Gastarbeiter* was giving the press in the 1960s is being mistaken for defence of the immigrant. This squashes this theory as 'illegal immigrant' provides ample material for the vilification of the *Gastarbeiter* indicating instead that whilst

³⁷ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p. 10

³⁸ 'Datum: 19 Oktober 1970 Gastarbeiter', *Der Spiegel*, 18.10.1970

³⁹ Luft, Stefan, 'Skandal und Konflikt: Deutsch-türkischen Themen', *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, 18 October 2011, <<https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/59733/skandal-und-konflikt-deutsch-tuerkische-themen/>> [accessed 3 January 2024]

⁴⁰ Jennifer Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany: hidden lives and contested borders 1960s to 1980s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p. 80-85

⁴¹ Catherine Dauvergne and Sarah Marsden, 'The ideology of temporary labour migration in the post-global era', *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 18, no. ii, (pp.224-242)

⁴² 'Gastarbeiter-falle', *Die Welt*, 23.04.1968

⁴³ Gerhard Ziegler, 'Geschäft mit "Illegalen": Kopfprämien für Gastarbeiter', *Die Zeit*, 29.01.1965

they were still being recruited, they were perceived as beneficial to Germany. This is corroborated by the reception of the millionth *Gastarbeiter* who is famous throughout historiography.⁴⁴ Armando Rodrigues de Sá was welcomed in 1964 with a celebratory audience, a moped and an article in West Germany's financial newsweekly addressing him saying that he will be well looked after just as any *Gastarbeiter* should be in Germany.⁴⁵

When reported on, these media platforms shielded the *Gastarbeiter*, however they were not a prioritised story. *Der Spiegel* published a title page on the poor conditions offered to the workers on their arrival in Germany, yet this was the only cover story dedicated to the *Gastarbeiter* that I uncovered from 1961 until 1973 across three mainstream newspapers.⁴⁶ This suggests that they were valued as a temporary factor of production rather than an immigrant making their way into society. Zambonini supports this by arguing that 1960s Germany saw the *Gastarbeiter* as being 'an appreciated and welcomed figure living on the fringes of society'.⁴⁷ While the German news media reported on the exploitation of the *Gastarbeiter*, these stories were not prominently featured, suggesting that despite their value, they were still regarded as a replaceable enhancement to the German workforce.

Early German media coverage on *Gastarbeiter* defended them against racism. This is reflective of their societal status, as the prejudice within Germany presents how they were sidelined within society, yet the media reflects the broader understanding that they were 'a vital force in shaping the booming economy'.⁴⁸ *Die Welt*, *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* all defended them against state prejudice by publishing the re-investigation of several deaths of *Gastarbeiter* within prisons which were found to be as a result of mistreatment by German guards.⁴⁹ The exposure of brutal, unjust discrimination against *Gastarbeiter* in Germany, by three mainstream newspapers, notably underscores the media's role in advocating for their protection. The angle of the press could be swayed in arguing that publishing an exposé on the federal legal system is a story which papers would publish regardless of *Gastarbeiter*

⁴⁴ Jennifer Miller, *Turkish Guest workers in Germany*, p.34; Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p. 22; Rita Chin, *The guest worker question in postwar Germany*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 30

⁴⁵ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p. 22

⁴⁶ 'Gastarbeiter in Deutschland', 'Per Moneta', *Der Spiegel*, 06.10.1964

⁴⁷ Gualtiero Zambonini, 'The Evolution of Media Coverage of Migration', (Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2009) - <<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/TCM-GermanMedia.pdf>>[accessed 2 February 2024], p. 5

⁴⁸ *ibis*

⁴⁹ 'Türken Tod im Klingelputz', *Die Welt*, 28.04.1966; 'Des Türken Tod', *Der Spiegel*, 01.05.1966; N.G. Köln 'Tod im Klingelputz', *Die Zeit*, 22.04.1966

involvement especially considering it was a widespread story. Nevertheless, unlike in post-1972 publications, there was certainly no derogatory criminalisation of the *Gastarbeiter*.

Additionally, the media maintains a strong defensive stance by reporting on smaller incidents of public racism that are unlikely to have a significant impact on circulation but are nonetheless reported. This is illustrated by a *Der Spiegel* article that provokes readers with a comment from a Turkish boy who was active in a Heidelberg fraternity but was eventually turned away due to his nationality: ‘Sad that, something like this happens just because I am Turkish’.⁵⁰ Similarly *Die Zeit* published an article about the prohibition of non-German nationals in a night club and how newspapers such as *Bild* campaigned against it with a quote from a Turkish person stating ‘The newspaper says we are allowed in again’.⁵¹ Indeed, these articles weren’t hugely significant however small time issues such as these being published proves their positive portrayal with allied intent, especially considering *Bild* was a very right-wing publication. In presenting how, pre-1973, the German news media spoke out about Germany’s racism towards *Gastarbeiter*, it is evident that they were following the consensus that they were a celebrated bonus to the German economy.

The *Gastarbeiter* population increased dramatically from 1970 to 1973, with the Turkish becoming the dominant group in 1971, reaching one million in 1973.⁵² This increased the visibility of their presence in Germany and further depleted housing options for *Gastarbeiter*, resulting in more media coverage, including stories about how Germany abandoned them to live inhumanely. These themes are seen in *Der Spiegel*’s article titled ‘not even reasonable for cows’ about a report from the building supervision and immigration authorities. It uncovers *Gastarbeiter* living in ‘buildings ready for demolition for the rental price of a luxury apartment’.⁵³ Another example of this is a *Die Welt* article stating *Gastarbeiter* living in apartments which are a ‘suitable breeding places for flies and vermin’ and despite many appeals, they don’t have the strength to prevail in court.⁵⁴ These present the media publishing the poor living conditions of *Gastarbeiter* from the angle of German mistreatment, not guest worker idleness or uncleanliness, suggesting that they still carried value in Germany. This

⁵⁰ ‘Des Teufels Türke’, *Der Spiegel*, 30.06.1964

⁵¹ Bad oldesloe, ‘Gastarbeiter ausgenommen: Platz an der Theke nur für Einheimische’, *Die Zeit*, 23.09.1966

⁵² Stephen Castles, ‘The Guests who Stayed: The Debate on ‘Foreigner’s Policy’ in the German Federal Republic’, *International Migration Policy*, vol. 19, no. iii, (1985), pp. 517-534, (p.520)

⁵³ ‘Nicht einmal für Kühe zumutbar’, *Der Spiegel*, 04.07.1971

⁵⁴ ‘Schreckliche Lebensbedingungen’, *Die Welt*, 19.09.1970

contributes to Rita Chin's argument that before the *Anwerbestopp* they were still defined as 'guest' and 'worker' or temporary labour giving their presence in Germany limited opposition.⁵⁵

Consequential of the influx of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* and their families, early 70s coverage also saw reporting on the poor educational opportunities which Germany provided guest worker children. A 1970 *Der Spiegel* article upholds this, highlighting how *Gastarbeiter* children are legally allowed to go to school but were not given the provisions to excel leaving them with 'almost no educational opportunity'.⁵⁶ Reporting on inadequate educational prospects that Germany provided the *Gastarbeiter* would suggest that they were no longer temporary, combating Chin's argument that they were only seen in a positive light when it was thought they were returning home. Throughout the 1960s however, despite the abolishment of the rotational law and the continuous arrival of families, there was no perception that the *Gastarbeiter* was permanent.⁵⁷ Germany had been naive in not seeing and acting on the notion of permanence in the past ten years, they would remain naïve for another two years.

According to Mark Spicka's examination of West Germany's response to *Gastarbeiter* in the 1960s, while localities advocated for integrational measures ahead of the federal government, they implemented these from the angle of limiting costs not from a humanitarian perspective, as it was presumed that they would never become fully German.⁵⁸ Spicka's argument helps frame the media's angle and the start of the 'Guest worker problem'. Their 'temporary' status saw Germany disregarding it as a pressing issue, meaning a defensive media angle yet no federal integrational reforms and limited concessions made at a local level as evidenced by the reporting in the 70s. This led to the uncontrolled formation of a sizeable ethnic minority and the subsequent transformation of the *Gastarbeiter* media image.

Our understanding of the 1960s reception of the *Gastarbeiter* and the media's response to it is therefore greatly enhanced with this closer analysis on the type of coverage that they received

⁵⁵ Rita Chin, 'Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race', *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe*, (2009), pp.80-102, (p.84)

⁵⁶ 'Faule Glieder', *Der Spiegel*, 06.12.1970

⁵⁷ Tridafilos Triadafilopoulos, Karen Schoenwaelder, 'How the Federal Republic Became an Immigration Country: Norms, Politics and the Failure of West Germany's Guest Worker System', *German Politics and Society*, vol 24, no. iii, p. 6

⁵⁸ Mark Spicka, 'Guest Workers, Social Order, and West German Municipalities, 1960-7', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 54, no. iii, (2018), pp. 619-639, (p.619)

and how significant it was within the mainstream press. Up until 1970 the *Gastarbeiter* were rarely reported on receiving only one cover story across three newspapers in over ten years. This aligned with the growing yet still relatively small number of them who were living in marginalised areas with little contact with German society. Nevertheless, when reported on, it was either in relation to their benefit to Germany or exposing Germany's racism or exploitation of them. This developed in 1970 with the mass arrival of Turkish workers and their families: Reporting increased yet remained on side of the *Gastarbeiter*. Throughout these developments it was idly presumed that they would return home when no longer useful to Germany. Only when the situation had become unignorable, was it addressed by which point the Turkish migrants had become such an enormous unmanaged, marginalised minority that society and the media exploded with hostility at the end of 1972 when it was understood that they were here to stay.

Chapter 2 – Post 1972 portrayal: ‘These are no longer guests’⁵⁹

This chapter argues that the influx of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* and their families in the 1970s made them a prominent minority group in Germany, leading to critical media portrayals framing them as the ‘*ausländerproblem*’. The formation of the Turkish minority group was influenced by Germany’s fundamental exclusion of the Turkish community with its failure to accept and adapt to its permanence within the Federal Republic.⁶⁰ The media started depicting the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* poorly during the build-up to the *Anwerbestopp* in November 1973 as, throughout the year it was understood that the recruitment was costing Germany more than it was worth, it just needed the 1973 oil crisis as an excuse to stop it.⁶¹ I will argue my point by linking the formation of a prominent Turkish minority with a low societal status to the media’s coverage on Turkish crime, Islamophobic narratives, Turkish scapegoats and their societal costs in comparison to their labour value. I will then present how this period saw the media’s broader derogatory depiction of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, all of which failed to grasp the everyday life of a Turkish guest worker in 1970s Germany.

‘Ghettos in Germany – One Million Turks’; ‘The Turks are coming – save yourself who can’.⁶² The magazine and cover story titles of *Der Spiegel* in July 1973 capture how dramatically the German media changed its depiction of the *Gastarbeiter*, coinciding with the surge of Turkish workers and their families, and the growing perception that they were costing more than they could yield. This article marks the start of specifically Turkish coverage. It also manages to grasp the change in societal status of the *Gastarbeiter* in 1973 by presenting them as a ‘source of unforeseen industrial costs, a heavy drain on public services, and, as a seemingly permanent underclass, a threat to social and political stability’.⁶³ It reported that ‘Cities such as Berlin, Munich or Frankfurt can hardly cope with the invasion: ghettos are emerging, and sociologists are already predicting urban decay, crime and social impoverishment as in Harlem’.⁶⁴ The

⁵⁹ ‘Faden Gerissen’, *Der Spiegel*, 09.09.1973

⁶⁰ Stephen Castles, ‘The Guests who Stayed: The Debate on ‘Foreigner’s Policy’ in the German Federal Republic’, *International Migration Policy*, vol. 19, no. iii, (1985), pp. 517-534, (p. 517); Rita Chin, ‘Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race’, *After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe*, (2009), pp.80-102, (p. 80)

⁶¹ Rita Chin, *The guest worker question in postwar Germany*, (Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 1

⁶² ‘Ghettos in Deutschland – Eine Million Türken’, ‘Die Türken kommen – rette sich wer kann’, *Der Spiegel*, 29.07.1973,

⁶³ Jennifer Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany: hidden lives and contested borders 1960s to 1980s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p. 163

⁶⁴ ‘Die Türken kommen – rette sich wer kann’

article continues to emphasise the atrocities of the ‘Turkish Exodus’ stating that Germany is paying huge amounts to allow illiterate people without any prospects to displace Germans in the streets and in hospitals.⁶⁵ The comparison between the one-millionth *Gastarbeiter* receiving a moped and a celebration within the press and the one-millionth Turk receiving this alienating article verifies how the societal status and the media depiction of the *Gastarbeiter* transformed in response to the creation of a Turkish minority.

The Federal Republic became extremely suspicious of foreigners after the Munich Massacre at the end of 1972 and this was the start of reporting on *Gastarbeiter* crime and suspicion surrounding them. At the 1972 September Munich Olympics a Palestinian militant organisation killed 2 members of the Israeli team and took nine other hostages.⁶⁶ Noel Cary explained how Germany responded with increased suspicion and security surrounding foreign residents.⁶⁷ The media’s response mirrors this with *Der Spiegel*’s cover Title on the 17th of September being ‘Foreigners in the Federal Republic’ followed by the cover story, ‘The Arabs – they are not to be trusted’ and then a second story ‘Southerners kill more often’.⁶⁸ The first article discusses the radicalism of *Gastarbeiter* and the establishment of stricter controls surrounding them, and the second article compares foreigner crime rates to nationals revealing foreigners to have more cases categorised by harming people. These articles depict foreigners as criminals, and the *Gastarbeiter* being the largest foreigner population, pushed this suspicion and prejudice onto them as shown in their coverage in the first article, despite their total detachment from the terror attack.

After 1972, the German media favoured reporting on the criminality of the Turkish community as they had higher crime rates and this provided perfect scandalous material for readers who viewed them as a problematic minority.⁶⁹ Nail Alkan criticises 1970s media for portraying the Turkish population as ‘uncivilized, unhygienic and messy people who have a lack of education

⁶⁵ ibis

⁶⁶ Noel D. Cary, ‘Murder and Memory at the Munich Olympics’, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 91, no. 1, (2022), pp. 42-85, (p. 70)

⁶⁷ Ibis, p.77-80

⁶⁸ ‘Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik’, ‘Der Araber – dem ist nicht zu trauen’, ‘Südländer töten häufiger’, *Der Spiegel*, 17.09.1972

⁶⁹ Hans-Jörg Albrecht, ‘Ethnic Minorities, Crime and Criminal Justice in Germany’, *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, vol. 21, (1997), pp. 31-99, (p.31)

and are involved in every stabbing'.⁷⁰ *Die Welt* verifies how the German media criminalised the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* with its 'Fremdenkosten' article. It states that the *ausländerproblem* in Germany is a Turkish problem then discusses the high crime rates of foreigners in comparison with Germans and finally quotes a member of the CSU who declares the predatory characteristics of foreign men saying that 'Women can no longer go out on the street alone'.⁷¹ Another article covers the accusation of a Turkish man raping a 15-year-old German girl in 1973, with the title 'Process against a Turk – despite everything he is free'.⁷² The article briefly discusses the strong defence case which allows him to walk free, but most of the article's focus is on the prosecution, leaving this man guilty in the eyes of the reader.

The cause of high crime rates amongst the Turkish population has been explored by historians such as Hans-Joerg Albrecht and later by Sandra Bucerius. Albrecht argues that although higher foreigner crime rates could insinuate systematic bias, it is fundamentally more likely to be due to their entrance into lower socio-economic segments of society and their lack of integration.⁷³ Bucerius although referring specifically to drug dealing within the *Gastarbeiter* population argues that their exclusion within Germany fosters an identification with their local neighbourhood but an oppositional attitude to broader Germany, leading to crime.⁷⁴ The media's criminalisation of the Turkish exacerbated this exclusion as according to Mansel, it facilitated fear of minority groups and hate crimes towards them.⁷⁵ Thus, in increasing reporting on Turkish crime according to their changing demographic, the media created a vicious cycle, excluding the *Gastarbeiter* leading them to crime which again fed the media's criminalisation of the Turks.

Islamophobic reporting on *Gastarbeiter* started occurring in the 1970s as the Turkish Muslim community became more prominent in Germany. A 1973 article about the re-Islamisation of Western European countries supports this by stating that the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* reintroduced

⁷⁰ Nail Alkan in 'Deutschland und die Türkei im Spiegel der Medien: die Verantwortung der Medien in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen', *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, 1998, <<https://library.fes.de/fulltext/bueros/istanbul/00252.htm>> [accessed 28 February 2024]

⁷¹ 'Die Fremdenkosten', *Die Welt*, 20.09.1979

⁷² 'Prozeß gegen einen Türken: Trotz allem – freigesprochen', *Die Zeit*, 23.03.1973

⁷³ Albrecht, 'Ethnic Minorities, Crime and Criminal justice in Germany', p.37, 42

⁷⁴ Sandra Bucerius, *Unwanted: Muslim Immigrants, Dignity and Drug Dealing*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 42-44

⁷⁵ Albrecht, 'Ethnic Minorities, Crime and Criminal Justice in Germany', p.47

Islam to Germany and as displayed in its title, depicted it as a ‘Religion in Attack’.⁷⁶ At this time, the ‘mosque communities’ were discreet.⁷⁷ Only when the second generation started coming through, towards the end of the 70s, did they have the strength to instate proper religious spaces.⁷⁸ That this was already occurring in the early 70s when Turkish Islam was relatively hidden was an indication of the pending hostility.

Throughout the 70s, ‘Muslim’ became a synonym for ‘Turk’ in German vocab, and the media increasingly presented Muslims in a foreign, often violent, threatening light.⁷⁹ Sarah Thomsen Vierra argues that the German media ‘stressed and perpetuated ... this foreignness of the mosque in West Germany’.⁸⁰ She also argues that the 1979 Iranian revolution was a turning point in the link between Turks, Muslims and radicalism as it gave Germans ‘anxiety about what transpired in the unmonitored corners of local Muslim communities’.⁸¹ This link is validated by *Die Welt*’s 1979 article called ‘In the middle of Germany – Turks Drill hate into children’. Using an underground framing of Koran schools saying that the lessons go on for three to six hours in dark basements, the reporter accuses the teachers of recruiting children for the far-right murderous group the Grey Wolves.⁸² These articles contribute to the debate on the source of European Islamophobia, proving its existence before 9/11 and adding to Taras’ argument that unmanaged Muslim immigrant groups contributed to European fear and scapegoating of Islam.⁸³

The growing size of the Turkish population in Germany, coupled with their marginalization, led the German media and society to scapegoat them. Unemployment in Germany dropped from ten percent to one percent after the war, remaining low until it began to climb after the oil crisis reaching four percent by late 1975.⁸⁴ By 1976 2.5% of Germany’s population was

⁷⁶ ‘Religion im Angriff’, *Der Spiegel*, 22.04.1973

⁷⁷ Petra Kuppinger, ‘Mosques and Minarets: Conflict, Participation and Visibility in German Cities’, *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. iii, (2014), pp. 793-818, (p.797)

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.798

⁷⁹ Sandra Bucerius, *Unwanted: Muslim Immigrants, Dignity and Drug Dealing; Wiso Diskurs: Expertisen und Dokumentation zur Wirtschafts-und Sozialpolitik*, ‘Zur Rolle der Medien in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft’, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, August 2010, <<https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07394-20100820.pdf>>[accessed 19 April 2024], p. 12

⁸⁰ Sarah Thomsen Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany: Immigration, Space, and Belonging, 1961-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), p.191

⁸¹*Ibid*

⁸² ‘Mitten in Deutschland: Türken säen Haß in Kinder’, *Die Welt*, 11.03.1979

⁸³ Raymond Taras, *Xenophobia and Islamophobia in Europe*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 193

⁸⁴ Karl-Heinz Paqué, ‘Unemployment in Germany: A Survey of Explanations and Policies’, *Kiel Working Paper, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, 1990, <<https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/47240/1/25609974X.pdf>>[accessed 15 March 2024]

Turkish and they generally lived segregated in lower socio-economic areas, making them an obvious foreign entity for the media to blame for unemployment.⁸⁵ As Hart states, the ‘transition from marginal to being a scapegoat... [is the] end result of socially, culturally and economically constructed isolation’.⁸⁶ A 1976 *Die Zeit* article titled ‘Close the Gates – The Turks are coming’ demonstrates how the finger was pointed at the Turks by proclaiming that German companies were employing them over Germans and that over half of the German population blamed them for unemployment problems.⁸⁷ Another article highlights how one million Germans were looking for jobs whilst Turkish migrants were still arriving.⁸⁸ *Die Zeit* published an article proving these accusations to be unjust however it renders insignificant as it is less than a minute read in the middle of the paper.⁸⁹ Thus as they became a significant marginalised group, the media changed its angle from celebrating them taking the jobs which Germans didn’t want, to haphazardly blaming them for unemployment in Germany.

The permanence of the *Gastarbeiter* after the *Anwerbestopp* brought with it social costs which fuelled the media’s depiction of the Turkish community as a tax on the Federal Republic. The *Gastarbeiter* were initially recruited as ‘pure labour power’ which ensured no social costs of children, education or housing and their rotational status meant no unemployment or welfare benefits as they could be sent home in an economic downturn.⁹⁰ Lauren Stokes explores how this changed on the arrival of Turkish families causing a deficit in their economic value and, as she applicably titled her book, a ‘fear of the family’.⁹¹ A 1974 article expresses this by talking about the Turkish backlash to the reduction of their child benefit expenditure for those who lived outside of Germany, depicting them as an unnecessary expenditure of no benefit to Germany.⁹² Similarly, *Die Welt* published an article discussing the crime rates paired with the cost of foreigners, of which the Turkish population is clarified as a majority, through social housing, schooling and unemployment benefits.⁹³ The unmanaged growth of the Turkish

⁸⁵ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, No. 12, 1976, P. 765 – this percentage is from towns with over 100,000 people

⁸⁶ Kimberley Hart, ‘Turkish workers in Western Europe: Between Racism and Culture’, (Masters thesis, University of Indiana, 1995), P.33

⁸⁷ Erika Sulzer-Kleinemeier, ‘Tore zu – die Türken kommen’, *Die Zeit*, 16.04.1976

⁸⁸ ‘Deutsche Priorität’, *Die Welt*, 24.07.1976

⁸⁹ ‘Zu Unrecht verdächtig’, *Die Zeit*, 23.04.1976

⁹⁰ Paul Adams, ‘Family Policy and Labour Migration in East and West Germany’, *Social Service Review*, Vol.63, No. ii, (1989), pp. 245-263, (p. 249)

⁹¹ Lauren Stokes, *The Fear of the Family: Guest Workers and Family Migration in the Federal Republic of Germany*, (Oxford University Press, 2022), p.42-45

⁹² ‘Billige Kinder’, *Der Spiegel*, 06.10.1974

⁹³ ‘Die Fremdenkosten’, *Die Welt*, 20.09.1979

population in Germany therefore encouraged the media's high-cost, low-yield depiction of the *Gastarbeiter*.

After 1973 the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* were not only depicted as a 'threat to public security; burdens on public budgets; 'problem groups' causing issues for Germans', but also as *Der Spiegel* stated, 'fundamentally useless' within the workplace.⁹⁴ A 1973 study published by the Istanbul Institute of Economic Development states that overnight from 1972 to 1973, Turkish workers experienced a 'sudden metamorphosis from beauty to beast'.⁹⁵ This is verified by the article titled 'fundamentally useless' in 1975 which states that foreign workers are at the bottom of the pile calling them the 'reserve army'.⁹⁶ This validates how the media changed its angle on the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* as before 1973 they were praised for taking the menial jobs, however as they became known as a problem, they were criticised for only being able to do those jobs.

The image of the useless Turkish worker was exemplified by reporting on the Ford strikes in September 1973 mirroring how their social status had changed in the build-up to the *Anwerbestopp*. Turkish *Gastarbeiter* who made up a third of the Ford workforce in Cologne stopped work to campaign for fair working conditions.⁹⁷ The strikes received wide media coverage being on the cover of *Der Spiegel* with the title 'Wild Strikes: independent wage policy' and in *Die Zeit* with the title 'The Turks rehearsed the uprising: Background of the wild strikes at Ford'.⁹⁸ These publications mention the difficulties of the Turkish workers however as a whole depict the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* as a strain on Germany's working systems. *Bild* blatantly criticised the strikes with the headline 'These are no longer guests'.⁹⁹ The strike was unsupported by their trade union, IG Metall, and by their German colleagues one of whom said 'one should just give them a good beating and this will all be over with'.¹⁰⁰ The change in media angle therefore coincided with the plummeting social status of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter*

⁹⁴ *Wiso Diskurs*, 'Zur Rolle der Medien in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft, p.11,12; 'Grundsätzlich nicht sinnvoll', *Der Spiegel*, 12.01.1975

⁹⁵ Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany*, p. 163

⁹⁶ 'Grundsätzlich nicht sinnvoll'

⁹⁷ Deniz Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p.42-44

⁹⁸ 'Wilde Streiks: Lohnpolitik auf eigene Faust', *Der Spiegel*, 02.09.1973; Friedrich k. Kurylo, 'Die Türken probten den Aufstand: Hintergründe des wilden Streiks bei Ford', *Die Zeit*, 14.09.1973

⁹⁹ 'Faden Gerissen', *Der Spiegel*, 09.09.1973

¹⁰⁰ Göktürk et al., *Germany in Trasnit*, p.42-44

in 1973, as Germany started to face that ‘they had called for manpower, but people came instead’.¹⁰¹

The media’s referral to the *Gastarbeiter* as a ‘foreigner’ was constant throughout the 60s and 70s however, its meaning changed. This was firstly due to the negative connotations the media connected to it in the 70s and because by this time, the Turkish immigrants were increasingly calling Germany their home. Osman Engin, a Turkish satirical writer who has lived in Germany since the seventies, wrote to me:

‘Throughout the 70s Turkish culture grew in Germany. Men’s cafes were formed where backgammon and cards would be played. The only German that ever appeared was a plumber or a landlord. We were seen as foreign people that one should not interact with. The news helped shape this image, reporting on us as if we couldn’t understand German’.¹⁰²

Esin Bozkurt in her conceptualisation of home stresses that the *Gastarbeiter* created a home in Germany through forming emotional, cultural, political and territorial connections within it.¹⁰³ Osman substantiates this by referring to the creation of Turkish culture within Germany. He makes clear that they were no longer foreign to the land upon which they lived however Germany’s media and society continued to alienate them. Thus, although the media foreignized the *Gastarbeiter* throughout, it became more derogatory in the 1970s as those who had arrived in the 1960s were transitioning their home to Germany, and the second generation of *Gastarbeiter* who were being brought up there had nowhere else to call home. Sandra Bucerius’ interviews with the young Turkish men in Kreuzberg further support this with many of them complaining about their referral as ‘foreign’ in politics and in the media.¹⁰⁴ Fatima El-Tayeb pertinently stated that they were effectively being called ‘A stranger in [their] own country’.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Ruth Mandel, ‘“We called for manpower but people came instead”: The foreigner problem and Turkish guestworkers in West Germany’, (Doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1988) <<https://www.proquest.com/openview/e810a7e586f6ed962cad9e7ee3131dd6/1.pdf?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y>> [accessed 4 April 2024]

¹⁰² Osman Engin, my email interview

¹⁰³ Esin Bozkurt, *Conceptualising “Home”: The Question of Belonging Among Turkish Families in Germany*, (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2009), p. 52

¹⁰⁴ Bucerius, *Unwanted: Muslim Immigrants, Dignity and Drug Dealing*, p.183.

¹⁰⁵ Fatima El-Tayeb, *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2011), p. 1

Focussing more on Osman stating that the media reported on them as if they couldn't understand German, brings me to the racist reporting of the media in the 1970s. Rita Chin argued that race has been discredited as an analytical category in post-war German historiography due to its overpowering Nazi past.¹⁰⁶ To counter that narrative, 1970s German reporting was foundationally racist with the media having a prejudiced angle on the Turkish German population. Spicka argues that Germany 'maintained a hierarchy of difference with the assumption that the guest workers would never fully become German'.¹⁰⁷ This racism plays out in many articles, some less obviously than others. *Die Zeit* demonstrates outright racism with the article, 'Nigger, Coolies or fellow citizens? Our social problem No. 1: The guest workers'.¹⁰⁸ The article discusses curbing Turkish influx, saying 'we don't want to take the risk of foreign ghettos being created in more and more conurbations in more and more old towns, finally in more and more villages'.¹⁰⁹ This firstly follows the 1973 consensus of a Turkish flooded Germany. It also validates the change in the German media in that year as before they spoke out against societal racism whereas after, it was the creator of the extremely racist content.

The media often follows the selling point of 'bad news is good news', and, in the 1970s as Luft stated, 'the unintended side effects ... of foreign workers and their families offered sufficient starting points for journalistic ... scandalization'.¹¹⁰ My email exchange with Hatice Akyün, a Turkish journalist who grew up in 70s Germany, confirmed that the German news media is only interested in painting a radical image of the Turkish;

'I am always shocked to realise how one-sided this reporting is. When I come around the corner with a positive migrant story, the head of department says: "Nobody wants to read that, don't you have an honour killing in the drawer?'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Chin, 'Guest Worker Migration and the Unexpected Return of Race', p.82

¹⁰⁷ Mark Spicka, 'Guest Workers, Social Order, and West German Municipalities, 1960-7', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 54, no. iii, (2018), pp. 619-639, (p.619)

¹⁰⁸ Theo Sommer, 'Nigger, Kulis oder Mitbürger', *Die Zeit*, 13.04.1973

¹⁰⁹ ibis

¹¹⁰ Alkan in 'Deutschland und die Türkei im Spiegel der Medien: die Verantwortung der Medien in den deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen'; Stefan Luft, 'Skandal und Konflikt: Deutsch-türkischen Themen', *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, 18 October 2011,

<<https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/59733/skandal-und-konflikt-deutsch-tuerkische-themen/>>

[accessed 3 January 2024]

¹¹¹ Personal email exchange with Hatice Akyün

Indeed, Hatice is referring to her time in the newsroom, which was after the 1970s, however, it proves the same point that once the *Gastarbeiter* became a minority group central to political debate, it was in the news media's interest to scandalize them in pursuit of high circulation.

Hatice said 'we are still looking through a pane of frosted glass in the media instead of daring to look through a pane of coloured glass in order to report diversely on the changes in migrant society'.¹¹² This is corroborated by Aziza A, a Turkish German rapper whom Göktürk interviewed saying that 'the media prefers scandals... There is incredible diversity but only the extremes are shown'.¹¹³ This theme is constantly combatted by modern historiography. Ruth Mandel, Sarah Thomsen Vierra, Jennifer Miller, Esin Bozkurt and many more attempt to give agency to the Turkish population by bringing to light the significance of and diversity within the everyday lives of the Turkish population.¹¹⁴ Miller asks a very significant question, 'why in spite of exploitation did the workers stay?'.¹¹⁵ The media's depiction of the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* changed from victim to villain in the early seventies, both of which assumed a 'bounded notion of Turkishness' and failed to capture the different lives of the Turkish people who chose to stay.¹¹⁶

As has been established, post-1972, the German news media transformed its portrayal of the *Gastarbeiter* following their changing demographic and plummeting societal value. With the end of their recruitment, it was finally understood that they were permanent residents. Nevertheless, this realisation came too late. This allowed the Turkish workers and their families to be wholly marginalised within Germany, causing the growth of a new ethnic minority and a long list of unintended consequences. These included problems such as higher societal costs of more low socio-economic families or increased amount of crime. This provided ample resources for the media to villainise the Turkish population. Indeed, evidence like higher crime rates was the truth however, these news outlets capitalised on sensationalising any Turkish story to fit society's picture of them as a problematic foreign entity within Germany. Comparing similar news material from the first chapter to the second being reported

¹¹² *ibid*

¹¹³ Deniz Göktürk et al., *Germany in Transit*, p. 456

¹¹⁴ Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties*; Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany*; Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany*; Bozkurt, *Conceptualizing "Home"*

¹¹⁵ Miller, *Turkish guest workers in Germany*, p.168

¹¹⁶ Mandel, *Cosmopolitan Anxieties*, p. 2

on in a much more negative light confirms how the media responded to their changing status. Much of the Turkish population now called Germany home yet the media published slanderous racist material about them, about their religion and about how they were no longer welcome in Germany. The impact of this exclusion and the broader derogatory nature of their reporting is implicit throughout primary accounts from Turkish Germans.

Conclusion

This dissertation analyses how the German media shifted from celebrating to vilifying the *Gastarbeiter* from the 1960s to the 1970s, highlighting their change from temporary aids to permanent residents perceived as burdens.

Until the end of 1972, the *Gastarbeiter* was perceived as a temporary yet crucial contribution to Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder*. Media coverage during this period, though sparse, generally cast them in a positive light, emphasizing their role as economic boosters and defending them against exploitation and mistreatment. This portrayal of the *Gastarbeiter* was consistent with their economic function and their inconspicuous existence in Germany at the time. The years leading up to the *Anwerbestopp* were a buffer period where hindsight declares the permanence of the Turkish minority obvious, however, Germany remained naïve, with an increase in positive *Gastarbeiter* press coverage and the continued recruitment of 'temporary' workers. However, at the end of 1972 in the build-up to the *Anwerbestopp*, when Germany began to understand the the *Gastarbeiter* was a Turkish neighbour, not a guest, the portrayal shifted dramatically. The media employed racist and Islamophobic narratives to depict the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* as an invasive socio-economic burden and a cultural threat.

This dissertation stresses that the media or the fourth estate, as Edmund Burke coined it, is a powerful entity that can no longer be discounted in the historical studies of the *Gastarbeiter* or migration in general. The use of both the media's development alongside the voice of the Turkish migrant verifies the media as being a strong contributor to the exclusion of the *Gastarbeiter*, which as so many academics have argued, is a reason for the establishment of a Turkish minority within Germany. This dissertation has allowed the exposure of the media's depiction of the *Gastarbeiter* however, being limited in time and resources, has only scratched the surface of the impact which the German news media had on the exclusion of the *Gastarbeiter*. This historical field would therefore benefit from a future study which researches more extensively into the reception of the Turkish media coverage from the angle of the Turkish and non-Turkish German residents.

Hatice Akyün's valuable journalistic insight gives more reason for the expansion of this dissertation's analysis. She stated that the German newsroom has an extremely poor

multicultural representation and how this paired with the marginalisation of Turkish communities means that the German editorial offices are ignorant about the lives of migrants in Germany, causing a continuous stream of prejudicial reports on them.¹¹⁷ Given the media's influential role, yet persistent one-sided reporting on migrants who arrived in Germany nearly 70 years ago, even amid today's call for press accountability, there is a compelling need for future studies to focus on the media as a primary lens for exploring previously unknown angles of migrant histories.

To conclude, this dissertation has uncovered how readily the German news media took to capitalising on villainising the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in the 1970s. *Der Spiegel* prides itself in being a leading investigative journalism platform, which exposes systematic faults within Germany. Nevertheless, it frequently ignored systematic issues with Germany's marginalisation and poor integrational policies in the 1970s and instead helped alienate the Turkish population leading to what Stephen Castles claimed to be the death of the *Gastarbeiter*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ 'The History of DER SPIEGEL', *Spiegel International*, 05.10.2011; Stephen Castles, 'The Guest-Worker in Western Europe – An Obituary', *International Migration Review*, vol. 20, issue iv, (1986), pp.761-778

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CONSENT FORM

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STUDY TITLE: How did the portrayal of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in the German news media evolve in response to their changing demographic and social status in Germany from the 1960s to the 1970s?

Do I have to take part?

- Participation is voluntary.

Can I withdraw at any time?

- You can withdraw at any time, up to 24/03/2024. If you wish to withdraw after this date, please note that once the date has been used in my submitted dissertation, your data cannot be withdrawn.

What do I have to do?

- You will be asked to answer a few questions via any online platform which you wish.

How will the findings be used?

- Your answers to my questions will help contribute to my university dissertation which will be submitted for assessment.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

- Your identity can be kept confidential if you wish. I will however have to give a basic description to who you are in order to present how your view supports my argument. You will have the opportunity to review your anonymity until 20/04/2024.

Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge

YES

HAVE YOU:

- been given information explaining about the study?
- had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?
- received satisfactory answers to all questions you asked?
- received enough information about the study for you to make a decision about your participation?

DO YOU UNDERSTAND:

That you are free to withdraw from the study and free to withdraw your data prior to final consent

- until the 24/03/2024?
- without having to give a reason for withdrawing?

I hereby fully and freely consent to my participation in this study

Participant's signature: Osman Engin _____ Date: 31.01.2024

Name in BLOCK Letters: OSMAN ENGIN

If you have any concerns related to your participation in this study please direct them to the Faculty of Arts Research Ethics Committee, via Liam McKervey, Research Governance and Ethics Officer (Tel: 0117 331 7472 email: Liam.McKervey@bristol.ac.uk)

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Participant's signature: Hatice Akyün Date: 06.02.2024

Name in BLOCK Letters: HATICE AKYÜN

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