

T.C.
TURKISH-GERMAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

**TURKEY AND GERMANY RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT
OF IMMIGRATION: EFFECTS OF SYRIAN REFUGEE
CRISIS ON BILATERAL RELATIONS**

MASTER'S THESIS

Büşra AKDEMİR

ADVISOR

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang WESSELS

ISTANBUL, June 2020

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is an original work and hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I have acted in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct at all stages of the work including preparation and analysis. I have cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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Büşra Akdemir



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I want to dedicate this work to all the good people in the world and those who work for peace.

ÖZET

Uluslararası çevre, devletlerin çıkarlarındaki değişiklikler nedeniyle değişken ve daima canlı bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu değişken uluslararası ortamda devletler, değişen dünya düzenine ayak uydurmak için çıkarları doğrultusunda işbirliği yaparlar. Türkiye ve Almanya geçmişten günümüze dostane bir ilişkiye sahiptir. Bu ilişki ekonomik, politik ve kültürel temellere dayanır ve bu nedenle Türkiye ile Almanya arasında geçmişten gelen karşılıklı bağımlılık vardır. Bununla beraber, Suriye krizinin meydana gelmesi ilişkilerdeki ana konulardan biri haline gelmiştir. Bu siyasi krizin, özellikle Almanya ve Türkiye de dahil olmak üzere birçok ülke üzerinde ekonomik ve kültürel açıdan çok önemli bir etkisi olmuştur. Suriyeli mülteciler Almanya ve Türkiye için sorun haline geldiğinde, gelişen ikili ilişkiler ve işbirlikleri kaçınılmaz hale gelmiştir ve birçok farklı alanda yeni bir karar alma süreci oluşturulmuştur. Böylece, ekonomik ilişkiler, Almanya'daki Türk nüfusu ve siyasi ittifak gibi karşılıklı bağımlılığı güçlendiren yapılara yenisi eklenmiştir. Bu bilgiler ışığında, bu çalışma Türkiye ile Almanya arasındaki ilişkileri açıklayacaktır. Almanya ve Türkiye'nin zaten karşılıklı olarak bağımlı oldukları ve bu karşılıklı bağımlılığın mülteci krizinin etkisiyle arttığı savunulacaktır. Bu durum liderlerin söylemlerinde de göze çarpmaktadır. Bu noktada, iki ülke liderleri tarafından 2011-2020 yılları arasında yapılan ortak basın toplantıları ve yorumlar, söylem analizi çerçevesinde incelenecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye-Almanya İlişkileri, Göç, Suriyeli Mülteci Krizi, Karşılıklı Bağımlılık, Dış Politika

ABSTRACT

International environment has a variable and always lively structure due to the changes in the interests of states. In this variable international environment, states cooperate in their interests to keep up with the changing world order. Turkey and Germany have a friendly relationship from past to present. This relationship is based on economic, political and cultural foundations and thus it occurs interdependence between Turkey and Germany. Furthermore, the occurrence of the Syrian crisis has become one of the main issues in relations. This political crisis has a very significant impact on many countries, including Germany and Turkey in particular, in terms of economic and cultural. When Syrian refugees becomes a problem for Germany and Turkey, increased relations and collaborations became inevitable and a new decision making process was created in many different areas. Thus, a new one has been added to structures that strengthen interdependence, such as economic relations, the Turkish population in Germany, and political alliance. In light of this information, this study will be described relations between Turkey and Germany. It will be argued that Germany and Turkey are already mutually dependent and this interdependence has increased with the effect of the refugee crisis. This situation is also noticeable in the discourses of the leaders. At this point, joint press conferences and comments made by the leaders of the two countries between 2011 and 2020 will be examined within the framework of discourse analysis.

Key words: Turkey-Germany Relations, Migration, Syrian Refugee Crisis, Interdependence, Foreign Policy

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LIST OF ABRIVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in this thesis

AFAD	Turkey's Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AFD	Alternative for Germany Party
CDU	Christian Democracy Party
CSU	Christian Socialist Union Party
DITIB	Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs
EC	European Commission
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FSA	Free Syrian Army
GNA	Government of National Accord
IMO	International Organizations of Migration
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
JDP	Justice and Development Party
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAZI	National Socialist Party
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PYD	Syrian Democratic Party
RPP	Republican People's Party
SNC	Syrian National Council

SPD Social Democratic Part of Germany

UN United Nations

UNSC United Nations Security Council

USA United States of America

USSR Union Soviet Socialist Republics

YPG People's Protection Units



1. INTRODUCTION

People have witnessed changes in the historical process, from the days when they struggled to survive alone in nature, until they formed the state mechanism within the framework of the rules. It is believed that the great confusion that occurred just before the change of civilizations occurred under the influence of major political changes at first sight. But if these events are examined carefully, changes in the thoughts and opinions of the tribes are real reasons. There is a reason behind every change experienced. The concept of politics and the tools of politics have also been constantly changing throughout history. All the changes that were experienced were questioned on the basis of how we can make the state better and for this reasons, ideas were put forward, theories were built, discourses were derived and those who mastered the political tools of that period of history applied it on the world history stage. This ongoing change process caused the international arena to be in constant change. Thus, the international environment has always been open to change and alive. States have to keep up with the changing order of the international environment to survive. For this reason, some hostility and cooperation between states becomes inevitable. A fundamental alliance relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany are available since the past.

Turkey and Germany has long-term friendly relations dating back to the Ottoman Empire and Prussia Kingdom. The connections between the Ottoman Empire and the Prussian Kingdom began with the Peace and Friendship Agreement that signed in 1790. Along with military cooperation and political friendships, both states cooperated on some important projects; the Baghdad Railway project is an example. Relations between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia developed gradually and reached its peak during the First World War. Before the First World War, the Ottoman Empire began using German military officers to modernize its army. These close collaborations and solidarity brought the Ottomans to the First World War, where they formed an alliance with the Germans. Both states were defeated in the First World War. The burden of this defeat caused economic and political troubles. As a result of these constraints, the newly established Republic of Turkey has maintained friendly relations with foreign countries and focuses on the internal dynamics. However, Germany entered the

Second World War in order to get back what it lost. Germany and Turkey have signed some agreements during the Second World War and after the First World War. These deals were not made to be allies in World War II. Turkey insisted on remaining neutral in World War II. Thus, they were not allies in this world war. Although Turkey's entry into the war against Germany at the end of the war, it cannot say that it was the effect on the relationship.

A new era in relations began for Germany and Turkey with the signing of Labor Recruitment Agreement in 1961. Turks went to Germany for a while to save money and return to their country in better conditions; however, some of them preferred to stay there and made Germany their homeland. Thereby, Turkish population has reach a serious number. Turkish population played an important role to improve the German economy by meeting the labor need of Germany. Thus, the Turkish population that initially went to work as worker but still exist in Germany, was a separate dimension for Turkish-German relations.

The other subject that forms the basis of the relations between the two countries is economic relations. The friendly and traditional relations that have continued since the Ottoman-Prussian collaborations have intensified in the coming years. Many German companies have invested in Turkey and will continue to do so. Likewise, there are tens of thousands of companies established by Turkish citizens in Germany. These companies and investments are supported by both countries and consequently have a positive effect on Turkish-German economic relations.

Turkey and Germany have versatile and active relationship; it is particularly evident in the economic, political and social spheres. It can be said that there is an interdependence between Turkey and Germany because of friendly relations from a historical perspective, cooperation in the economic field and Turks living in Germany. This interdependence between the two countries is particularly effective in the economic sphere. Turkey's most important trading partner is Germany. Turkey realizes an annual average of 15 billion dollars of exports to Germany. This means that a 10% share in Turkey's total exports belongs to Germany. In contrast, the share of Turkey's exports to Germany is around 1.5%. Given figures indicate that, there is an asymmetric interdependence between Turkey and Germany in the context of economy. In addition, accession negotiations between the EU and Turkey

were also positively affect economic relations with Germany such as Custom Union. Moreover, interdependence also exists in the political sphere of relationships. In this context, both countries agree on the stability of the Middle East region, which is the crisis point and they share many foreign policy goals, such as reducing vulnerabilities from energy addiction and combating international terrorism. The depth of the political dialogue between the two sides is reflected in the speeches of the leaders.

Turkish-German relations, which stagnated from time to time, came up with an international problem. The emergence of the refugee crisis has become a problem for both countries. At first, the two countries followed humanitarian and tolerant policies for refugees. However, they realized that the problem could not be solved by itself, since the problem was getting bigger. For this reason, Turkey as an ally with NATO asked for support about Syrian refugee issue from NATO. On the other hand, Germany tried to establish a common immigration policy with the European Union members. However, these efforts did not yield results, and the expected support from EU member states did not come. Germany and Turkey could not solve the problem of refugees with the EU and NATO. In addition, the refugee problem affected the governments of both countries. Positive policies applied to refugees led governments to lose votes in elections. Therefore, Turkey and Germany took individual responsibility and signed some agreements. Thus, the spread of the refugee crisis has increased the interdependence between Germany and Turkey. This study will handle that interdependence relations between Turkey and Germany and will be argued that refugee crisis has increased the interdependence of these relationships. To test this hypothesis, the author will examine leaders' statements about relationships within the framework of discourse analysis. Leaders and interests of countries as an independent variable while agreements as a dependent variable. In this context, the joint press statements of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Chancellor Angela Merkel that made after 2011, will be focused on. In addition, in the context of the immigration issue, leader comments for the two countries will also be included in the analysis.

This study will include general information about study with the introduction part. Then, the necessary elements will be explained with the conceptual framework section and then,

Turkish-German relations will be discussed. First, the historical background will be explained. Turkish-German relations will be studied from the past to the present. The question of why the relations changed after 2011 will be answered. 2011 was chosen as the date because it was the start date of the Arab Spring. Although the Arab Spring may seem like a new order or disorder for the Middle East, it is actually an important series of events for the whole world. As a result of the crises experienced after the Arab Spring, Turkish-German relations were affected. For this reason, 2011 was chosen as the starting date for discourse analysis. Moreover, despite the stagnant relations, the question of why they cooperated will be answered. The points of cooperation in the relations will be highlighted so that the points they are interdependent will be revealed. Then, the discourses of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Chancellor Angela Merkel from 2011 to 2020 will be added. Then it will include the conclusion part and the reference part.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.MIGRATION

Migration plays a central role in shaping the world we live in so it is a part of the working area of social sciences. The phenomenon of migration has affected not only cultures and civilizations, but also states, leaders and the international political environment. If we define the word migration, it is quite difficult to make the definition of the word migration based on a single criterion. Because the phenomenon of migration has affected many fields such as economy, sociology, international relations and politics in time. Thereby, there are many definitions of migration.

According to International Organization of Migration (IMO), migration is the movement of person away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State (UNHCR, 2006). In other words, it is the geographic displacement event that migrants make to spend a whole or part of their lives in the future, either completely or temporarily, from one place to another (Akkayan, 1979, p. 21). Besides, it is expressed as a social change process involving the geographical displacement event that people carry out to move from one settlement unit to another, for a permanent or temporary period, to spend all or part of their future lives (Tuzcu and Bademli, 2014, p. 56). As it is seen, although there

are many definitions of migration, the common and focus point of the definitions is the act of settling rather than displacement.

2.1.1. Types of Migration

2.1.1.1. Internal Migration and External Migration

Migration is divided into different types in terms of purpose, scope and process. The most common difference in this type is that the abandoned and settled spaces are divided into internal and external migration according to their distance and boundaries. Internal migrations are defined as population movements within the borders of a country and external migrations as crossing the borders of countries (Sağırlı, 2006, p. 14). These two concepts, which are often the same for their cause, have different implications for the national borderline. In another definition, the movement of displacement within a country's borders is called internal migration. This process, which takes place across regions, cities or smaller settlements, can be temporary or long-term (Eraldemir, 2013, p. 10). Since this thesis is more relevant to external migration, it is necessary to define the concept of external migration in more detail.

External migration is an important issue and this issue has become even more important due to globalization and economic restructuring in recent years (Dişbudak, 2004, p. 84). External migrations are displacement and population mobility that takes place to the borders of another country in order to stay or work in a place that is permanently or temporarily migrated (Özdemir, 2008, p. 21). Internal migration and external migration have continued throughout history and will continue according to experts. The first known external migration in history is considered as the Migration Period, which was the result of the Huns settling in the north of the Black Sea in the 4th century and the Germans in the lands where today's Arab states are located. With the discovery of the continent of America in the following period, migrations became international (Aksoy, 2012, p. 293). Today, as a result of the civil war in Syria, the people of the region had to migrate without their own will, and this is one of the examples for external migration. This migration may be asylum migrations to citizens fleeing war and oppression to other countries, as well as migration from developed countries to other countries, seeking raw materials and cheap labor with the development of

globalization and technology (Aksoy, 2012, p. 293). Moreover, external migration, which is also referred to as international migration, means that those living in one country leave their countries and enter another state individually or in groups. Individuals' decision to live in other countries will affect both of them, the society they belong to, and the economic and social structure of the country they decide to migrate and it will lead to many changes. Because migrations create new economic and social relations among the societies that give and receive migration as well as social structure and cultural changes and it causes radical changes in the psychology, behavior and worldviews of the people of both sides (Bayraklı, 2007, p. 41). In this respect, foreign migrations have an important place in terms of the country receiving the migration and the country that gave the migration.

2.1.1.2. Forced Migration and Voluntary Migration

Forced migrations are compulsory migration movements, regardless of people's wishes, in situations such as natural disaster war. These migrations can be made by the state for political, social and economic reasons, and in terms of their consequences, and they also create many political and economic changes (Eraldemir, 2013, p. 13). Forced migration is a phenomenon that has existed since the history of humanity. This phenomenon has come up to date by showing differences in the historical process. The developments in the world and the changes experienced as a result of these developments have brought specific characteristics to the immigration in every period. Today, forced migration is due to reasons such as development policies, uneven growth and regional wars in a changing and developing world with globalization (Tuzcu, 2008, p. 41). In addition to these, factors such as lack of resources, hunger and drought are among the problems causing migration. It is seen that the continuing understanding of colonialism, chaos and wars carried the forced migration to the present day (Kara, 2015, p. 26). Although the concept of migration in general is expressed as a movement that individuals carry out with their own will, individuals have often had to migrate without their own will due to war and persecution.

Voluntary immigration is the movement that people perform without restriction or pressure according to their own wishes. In the case of voluntary immigration, there are changes in population rates. Individuals usually migrate voluntarily in order to receive better

education, to change their working conditions, to live in comfortable conditions, or to benefit more from healthcare opportunities (Koçak and Terzi, 2012, p. 171). Considering the formation of volunteer migrations, it is seen that one or more of the family members travel or move to another country as a pioneer is a valid reason for migration. In this way, volunteer migration is experienced by establishing a life in the country where the individual goes and encouraging the rest of the family members to migrate. At the end of World War II, Europe received immigration from developed or underdeveloped countries due to insufficient labor. Germany took migration from Greece and Turkey in the 1970s and this is an example of voluntary migration (Kara, 2015, p. 27).

2.1.1.3. Permanent Migration and Temporary Migration

The migration movement that individuals make to leave their places of living and live their lives to another place without time limit is called permanent migration (Günay and Serin and Atılğan, 2017, p. 43). Immigrants living in another country, who have obtained a work and residence permit after living for a while, can be an example of permanent migration at this point. These immigrants do not have to leave the country, even if they lose their jobs in the country where they work, and they can take their families with them when they meet certain conditions related to work and residence (Nakhoul, 2014, p. 9).

In temporary migrations, the individual spends his life in a different place for a certain period of time. Those who go to another place to work and return when their work is finished can be shown as an example of temporary migration at this point (Sağlam, 2006, p. 35). Permanent migration and temporary migration occur in conjunction with each other. Generally, people who go to work in education or seasonal jobs start to live permanently where they go after a certain period of time (Kara, 2015, p. 28). The return periods of these people to their countries are even longer. Thus, there is always the possibility of temporary migration to become permanent migration.

2.1.2. Causes of Migration

There are some factors that enable the phenomenon of migration in the world. These are socio-economic, political and socio-cultural, security and natural causes. The

phenomenon of migration occurs as a result of these and takes shape (Günay and Atilgan and Serin, 2017, p. 39). The main reason for migration movements between regions and countries are socio-economic reasons. This process stems from individuals' desire to find a better job, to earn better income and to lead a better life (Aksoy, 2012, p. 294). This migration usually takes place to highly developed places. Moreover, social and cultural reasons such as discrimination, regime change, political instability, war, population exchange and political factors also lead to the phenomenon of migration. These reasons may occur between countries as well as between regions of a country (Aksoy, 2012, p. 294). Political conditions are important in experiencing the phenomenon of migration. Because the desire of people or groups to escape from political torture and live their religion, language and freedom in a free environment and their desire to get rid of ethnic discrimination causes them to migrate (Başel, 2011, p. 524). On the other hand, the migration that takes place due to natural causes in five types of Petersen is called primitive migration. Accordingly, primitive migrations indicate that the environment is caused by physical difficulties such as bad weather conditions and drought, and that migration is also experienced for these reasons (Petersen, 1958, p. 260).

2.1.3. Consequences of Migration

Migration causes countries to change economically, culturally and socially. When the factors that cause migration are examined, it is seen that the same reasons appear as a result of the migration action. For example; migration from economic inequality creates a new economic inequality in the target country. Immigrants migrate from their country of residence to another country with a high income level due to dissatisfaction with low wages. However, they are employed in jobs where the indigenous people are not willing to work in that country, and with a lower income level than the income level of the indigenous people. This situation encourages employers to employ immigrants who enter the country illegally, or encourage them to hire workers at low costs without offering them the right to social security (Özgen, 2010, p. 25). When the effect of the informal economy on the national income of a country is considered, it is observed that it harms the state in any case. In addition, the share of national income per capita is transferred to illegal immigrants, and national income per capita

is greatly reduced (Macisco, 1992, p. 240). This situation causes indigenous people to take a negative attitude towards administrators and immigrants.

The phenomenon of migration is also effective for the sending country. From this point of view, labor migration in the sending country causes the transfer of human resources and the labor deficit in the sending country is increasing. The fact that students stay in the country where they go for educational purposes increases the need for higher education in their own countries and reveals the service deficit especially in professional sectors (Karaman, 2003, p. 112). People who carry out the migration incident mentioned above with their definitions and types are called immigrants. Since the immigration issue is divided into different types within itself, it is necessary to make the definitions wider.

2.1.4. Definitions of Immigrant, Refugee and Asylum Seeker

2.1.4.1. Immigrant

There is no universally accepted definition of immigrant but as the actors of the immigration act, people who migrate to another country or region or their families are called immigrants, because they want to improve their financial conditions and social opportunities. Persons and their families subject to the act of immigration are accepted as immigrants when they want to migrate with their personal will without any coercion (Cross, 2013, p. 37). Immigrants leave their country with their own consent, not with the fear of suffering any persecution and unlike refugees, they continue to benefit from the protection of the country in which they are citizens.

2.1.4.2. Refugee

Refugee is a person who leaves his country because of difficult personal situations or unbearable conditions in his country. The reason for the person's escape is the pressure, internal confusion, the existence of conditions that threaten his freedom and physical integrity, and the state of war, imposed by the political instability of the country (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013, p. 1020). The main international instrument of refugee law is the 1951 Geneva Convention. "A refugee, according to the Convention, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted

for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” (UNHCR, p. 3). The original refugee definition of the Geneva Convention of 1951 includes the events that Europeans encountered before January 1, 1951, and there is a time and space limitation. Then, the scope of the contract has been extended in the 1967 Protocol Regarding the Legal Status of Refugees. Along with the 1967 Protocol, the phrase "as a result of events that occurred before January 1, 1951" in the 1951 Convention was removed from the text. Thus, the geographical limitation has been abolished as well as the historical limitation has been eliminated (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013, p. 1018). However, the countries that signed the contract reserve the right to precondition on the contract clauses. For example, while Turkey a party to the Geneva Convention of 1951, has put a geographical reservation said they would not accept refugees from countries outside Europe. (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013, p. 1031). Although the governors have special powers to admit whether a foreigner arrives at the country's borders or not, they are partly controlled by international practices and norms on refugees. Likewise, although a state can easily send any other foreigner to its own country, it cannot send refugees to the country they fled whenever they want. Therefore, refugees under international legal guarantee are in a more advantageous position compared to other foreigners (Dürgen, 2015, p. 5).

2.1.4.3. Asylum Seeker

According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, an asylum seeker is an individual seeking international protection and he or she is a person whose request has not yet been decided by the country to which he has submitted. Although not all refugees are ultimately recognized as refugees, every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker (UNHCR, 2006, p.4). If the decision is negative, asylum-seekers should leave the country. Again, if asylum-seekers are not allowed to stay in the country for humanitarian or other reasons, they may be deported like an ordinary stranger entering the country illegally (Pazarıcı, 2005, pp. 185-186).

2.2.FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy was defined as the attempts, decisions and official actions taken by states to carry out their relations with other states (Hill, 2003, p. 3). In the 20th century conditions in which nation states were established, states were accepted as the main subject of foreign policy and state-oriented definitions were made (Yenikeçeci, 2020, p. 11). Nevertheless, when foreign policy definitions are examined, it can be said that the state is the most important actor of international policy, if not the only one and it is mainly used to characterize states' attitudes and behavior towards units outside themselves (Sönmezoğlu, 2014, p. 255). According to Waltz, the main issue that should be emphasized is that states are not the only actors in the international system, but they are the determining actors. As long as nation states continue to be seen as a political, military and economic whole, they will continue to be the determining factor of the international system (Waltz, 1979, pp. 88-89). Moreover, foreign policy is determined as the policy and behavior that states pursue mainly to other states through their authorized bodies and representatives within the international system (Yenikeçeci, 2020, p. 12). Consequently, foreign policy is a concept that tells the perspective of the political power as a whole and also it is an anticipation of how political power will build its relations with other power centers and concept related to the attitudes of those who have political power in what they define as outside is defined as foreign policy (Sönmezoğlu, 2014, p. 257).

2.3.EXTERNALIZATION POLICY

The externalization policy is generally a policy of states or actors to solve a problem elsewhere. The approaches to externalization are as follows; remote control approach, root cause approach and managerial approach. Firstly, the remote control approach is the dominant approach in the externalization of EU migration policies. This approach is security-oriented and based on the response to migration movements. Therefore, the restriction of migration movements is the main target. This approach does not only mean the control of the borders of the EU countries, but also the border control of remote areas. The most advanced and effective way to combat irregular migration is not to strengthen the border controls of the country in question. Exclusion within the scope of the remote control approach is a policy

that will ensure that this is done most effectively (Aubarell and Zapata-Barrero and Aragall, 2009, p. 14). Thus, the fight against irregular migration takes place not only within the boundaries of the country or group of countries, but in a much wider region. Secondly, root cause approach is development-oriented and proactive in structure that is based on preventing the occurrence of the migration problem. The focus of the approach is not to limit migration movements, but to eliminate the need to migrate through policies implemented. The rationale here is to reduce the driving factors that encourage people to migrate from their country. Therefore, this approach focuses on the causes of migration movements, not themselves (Aubarell and Zapata-Barrero and Aragall, 2009, p. 14). In this sense, it differs with the remote control approach. The main differences between the two approaches are shown in the figure below.

Table 1. The Main Differences Between Remote Control Approach and Root Cause Approach

Remote control approach	Root cause approach
Security-based	Development-based
Re-active (control of flows)	Pro-active (preventive)
Policy as restriction	Policy as innovation

(Aubarell and Zapata-Barrero and Aragall, 2009, p. 15)

Thirdly, the migration management approach has been on the agenda in recent years. Migration management refers to the establishment of a regular system between the receiving country and third countries. With regular migration policy suggestions, it is aimed to meet the labor force needs of the country receiving migration, to make more effective and systematic use of migration movements and to suppress irregular migration to some extent (Aubarell and Zapata-Barrero and Aragall, 2009, pp 19-21). For example, the European Commission has a document on shuttle migration. Accordingly, it has been proposed to establish partnerships on mobility between the EU and source countries according to labor market needs (COM, 2007). However, the failure of member states to adopt a common policy on regular migration prevents serious steps to be taken in this regard.

2.4.INTERDEPENDENCE

The interdependence paradigm was introduced into the literature with Keohane and Nye's books *Power and Interdependence* which published in 1977. Interdependence in the literature on international relations refers to the conditions shaped by mutual interaction between actors across countries or actors in different countries in world politics. So interdependence; it is the complex set of conditions caused by the links and relationships created by many channels of interaction between states and societies in the international system that lacks a particular hierarchical agenda (Keohane and Nye, 2001, p. 7). Some development that can be described as negative between the two states has some consequences for both parties but the relationship between the two states is more important to one of the parties than the other. One state is always more in need of another, which means a significant bargaining power for the other state. In the conditions of interdependence emerging in the international system, the bargaining power of one party on the other depends on the other party's sensitivity and degree of influence to this interdependence relationship (Kroll, 1993, p. 323). However, both parties have definitions of interest upon continuation of the relationship and this situation reveals the interdependence relationship. Thus, both parties have to show the desire and effort to maintain the relationship at different levels (Wagner, 1988, pp. 469-470). In addition, the term dependence means that one state is entirely dominated by another state, while in interdependence there is a certain cost for both parties. Therefore, the interdependence in the relations between the two international actors depends on the fact that there is a cost for both parties and this cost limits the freedom of movement of the parties (Keohane and Nye, 2001, p. 8).

Keohane and Nye draw attention to the relationship between interdependence and the structure of the international system, and in this sense they state that there is a direct link between integration and interdependence. The international system for states has turned into a structure in which the increasing need for international integration came to the fore with the last quarter of the 20th century. Keohane and Nye emphasize that interdependence and integration are processes that encourage each other. Accordingly, interdependence, like integration, can occur in various forms and levels depending on the structure of the system

and the international environment created by the phenomenon of interdependence leads to the need for integration, and integration causes an increase in the level of interdependence. Keohane and Nye who drawing attention to the relationship between integration, interdependence and peace keeping, stated that it is difficult to establish a continuous relationship between these phenomena. They state that interdependence or integration movements alone cannot completely eliminate the possibility of war. However, it is also acknowledged that integration movements that strengthen the conditions of dialogue and cooperation between states have a function of developing and promoting peace (Keohane, 2002, pp. 27-29).

There are different approaches in the international relations literature on the effect of interdependence on interstate conflict and cooperation processes. While realists claim that interdependence strengthens the processes of competition and conflict between states, liberal theories argue that interdependence can underpin cooperation in certain conditions. Realist and liberal approaches differ primarily on the conditions under which dependence can be accepted mutually. According to Waltz, in order to qualify dependency mutually, the costs to be incurred in case of disconnection must be equal for both actors. Waltz described interdependence as a legend and stated that maximizing their security is still the top priority foreign policy goal for states. While he calls military matters high politics, policies to increase prosperity and wealth brought forward by interdependence theorists fall under low politics and have a relatively low level of importance (Waltz, 1970, p. 212). The high politics and low politics approach of realist thinking is criticized. Because the issues and events that form the agenda of international politics have increased and the applicability of military power has decreased due to both economic priorities and international rules. Especially the interdependence, which stands out among industrialized countries, greatly reduces the possibility of military intervention among these states (Kaya, 2019, p. 41).

According to liberal theorists, dependence is not an inevitable element of conflict and even promotes cooperation and peace between states under certain conditions. Unlike the realist approach that prioritizes relative benefit, the interdependence relationship that is essential in liberal theory is the absolute benefit of the parties. Based on the proposition that

mutual dependence produces common absolute benefits, liberals conclude that this will promote political cooperation among actors. If the interdependence relationship is cut off due to political conflicts, the fact that both actors will lose absolute benefit is presented as the main mechanism that prompts the parties to avoid political conflicts (Demiryol, 2018, p. 1439).

In response to these comments, Keohane and Nye state that the interdependence theory is not an alternative to the realist approach and essentially establishes a link between realism and liberalism. Also, they underline that interdependence will not automatically lead to cooperation, nor will it eliminate power relations (Keohane and Nye, 1987, p. 730). Two interpretations of interdependence are mentioned. The first is asymmetric interdependency, and the second is complex interdependency.

2.4.1. Asymmetrical Interdependency

Interdependence, which can be described as a feature of today's international relations, forces states to take into account the current dependency relationship with the relevant countries while making foreign policy decisions. No matter how strong military, diplomatic and economic, a state can depend on another state for any reason, in any field. In interdependence, countries do not have to be equivalent in terms of power, and the interdependence relationship between countries is not always the same and also, states are dependent on each other at varying rates. This dependence can be symmetrical or asymmetrical, so the nature and proportion of interdependence creates a power relationship. The party, which is less dependent on the other side and less affected if the relations are damaged, can achieve its goals more easily by having more bargaining power over the other. For example, the Y state has more asymmetric sanction against the X state if the X needs more than the Y. As a result, the X state will make more efforts to ensure that the relationship does not deteriorate and will compromise for this purpose (Ari, 2008, p. 407). In asymmetric interdependence, one country suffers more than another country if interdependence or cooperation ends. As an example, Turkey imported more than 60% of natural gas, oil and petroleum products from Russia. In contrast, Turkey export food and food products, various processed products, textiles and machinery for Russia and also, Turkey is not in the position

of the primary providers of Russia. It is possible for Russia to supply these products through alternative channels when needed (Demiryol, 2018, p. 1449). In this context, the evaluations of Minister Yıldız regarding the Akkuyu Nuclear project are also remarkable. Yıldız emphasized that one goal of cooperation with Russia in the production of nuclear energy is to balance relations with Russia and strengthen mutual dependency: “We are dependent on Russia in energy, right? Then we said, let's set a target and be interdependent... And the nuclear business started. Nuclear ... is not a project that our addiction has increased, but on the contrary, it is a project where interdependence has increased.” (Demiryol, 2018, p. 1448). It is possible to say that in asymmetric interdependence, states are dependent on each other to different degrees, and if this dependency disappears, one state will suffer more than another.

2.4.2. Complex Interdependency

In the second half of the 20th century, Keohane and Nye particularly emphasize the dramatic development in mass communication technologies. In the process where this development serves as a catalyst, the structure that forms the framework of the interaction between anarchy and investigation units in the international system is explained by the concept of complex interdependence. It argues that the relations between international actors are getting more and more complex and that this process is beginning to make these actors more vulnerable to each other and more sensitive to each other's needs. Complex interdependence theory is built on three basic qualities such as the multitude of international communication channels, the absence of hierarchy in international relations and the decreasing importance of military power in international politics (Işıksal, 2004, pp. 139-140). Firstly, as a result of the increase in international communication channels, international decisions made by multinational companies and organizations bring the domestic policies of the states closer together and the distinction between domestic and foreign policy becomes obscure. In this context, the interaction between states increases thanks to such connections and the interdependence levels of states increase (Holsti, 1978, p. 521). Secondly, as a result of the developments that have taken place since the 1970s, the issues and events that form the foreign policy agendas of the states have increased and diversified. Compared to the

periods when military and security-based issues were at the top of the foreign policy agenda, the area of international politics has now covered much more. This made it impossible to separate the agenda issues as domestic and foreign policy issues and to address them within a hierarchy. The increase in the level of interaction among states has made almost all of the international diplomatic issues agenda for states (Smythe, 1980, p. 137). The third and final nature of complex interdependence is based on the assumption that the importance and role of military power has decreased significantly compared to the past. Accordingly, the state of interdependence, which stands out among industrialized democratic countries, undermines the possibility of these states to use military force to each other (Keohane and Nye, 1998, p. 87).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1.DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis is a research method used in a wide range of social and cultural researches dealing with semantic products produced through speech and texts. It is a perspective of social life consisting of methodological and conceptual elements, is a way of thinking about discourse and turning discourse into data (Ekşi and Çelik, 2008, p. 105). In addition, discourse analysis is not an analysis in which language is examined linguistically, it does not only see language as a word and grammar. Beyond word and grammar rules, ideological, political and economic features are analyzed. Analysis is made by taking into consideration the words and sentences in the context, not with the words and sentences isolated from the context in which it is located. Power relations and contradictions in discourse are tried to be revealed. Also, discourse analysis is not an analysis with objective rules and objectivity. The information obtained as a result of discourse analysis is subjective and interpretative. Rather than reaching definitive judgments, it tries to enable individuals to view from a different perspective and to evaluate discourses in a social context (Kantar, 2016, p. 61). Discourse analysis requires going beyond the syntactic and semantic boundaries of expressions and verbals and examining the meaning and content behind this. According to Van Dijk, discourse analysis is not only concerned with the formal aspect of discourse or

language use. Rather, it turns to the focus of attention into social events of language users communicating in a social and cultural context (Kantar, 2016, p. 62).

Today, there are different types of discourse analysis, and the object of this analysis is verbal, written or nonverbal texts. But discourse analysis is based on the idea that the meanings of the texts are contextually determined and thus assumes that the reader is destroyed. Thus, discourse analysis is based on interpretation and explores what the author wants to say and how the author should understand. Briefly, discourse analysis is descriptive, interpretive and somewhat intuitive (Gökçe, 2006, p. 64). Some of the most widely used discourse analysis methods today are: Structural Discourse Analysis Method, Van Dijk's Discourse Analysis Method, Foucault's Discourse Analysis Method, Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Method, Wetherell and Potter's Discourse Analysis Method, Pecheux's Discourse Analysis Method, Hall's Discourse Analysis Method, Norman Fairclough's Discourse Analysis Method (Kantar, 2016, p. 65). In this study, content analysis and critical discourse analysis method of Van Dijk will be used to determine the characteristics of the political language used, based on the speeches of the German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. For this, speech texts will be examined in terms of natural language use, rhetorical elements and agenda topics. The findings will be arranged in tables and evaluated by comparison. In this study, especially the way Mr. Recep Tayip Erdoğan and Mrs. Angela Merkel use pronouns ‘‘I’’ and ‘‘We’’; the way they handle the agenda topics and the methods they use for persuasion will be used as analysis tools. Regardless of the agenda in their two leaders, it is remarkable that they use the words of ‘‘our close relationships’’ for bilateral relations and refer to their friendship throughout history. Such features will be discussed in more detail later.

3.1.1. Discourse Analysis Method of Van Dijk

Teun A. Van Dijk is a Dutch linguist with analysis studies on different discourse structures, especially news discourse. Van Dijk's method of discourse analysis, which is also very popular in news analysis, is based on discourse theory and analyzes the text, taking into account the levels of comprehension and production (Kantar, 2016, p. 66). Van Dijk focused on racism and prejudice issues produced through the news in Europe in the 1980s; In this

context, he analyzed hundreds of reports in the German and British press. It shows that especially the right-wing Western press has a negative attitude towards minorities, immigrants and refugees and that negative and marginalizing images are produced against these groups in the news. Van Dijk, who attaches importance to cognitions in critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis, has also been successful in showing social structures that affect discourse structures (Sözen, 1999, pp. 124-125).

One of the important concepts in Van Dijk's understanding of discourse is ideology. Ideologies are important references in the formation and spread of discourse. According to Van Dijk, ideologies function indirectly in both the production and understanding of discourse and this function operates through attitudes and group knowledge about private social areas. At the level of individual discourses of the group members, it functions through the ideologically biased mental models of the members regarding social events and situations (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 110). He states that there is a two-way relationship between discourse and ideology. Accordingly, while ideologies affect our discourses in daily life, discourse plays an important role in the reproduction of ideologies. Here, the link between discourse and ideology builds mental models that represent events from the perspective of one or more ideological groups (Kantar, 2016, p. 67). Moreover, discourse analysis is an invaluable method for international relations. It combines textual and contextual analysis and enables political and sociological interpretations for the topic under consideration. Van Dijk state that it is an integrated analysis that provides a better understanding of the complexity of institutions and political processes that concern political scientists (Godinho, 2016, p. 3). Van Dijk mentions two different approaches to discourse analysis. These are critical and ideological discourse analyzes. However, in the analysis, it can be said that these two approaches are not actually different from each other and rather are parallel and complementary to each other. As a matter of fact, it is seen that Van Dijk used these two approaches together in the classifications he used in his analysis (Yurderi, 2010, p. 128). Moreover, Van Dijk defines critical discourse analysis as an approach used to focus on social issues and it is not a theory or method; expresses that any suitable method can be used in critical discourse analysis research. He adds that critical discourse analysis is a socio-political

attitude and that's why it should be considered as a discipline rather than a research method. Therefore, critical discourse analysis can only make a contribution to critical, social and political analyzes when considering the role of language, the use of language, and discourse (Yurderi, 2010, p. 129). In ideological discourse analysis, another method used by Van Dijk in his discourse analysis studies, the relationship between ideology and discourse is examined through the conceptualization of false consciousness and false belief. Within the framework of this analysis, the general thoughts, social and culturally shared values, norms and attitudes, in short, ideology, are tried to be revealed in discourses. Van Dijk defines ideologies as follows. Ideologies are socially shared beliefs that relate to a group's characteristics, such as their identity, place in society, interests and goals, relationships with other groups, reproduction, and natural environments (Yurderi, 2010, p. 130). Also, he highlights the usefulness of the discursive approach in International Relations with the study of issues such as migration and xenophobia, migration policies and social integration, or how mass media deal with ethnic relations.

The reason why the Van Dijk's model is chosen for this study is the fact that he puts forth that the Western press has shown a negative attitude towards minorities, immigrants and refugees and that negative and marginalizing images are produced against these groups. Also, leaders are undoubtedly an important decision maker in the decision-making mechanisms of states in the discipline of international relations. Leaders who manage the state as subjects undoubtedly have their own ideologies and the characteristics of the environment they grow up in, and this is undoubtedly reflected in their decisions. In this sense, discourse analysis can be made by examining the statements, diaries and statements of heads of state, especially in the inter-state system where leaders are most effective. Therefore, this study will include the discourses of Erdoğan and Merkel between the years 2011-2020. Joint press conferences held in these years will be analyzed and the words frequently used by the two leaders will be tabulated. Statements made at joint press conferences will be added from primary sources. Some statements will be taken from newspapers as they are not in government sources. However, even in this resource, the

comments of newspaper writers will not be included and only the statements made by the leaders will be added.

4. TURKISH-GERMAN RELATIONS

4.1.HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It includes political and military cooperation in the historical journey of Turkish-German relations, as well as spiritual elements such as admiration, necessity and homeland. Despite the fact that Germany secured its union late, it became an important political and military power within Europe and with this power it gained the admiration of the Turks. On the other hand, Germany has been accepted as an important and compulsory option for the Ottoman bureaucracy, which has traditionally been disturbed by the policies pursued by Britain, France and Russia, and approached them with suspicion (Akkaya, 2016, p. 24). Although the alliance provided in the First World War resulted in frustration in terms of the results for the Ottoman Empire and Germany, Turkish-German relations developed in a friendly way, both in the interwar period and in the post-war period. Germany's support for Turkey's development moves in the interwar period and the effect is large. Nevertheless, since 1961, the Turks went to Germany as workers, have made Germany their homeland and they have reached a serious population with their families. These workers played an important role in the development of the German economy because of Germany's need for workforce. They also provided a spiritual aspect of the relations with making Germany second homeland. Looking at it historically, it is seen that there are many items that determine the relations between the two countries.

4.1.1. Relations Before and After the First World War and During the Second World War

The relationship between the Germans and the Turks is actually based on long ago. These relations, which were at the highest level at the time of the Ottoman Empire, put the two countries together in the world war. In the second half of the XIX century, the Ottoman Empire entered a new connection. This connection and closeness was not the kind that Ottoman balance politics followed against any major state. The state opened its doors to

German influence in the military and civil administration (Ortaylı, 2003, p. 11). Under the harsh conditions of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, Germany was perceived as a state that should be taken as an example and the German technique settled in the Ottoman army in the reforms. In addition, the Ottoman Empire's relationship with Germany was an imperative required by the conjuncture. As part of the Eastern issue, it was one of the aims of the rulers of the time to stand next to Germany, which was an effective power in Europe, in response to the ambitions of European powers such as Britain, France and Russia on Ottoman lands. Germany planned to make a profit from the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East because of its late union (Akkaya, 2016, p. 27). The following factors have been effective in developing Germany's relations with the Ottoman State. Firstly, the Ottoman lands are a wide market for the German industry. Secondly, Anatolia have capacity to meet the most important raw materials of the German weaving industry with its cotton, as well as the foodstuffs and the need for grain. The underground wealth of Ottoman Imperial lands such as copper, chromium, lead and oil is capable of meeting the needs of the German industry (Tekin, 2012, p. 84). Turkish-German relations, which intensified towards the end of the 19th century, caused these two states to enter the World War I as allies. However, as a result of the First World War, these two allies were left with their own problems as the defeated parties. This situation caused all relations to be suspended for a while. Then, after the War of Independence established new relations between Turkey and Germany in the more economically developed areas in Turkey's development moves and Germany, it has played important roles. Economic activities such as railway constructions, Kayseri aircraft factory construction, signing loan agreements were important parts of the relations that took place between the two wars (Koçak, 2013, p. 55). Pursuant to Article 23 of the Armistice of Mudros, Turkey and Germany were forced to cut its relations, but after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne the relations have resumed. The continuity of the problems with Britain and France made Germany's friendship necessary. It was an important opportunity for Germany to start friendly relations with Turkey in this case so, a basis will be prepared for both economic relations and a new opening in the diplomatic field. The Treaty of Friendship was signed between Germany and Turkey on March 3, 1924. After this treaty, Mutual Residence Treaty was signed on January 12, 1927 and relationships founded on mutual

interests. Mutual Consular Treaty was signed on May 22, 1930, and Returns of Criminals Treaty was signed on September 30, 1930 (Özgüldür, 1993, p. 37). All of these treaties are guaranteed by national and international legal rules based on mutual interests.

In 1933, Turkey has provided the first official contact management Hitler in Berlin. Although Turkey objected to changing the status-quo on the basis of difficulty, they avoided the attitude that would disturb relations with Germany. Germany has reacted to Turkey's normalization of relations with Britain and stopped the delivery of weapons and war materials, and even the issue of breaking commercial relations was discussed. But chrome exports to Germany from Turkey was continued commercial relations that the very great importance for the German war industry. Turkey has announced that it will stop sending chrome weapons if weapons do not come and then the two sides continued their activities mutually on each other (Tulgar, 2006, p. 195). Germany thought that Turkey's policy has gone over to the British so they have stopped all combat vehicles to be sent to Turkey. The Turkish-German trade was completely stopped on September 1, 1939, because the trade agreement which was previously signed in both states was not renewed (Özgüldür, 1993, p. 115).

The course of the war has led to increased pressure for Turkey to cross into the war. The situation of the Germans also caused Turkish-Russian relations to be positively affected but Turkish-German relations entered the softening process with understanding Turkey would remain unbiased. Thus, the German-Turkish Trade Agreement was signed on 25 July 1940. However, war material sales were excluded from these developments. This shows that the two countries do not have complete trust against each other (Özgüldür, 1993, p. 132). Although Germany wants to Turkey as an ally, they were convinced that Turkey would not enter the war so the Turkish-German Friendship Agreement was signed on June 18, 1941. Thus, Germany gave the guarantee that they will not enter Turkey, and Turkey had declared its neutrality (Uçarol, 2000, p. 542). Thus, Turkish-German relations in the 1923-1945 period were able to sustain bilateral dimensions without causing a regional or mass problem. However, Turkey had close relations with the United States and Britain because of trust problem with Germany and taking into account the progress of the war. Britain gave a

memorandum to Turkey on February 20, 1945. In this memorandum, it was reported that the San Francisco conference will be held between the allies on April 25, 1945 and only countries that declared war on Germany before March 1, 1945 would be invited to this conference. If Turkey decides to enter war before that date, they reportedly could join the United Nations Declaration. Three days after this memorandum, Turkey cut economic ties with Germany and declared war. Thus, Turkey has been participating in the conference of the UN's founding members as one of the few countries that not engaged in armed conflict but they also participated in World War II as a party (Uçarol, 2000, pp. 654-656).

4.1.2. Relations from the Second World War to Cold War

At the end of the Second World War, Germany was defeated, England and France weakened and Turkey was left alone due to neutrality. Thus, the USA and the USSR became more visible internationally as two superpowers. These two superpowers rivaled each other for their opposing ideologies so, after the Second World War, the Cold War appeared as an ideological war between the USA and the USSR.

Turkey and Germany came together under the institution of NATO because of this bipolar world order. In 1951, the Turkish Grand National Assembly ended the war situation with a law passed and this was reported to Germany. Ambassador of Turkey presented credentials to German President in 1951 and then the German Ambassador has presented credentials to Turkish President in 1952. Accordingly, the relations between the two countries began to normalize and diplomatic ties were reestablished. Again in this period, relations were established in OSCE and the Council of Europe in the fields of defense and industry (Aksoy and Ersoy, 1994, p. 53).

In 1959, Turkey wanted to participate the European Economic Community (EEC) to improve its economic situation. Turkey's previously trading partners Germany, Italy, France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands did not oppose Turkey's membership as member states of EEC. In 1963, the EEC and Turkey signed the Ankara Agreement and the EEC members prepared preparation and transition phase for Turkey. Turkey would become a full member if these steps are completed. In 1973, Turkey has completed the preparatory phase

and entered the transition phase. Under the agreement, all customs will be removed in 22 years, and Turkey would become a full member during this time. But Turkey's economy and policy stability did not improve as the expected way. 1980 military coup in Turkey has led to negative reactions of European countries so when Turkey applied for full membership, the EEC argued that Turkey has not yet fulfilled all the requirements and refused to do so (Tulgar, 2006, pp. 228-229).

On the other hand, in 1961 Labor Recruitment Agreement was signed by Germany and Turkey. Thus, a new period started in the relations and Turks started to go to Germany. 6,800 Turks went to Germany to work for a while to save money and return to their country under better conditions (Şen and Ulusoy and Öz, 1999, p. 17). Those who came to the country as guest workers (gastarbeiters) during this period were greeted with great enthusiasm by the German State (Ardagh, 1995, p. 274). Both countries have adopted various purposes with this agreement. Germany had adopted the idea of meeting the short-term labor shortage and developing their industries. Turkey aimed to reduce unemployment with sending unskilled labor to Germany and aimed to provide economic balance with the foreign currency entering the country (Erdoğan, 2010, p. 8). Turkish workers, who went temporarily slowly started to move to Germany in the 1970s. This led to agreements with new social rights and recognition of Turks' settlements in Germany. Additionally, a leading German analyst Heinz Kramer described Germany's relations with Turkey as “intermestic” which means combination of domestic and foreign policy components. There are reasons what makes this relation intermestic such as Turks make up most of the foreign nationals in Germany, both countries are important trade partner and Germany is Turkey's mentor states to enter the EU (Szabo, 2018, p. 2). It is well-known fact that integration problem of some of the Turkish and Kurdish immigrants that living in Germany and some problematic situation on human rights and democracy in Turkey would affect these bilateral relations.

The 1973 oil crisis and the world-wide economic worries caused Germany to close its doors to immigrants from outside the European Community countries. However, this limitation had a very opposite effect and caused increasing number of immigrants. The fact that the work permits of those who leave Germany for more than three months will be

canceled caused Turkish workers to take their families with them and decide to settle down completely. Before this date, Turkish immigrants could not take their families with them. The number of immigrants in Germany has increased rapidly because of the family reunification. Also, while German economy was developing more and more, Turkey had economic problems. This situation has caused the Turks to remain in Germany (Tulgar, 2006, p. 247). Moreover, the Bundestag passed a law and provided financial incentives to encourage foreign workers to return their countries and Germany paid 10.00 German Marks per worker, but this law did not achieve the expected success. Returning workers were not much if we compared to the number of permanent workers and newborn children (Tümertekin and Özgüç, 2012, p. 367). Today, about three million people of Turkish origin live in Germany and about 7,000 German firms are currently in Turkey functional status (Paul and Schmidt, 2017, p. 4).

4.1.3. Relations from Cold War to 2011

The Cold War was over due to the collapse of the Soviet Union. This changed bilateral world order and the organization of the international political order changed accordingly. The unification of West and East Germany in the 1990s enabled Germany to develop new policies. During this period, Germany has indicated it would pursue a policy based on solidarity with Turkey. However, Germany argued that when Turkey was fight against PKK, terrorist attacks, in northern Iraq border and cross-border military operations with using German weapons, civilian population were damaged. The German government severely criticized Turkey and said that Turkey used the weapons for internal security with violating the agreements so they stopped arms shipments to Turkey (Tekin, 2012, p. 63). Germany has advocated all their actions referring to the human rights and accepted all immigrants, who consult for political asylum from Turkey. At this point, Germany's purpose was use this kind of subjects in international arena against Turkey to have opportunity for leading domestic political issues. This situation led to tensions between the two countries and Turkey has a boycott of German goods and also this attitude has developed for Turkey-USA relations and Turkey began buying weapons from the USA so Germany lost his power in the region (Tekin, 2012, p. 64). In 1996, Turkish President Süleyman Demirel tried to soften this tension with

his official visit to Germany but in late 1997, negative decision on Turkey's EU membership is reported at the EU summit in Luxembourg so relations started to deteriorate again and this led to controversy between the political and bureaucrats (Tekin, 2012, p. 95). German Chancellor Kohl stated that Turkey can not be taken for the EU due to religious identity. During this period, Germany's tough stance against Turkey that has changed during Schröder's Chancellery. At the Helsinki Summit, Germany had positive and supportive attitude for Turkey and so relations began to soften. Germany have visited Turkey at the level of the president, the prime minister and ministers and stated that if Turkey completed all the requirements, they would join the EU (Tekin, 2012, p. 64).

When Angela Merkel first took office in 2005, Germany was still known as the ‘‘sick man of Europe’’. However, with the coming of Merkel, the German economy developed and its position in the international arena gained more importance (Ertuğral, 2020). Merkel's foreign policy towards Turkey is similar to Kohl's policy so Germany have begun to follow a policy against Turkey's membership for the EU. She advocated privileged partnership instead of full EU membership. During this period, harsh attitudes towards Turks in Germany were also implemented, assimilation policies were carried out under the name of integration, and visa and language practices were introduced. Also, harsh attitudes towards Turks in Germany were also implemented, assimilation policies were carried out under the name of integration, and visa and language practices were introduced. Merkel argued that the EU should not take countries such as Turkey due to the cultural and religious identity and added that there is no place for Muslim country in the EU because this institution is occurred by Christian countries. Besides all these, she has said she believes relations with Turkey should continue and argued for a privileged partnership (Tekin, 2012, p. 64).

Turkey's progress in economic and political sense in the 2000s, has upgraded its position as a central country in the region. According to the regional variation and geostrategic interests have changed the foreign policy of Germany and they emphasized that economic cooperation with Turkey should be experienced in the political arena as well (Tekin, 2012, p. 65). Accordingly, German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle told Bild daily that ‘‘If the question had to be decided today, Turkey would not be ready for membership and the EU

would not be ready to absorb it. But we have a big interest in Turkey turning in Europe's direction. I want a Turkey that is on Europe's side. Not just for economic reasons. The country can also provide very constructive help in resolving many conflicts, whether it be Afghanistan, Iran, Yemen or the Middle East.' (Dünya, 2010).

As previously mentioned Germany has mentors position on Turkey's EU membership and represents an important dimension of German-Turkish bilateral relations. Turkey sees Germany as an important factor in the shaping of EU policy towards Turkey. Although Germany considered Turkey as an important strategic partner to keep close, most of the time did not support Turkey's EU membership bid. It was investigated alternative ways to keep Turkey closer to Europe such as Customs Union with the European Union that supported by former Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The only change in these attitude took place between 1998 and 2005 under the Social Democrat (SPD) and the Alliance '90/Greens Coalition (Paul and Schmidt, 2017, p. 1). Schröder and Fischer, played an active role in the Helsinki Summit for granting Turkey candidate status. Schröder and Fischer both in separately speeches, they said they would do their utmost to contribute and move Turkey to the EU as a full member. Germany as a one of the most powerful member and leader of the EU, can speed or stop the relations between Turkey and the EU whenever it wants. Therefore, Turkish-German bilateral dialogue would not only control mutual affairs but also the EU-Turkey relations (Tulgar, 2006, p. 269).

Germany is the driving force of the EU with its economic power and large population in Europe. According to the EU rules, the population of countries is also important in terms of being able to influence the management of the EU when they become full members so the review that Germany wants Turkey's full membership is not a realistic. If Turkey become an EU member, it will be represented at the highest rate in the European Parliament with the largest population and will be a partner in decision-making processes in Germany. It is possible to express that Turkey would be one of Germany's biggest competitor for EU decision-making process when we consider that Turks population in Germany and in other member states and Turkey's highest population growth rates. Moreover, Helmut Schmidt, the former prime minister of Germany said that whatever the future of Europe is no place for

Turkey and 20 million Turkish workers cannot move freely within Europe and he added that it can not be accepted that Europe has borders with countries such as Iran, Iraq and Syria. (Tekin, 2012, p. 66). This understanding is still effective today and most of the EU countries share this understanding, but they do not speak out loud all the time.

Although JDP as a governing party presented some developments demanded by the EU such as the eradication of the death penalty and making civil government more powerful than military, Cyprus Issue had still continued. Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is vital importance for Turkey because of people of the same family and sharing the same culture and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' geopolitical situation. Turkey does not allow Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to enter another state control of the entire island because it is about 80 km away between Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. If Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus comes under the influence of Greece, Greece will almost turn the Mediterranean into a Greek lake with the advantage of its superiority in the Aegean Islands. Turkey stated Cyprus Issue to be debated by the EU at Helsinki Summit in 1999. Despite unresolved Turkey-Cyprus problem, South Cyprus Greek Administration became a member of the EU in 2004. Germany said that the Turkey-EU negotiations should not be in progress unless Cyprus issue fixed. This situation was cause standoff between Turkey, Germany and the EU due to the fact that veto power of South Cyprus Greek Administration for Turkey's membership. However, in 2007, Merkel accepted that before solving the Cyprus issue, South Cyprus Greek Administration's membership to the EU was a mistake (Sandıklı, 2010, pp. 12-13). Also, she argued that this issue would always be an obstacle for Turkey. Even if she was looked like neutral in this situation, she sometime represented her choice South Cyprus Greek Administration instead of Turkey. For example, she said that "We stated that Southern Cyprus are ready for an honorable agreement but Turkish side does not give suitable provision to it. In first place, Germany encourages Turkey's membership but before all Turkey has to clear up Cyprus and the other issues." (Tekin, 2012, pp. 73-74). Although Germany knows that Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is that much important for Turkey, they had followed a policy put forward as an obstacle to Turkey's EU entry and followed policies will end Turkey's activity in this region. Therefore, Germany has pushed

Turkey to an area with cliffs on both sides. The evaluation made by the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute regarding this attitude of Germany; ‘‘The German Chancellor's remarks on Cyprus clearly showed solidarity between EU member states... So far, we have considered how the Cyprus issue is used toward Turkey within the structure of accession negotiations by EU commission and the member states even though Turkey's complete rightness. She supports the Greek Cypriot Administration ignoring the fact reports of the General Secretary of the United Nations and declares that they will support the EU members such as the Greek Cypriots under all circumstances. This is a challenge.’’ (Tekin, 2012, p. 74).

4.1.4. Economic Relations between Turkey and Germany

Close economic relations between Turkey and Germany form the basis of relations between the two countries. Friendly and traditional relations, which have continued since the 19th century, have intensified in the following years. Many German companies to invest in Turkey. Likewise, there are tens of thousands of companies in Germany founded by German citizens of Turkish origin and Turkish citizens. This situation has a great impact on Turkish-German economic relations. These companies, which have contributed greatly to the economic development in Germany, create job opportunities for hundreds of thousands of people. In this way Germany is Turkey's most important economic partner in the clear. Moreover, Germany and Turkey have historical memory that make them closer to each other. Both countries had military alliances dating back to World War I. During the Ottoman Empire, they realized teamwork such as Anatolian and Baghdad railway projects and they had not directly fought each other until now. These various factors are ensuring that the historical relations between Turkey and Germany have a positive image.

About a third of Germany's national product is covered by exports. The high export potential of the country causes an increase in mutual commercial dependency. This results in a German foreign policy that acts in cooperation. This attitude of Germany, which focuses on stability by avoiding the crisis as much as possible in its foreign relations, is compatible with the concept of civil power. According to Büyükbay, the civilian-centered approach of Germany based on the international economy was shaped as a result of the world wars and the Cold War experiences that deeply affected them. Politically, Germany continue to bear

the burden of the damage caused by the expansion moves of II. Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler. This burden causes them to partially abstain from military and political fields in international relations and it causes it to be active in economic, technological and cultural grounds (Büyükbay, 2017, p. 22). Germany-Turkey relations can be particularly positive experience in processing also makes it possible to form a stable economic dynamism. Germany is Turkey's most important trading partner. Turkey, as products and services, the average annual exports to Germany up to a volume of 15 billion dollars. Germany's share in Turkey's total exports is about 10%. Turkey's share in Germany's exports is about 1.5%. Germany is the country that ranks first in exports to Turkey. Turkey ranks 16th for the imported products and services in Germany. Said figures show that there is an asymmetrical relationship between international trade in Turkey and Germany. Turkey exports textile materials, vehicles, machinery and spare parts to Germany. Turkey imports vehicles, vehicle parts, machine parts and electronic products from Germany. In this context, it is possible to say that Germany who commercially productive came to dominate at export destinations in Turkey. For example, in a 10-year period from 2007 to 2017, while performing a total of 150 billion dollars worth of exports from Turkey to Germany, 222 billion dollars worth of import from Germany to Turkey (Vatandaş, 2019, p. 2). Moreover, between the years 2002-2017 the amount of direct investment was about 8 billion euro to Turkey from Germany while the direct investment flowing from Turkey to Germany in the same year stood at around 2 billion euros. Reinforcing the Turkey-Germany relations in Germany there are 50 different sectors. There are 80,000 commercial enterprises employing 500,000 people in these sectors. The contribution of these enterprises to the German economy is approximately 52 billion Euros. Besides, the remarkable German tourists visiting Turkey between about 3.5 to 5 million per year is another data. However, the number of tourists from Turkey to Germany is approximately 400,000-500,000. Undoubtedly, Germany's visa policy towards Turkey and exerted a negative impact on the purchasing power of the deficit in the euro-TL parity is also an effective factor in this picture. (Vatandaş, 2019, p. 3). The economy is one of the important dynamics that create dependency in inter-state relations. The annual trade volume between Turkey and Germany are realized in the course of about 35 billion dollars every year. This figure corresponds to 1.5% of Germany's annual trade volume while it corresponds to 10%

Turkey's annual trade volume. For example, Germany's exports 1.450 billion dollars in 2017 while Turkey's exports remained only 156 billion dollars (Vatandaş, 2019, p. 3). There is a nine-fold gap between the two states in terms of exports. This situation reveals the existence of a strong German economy. On the other hand, Turkey also has a representative office of the German Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The German-Turkish Chamber of Industry and Commerce, which has been operating in Istanbul since 1985, has over 1000 members today. In 2004, German-Turkish Chamber of Industry and Commerce was established in Cologne. The German-Turkish Chamber of Industry and Commerce, which continues its activities with its Cologne branch, moved its headquarters to Berlin in 2012. Germany and Turkey signed Mutual Promotion and Development of Investments Agreement since 1962. International arbitration judgment on the law came into force in July 2001 in Turkey. The Double Tax Prevention Agreement of 1985 was terminated and the new Double Taxation Agreement of 19.09.2011 was signed in Germany. This agreement came into effect retrospectively as of 01.01.2011. In November 2012, the Turkish-German Energy Forum was established in order to enable the political and economic representatives of the two countries to establish a dialogue in the field of energy. Within this framework, the first ministerial meeting was held in Ankara in April 2013. In addition, the economic ministers of the two countries agreed to establish the Economic and Commercial Partnership Committee, called JETCO (Joint Economic and Trade Commission). New areas of work began to emerge to deepen bilateral cooperation. Renewable energy and energy efficiency are at the forefront with an innovative technology transfer perspective. The German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development will continue to support in the future if such projects comply with the incentive regulations. (Almanya'nın Türkiye'deki DışTemsilcilikleri, 2020).

The main factors determining the state of the economy in Germany and Turkey relations is security under the title of politics. Germany is an extremely important country for Turkey who want to maintain the flow of subjectivity in the international system. Germany is also Turkey's NATO alliance, and also is a key position in the EU accession process and economic dynamism. Indeed, Turkey is also an important actor to maintain the migration flow effectively, energy security and the international fight against terrorism for Germany. Turkey

expects Germany's solidarity and support in the fight against the PKK and the Gülen community. It is clear that the will to determine the overcoming of security problems is in the hands of both countries (Vatandaş, 2019, p. 4). They know that it is not necessary to sacrifice the continuity of a cooperation flow that both countries have gained because of security crises and a populist political language. In particular, despite various disputes with Merkel about EU-Turkey relations and human rights issues, it has been observed that Merkel frequently met with the Erdoğan government. Although occasional changes in political relations, leaders have paid attention to cautiousness to continue their cooperation. Their protection for mutual communication has also positively affected the economic rhythm in relations.

4.2. TURKISH GERMAN RELATIONS DURING THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

4.2.1. Arab Spring and Issue of Syrian Refugee

Welfare and economic developments in Europe have always been a source of longing for the Middle East. With the effect of globalization, borders have been lifted and communication between countries has become easier with the influence of technology and the power of the media. With all these developments, the welfare level and quality of life of the West have become more visible for the countries in the Middle East. The people, who have been ruled under the same regimes for many years, have rebelled against the unemployment that emerged with the economic problems and the regression of the strengthening regimes from democracy. put the local people in a more depressed process. As a result of all these negativities, it is a protest movement that first started in Tunisia and then affected many Arab countries. The Arab Spring, which spread to almost all Arab countries in a short time, allows some despotic regimes to fall and it also put the Middle East in a chaos that will last for many years. As a result of the public's support for this movement and the increasing protests, the regimes that have been in power for many years have ended. These developments in the Middle East have been the beginning of an important period for both the countries of the region and the World.

The Middle East attracted great powers with the discovery of oil in the early years of the twentieth century. It is a gateway to the world, primarily through waterways, where trade connections between the Middle East, West and East can be made (Kara and Özlü and Karkin, 2017, p. 477). Due to this geopolitical position, it has attracted many sovereign powers in every period of history. It is seen that there are problems such as corruption, income inequality, favoritism, injustice, longing for democracy, human rights violations throughout the Arab geography. The invoices of all these problems are issued to the existing administrations. Internal disturbances in the region force people to escape from the region. These compulsory migration movements reach the countries adjacent to Arab countries, European countries and America (Kara and Özlü and Karkin, 2017, p. 478). So it is not known whether these mass movements will result in a spring, but it is obvious that it has become the problem of the whole world.

This process, which emerged with the desire for democracy, freedom and a more prosperous life, has been dragging the region towards a darker period. Sometimes the current regime in the administration did not leave the seat, sometimes the permanent governments could not be replaced after the regime's overthrow, and sometimes the increasing protests by the supporters of the overthrown regime made this process inextricable. In some countries, the regime was not destroyed, and protesters who opposed it were severely punished. After the Arab Spring, the people who came to power with election came down the streets and as a result, violence increased in other countries (Öztürk, 2019, p. 41). Countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Jordan and Yemen are affected by the Arab spring. The example of Syria will be explained in terms of the area of the article.

In 2011, the harsh intervention of the security forces in peaceful demonstrations that started in the first days of March led to a civil war in which more and more people died in the country. In fact, the events in Syria started on a rather low profile, unlike the actions that put masses on the streets in Tunisia and Egypt. The first development that sparked the incidents occurred after two young people were arrested in the city of Deraa in the south. Syrian government took a very harsh attitude towards the people on the street and this brought a great provocation. The small demonstrations which initially seemed very local continued

steadily every day, and after a few weeks it spread to other cities (Dağ, 2013, pp. 86-87). This uprising that started in Syria continued in a different way from other Arab countries. In other countries, regimes could not continue their administration in a short time under the influence of the public and foreign powers. In Syria, the regime responded to this uprising of the people by intervening very hard. Mass actions that started in the public continued increasingly. However, as a result of the regime's response to these actions and the protesters falling into separation within themselves, a civil war, which continues until today, has begun to occur. As a result of these civil wars and conflicts, many people had to leave their countries with security concerns.

4.2.1.1.Syrian Refugee Crisis

Syria, where the most permanent effects of the Arab Spring are seen and the process continues unlike the Middle East and North African countries, has been the source of many problems not only for the Middle East but also for Europe. In this context, Syrian refugees who have fled Syria and go to European countries have become an important problem for the European continent and neighboring countries. Syrians who have been forced to migrate to neighboring countries since the beginning of the war, have tried to go to European countries in order to lead a better life with high levels of welfare in this process. European borders have been the migration route of those who are seeking opportunities to live, study and work in better conditions in many periods of history. Syrians who under temporary protection status in other countries turn to European borders with the hope of a better quality and stable life (Bulkan, 2018, p. 19).

According to the United Nations data, the number of irregular migrants crossing Europe illegally is more than 1 million. Thirty percent of this figure consists of Syrians. While 363,000 asylum applications were made to the European Union in 2015, this figure decreased to 335,000 in 2016 (Eurostat, 2019). The rationale for this phenomenon is the Readmission Agreements, which will be detailed in the following sections. Although irregular migration was controlling after the Readmission Agreement which was signed by Turkey and the EU, this problem was not solved because of unequal distribution and lack of solidarity the European Union members. In fact, while the number of asylum seekers was relatively

proportional in some European Union member countries, the number of asylum seekers was low in some European countries (Bulkan, 2018, p. 42).

The fact that the other member states are not willing to solve the problem and the Syrian refugees prefer Germany has forced Germany to solve this problem. Germany as a country that Syrian refugees especially want to go, has to deal with this problem directly. The problem for Germany was not only about dealing with the refugees who came to it, but also had to determine the EU's approach to the refugee problem as the driving force of the EU. As in all matters, Germany had to take greater responsibility as a leader country in this problem.

4.2.2. Germany's Attitude for Syrian Civil War and Syrian Refugee Crisis

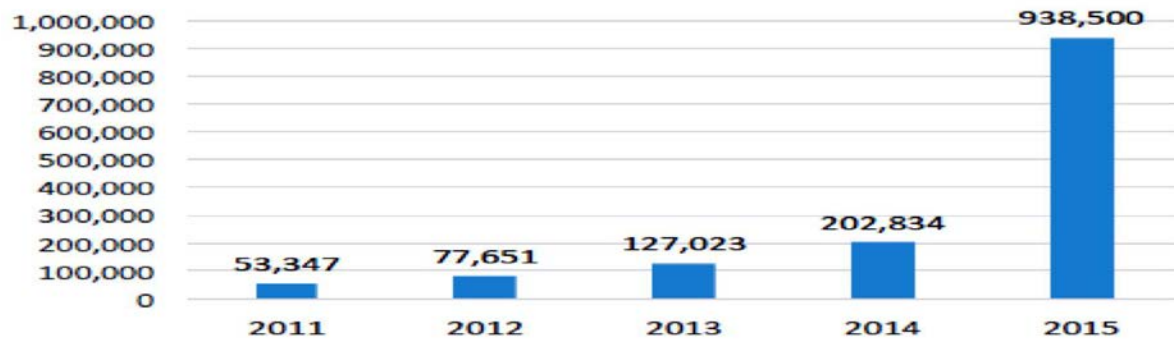
No one initially assumed that the protests would turn into a major continental crisis. It was believed that the Syrian civil war would be resolved like other riots in the Arab spring, so it was not so important for Germany. Therefore, Germany has had its hesitations about how the civil war would end so has not given support or rejection to topple Assad Regime. Germany's neutral position left Turkey alone to topple Assad. Germany has maintained the policy of wait and see that is usually used by Germany at the beginning but then the results of the civil war surprised Germany. Therefore, Germany and Turkey have chosen to side with the protesters and took a stand against the Assad regime. The German Foreign Ministry called for an end to the Assad dictatorship in 2011 as a result of the regime's brutal violence against the people (Yakut and Erdoğan, 2013, p. 209).

When Syrian refugees start migrating to neighboring countries and approach European borders, it become an emergency situation for European countries. According to Turhan. "The crisis has remained largely a "non-European" crisis until April 2015. While in 2014 there were approximately 130,000 Syrian applications for international protection in the EU, Syria's neighbors Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Iraq were already hosting all together around 3,9 million Syrian refugees by the start of 2015. However, with the Syrian refugees increasingly seeking to reach the EU soil for a higher quality of life and safety, and following the death of almost 850 refugees due to the collision of a refugee boat close to Italy in Spring

2015, the crisis of the European periphery has turned into a European refugee crisis.” (Turhan, 2018, p. 191).

On the other hand, responsible for the past, Germany has broadly defined the right to asylum and has been determined to remain a safe place for anyone with life-threatening conditions. The fact that 20% of the German population is of immigration origin can be shown as evidence of the opportunities provided to immigrants in Germany (Mayer, 2016, p. 2). For this reason, Germany has always been the preferred country for refugees.

Table 2. Number of Refugees in Germany between 2011 and 2015



(Bayraklı and Keskin, 2015, p.20)

Table 2 shows the increase of refugees arriving in Germany during the 2011-2015 period. The number of refugees fleeing to Germany has reached 1 million. Of course, such massive migrations had great consequences. Also, refugees not only come from Syria but also come from Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Eritrea, Nigeria and many other countries, as they see Germany as a safe country. The German government estimated the number of refugees to come to the country in 2015 as 300,000 and allocated budgets to state governments by number. States were denied to demand more money in March 2015, with the estimate that this number would be 500,000, but the number of 800,000 in August 2015 led to the transition to “natural disaster status” in the country (Akkaya, 2016, p. 25).

Germany's policy towards Syrian refugees started chronologically as follows. Firstly, the acceptance of Syrians to Germany came to the agenda in 2012. Then, visa procedures were facilitated for Syrians; whose relatives were in Germany. Plans for the admission of women

with children who have to flee Syria have been developed. Also, the Berlin government suspended the Dublin Treaty for Syrians, which granted immigrants the right to apply for asylum in the first EU country where they set foot and Open Door Policy was followed (Sputnik, 2015). In addition, it is stated that there are three reasons for Germany to open its doors until 2015. The first of these reasons is that, although there are anti-immigrant parties such as AfD in Germany as an immigrant country, public support is given to the government to open doors to those fleeing war and conflict. The second is that Angela Merkel, who has ruled Germany since 2005, is committed to implementing a policy that places emphasis on opening doors for refugees (Aras and Sağıroğlu, 2018, p. 108). In this framework, as Özcan stated that “Merkel itself, which opened its doors to hundreds of thousands of refugees based on European doors, came from a refugee family. Both the mother and father sides had to flee because of the war, leaving their homeland behind.” (Özcan, 2018, p. 20). The third reason that Germany opens its doors to refugees is that Germany's benefit is the acceptance of refugees, which can be a remedy for the aging population and lack of workforce. Anti-foreign rhetoric has also increased with the opening of doors to asylum seekers in Germany. Angela Merkel stated that extreme right-wing attitudes in the country were unacceptable and called on the German people not to participate in anti-refugee protests. This attitude is one of the important discourses that reveal Germany's approach to refugees. Despite the criticism of politicians, the German people and neighboring countries, Merkel continued its attitude for a long time (Aras and Sağıroğlu, 2018, p. 108). Merkel described the solution of the refugee crisis as a national task. This decision made Germany a model for other EU members and she encouraged them to mobilize to contribute to displacement by saying “Solidarity and responsibility must go hand in hand.” (Government, 2015). However, EU countries did not approach Merkel's proposed solution and did not implement a common policy to solve this problem, so Germany remained alone and became the European country most affected by the refugee crisis.

4.2.3. Turkey's Attitude for Syrian Civil War and Syrian Refugee

Syrian citizens had to leave their homeland and take refuge in neighboring countries in order to save their lives and find a solution to this situation. Turkey located 911 kilometers

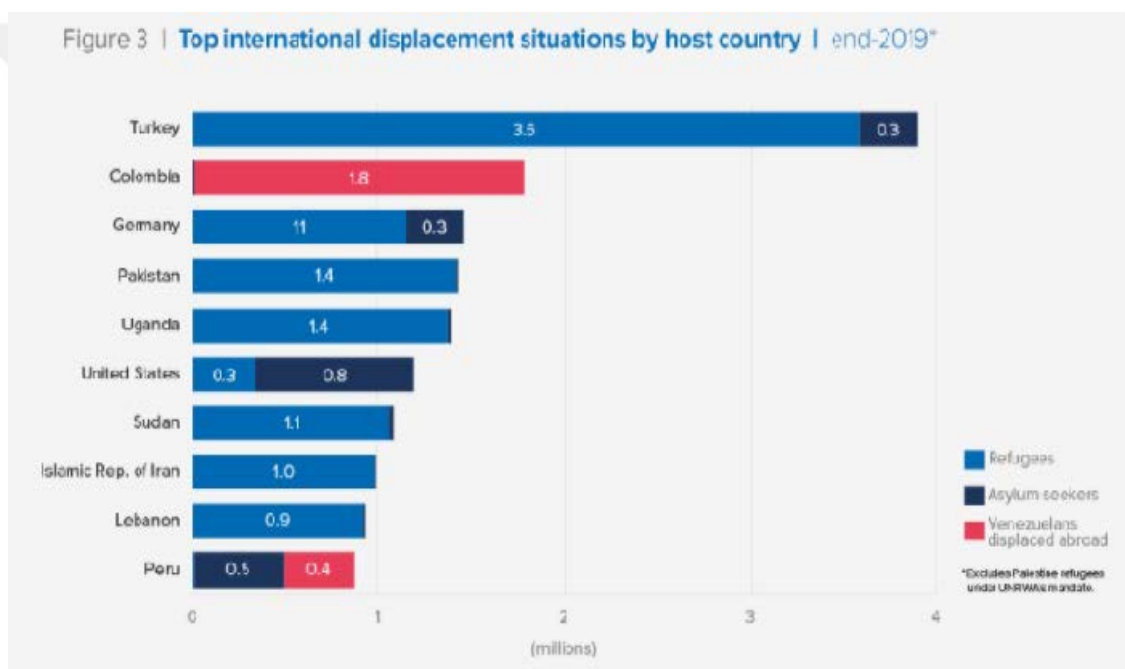
of land border with Syria and no longer silent on this situation of the Syrian citizens living in their homeland so they followed an ‘open-door policy’ in order to help people who wants to cross border (Kap, 2014, p. 31). In terms of asylum-seekers and refugees, Turkey is a country where they feel safe and is transit country to west for migrants who wanting to go to northern countries. For those who want to work, Turkey is the target country due to better economic condition than their neighbors (İçduygu, 2004, p. 29). Also, Turkey's neighbor border is not the only reason to prefer. Turkey's ties with the Syrian people is based on the past. This nation, which has a common historical culture, is also interconnected by religious ties.

Since April 2011 Syrian refugees arrived in Turkey, which is defined as a guest and registration Syrians are taken in the temporary protected status. With temporary protection status, protection against forced return is provided. Studies on problems or needs of Syrians in are implemented by AFAD (Turkey's Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency) (Dost, 2015, p. 59). AFAD and Kızılay have undertaken the establishment and coordination of camps for Syrian refugees. Registration and identification of asylum-seekers are carried out by the police. Official data on the number of Syrians in Turkey are published by AFAD. The cost of spending for the security of Syrian refugees and meeting their basic needs has exceeded 12 billion dollars, according to official AFAD figures. On the other hand, aid provided by international organizations and countries is around 512 million dollars (Nurdoğan and Dur and Öztürk, 2017, p.229). Such huge costs undoubtedly affect the country's economy negatively.

Within 24 hours, the Turkey immediately set up an emergency tent camp for them in southern Hatay Province. The camps established in the regions close to the border were praised in the national and international press. For example, in New York Times, Mac McClelland wrote an article which titled as ‘‘How to Build a Perfect Refugee Camp’’ and he argued that ‘‘Most of the refugees in the world live in extremely bad conditions. On the other hand, Öncüpınar Refugee Camp opened by AFAD in Kilis is not like these camps. Those who stay in this camp, which is almost inconsistently highly organized, pass through a fingerprint scanning system for entry, and their items are checked on X-ray devices...

Decayed trash, sewage odors, which are common in places where many people live together and where there is no infrastructure, are absent here.” (McClelland, 2014). Although the living standards of the camp centers are at a good level, they do not want to stay in the camps unless the majority are obliged. The most important reasons for this are listed as the high discipline in the camps, the lack of work opportunities, the conservative families not seeing the camp life suitable for girls, the feeling of exclusion (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 25).

Table 3. Number of Refugees in Turkey



(UNHCR, 2019)

As shown in Table 3, Turkey is the country that hosted the world's refugees too much. Since the implementation of the Open Door policy, many asylum seekers have come not only from Syrians but also from other countries. It is not easy to meet, employ and host the needs of incoming refugees. Refugee crisis has been costly for Turkey. For this reason, changes from time to time in Turkey's foreign policy has occurred to decrease number of refugee and protect its border.

Turkey's foreign policy has been defined as an attempt to increase Turkish control in the regions of the Ottoman Empire with Justice and Development Party governments that come

to power in 2002. Their approach is said as Neo-Ottomanism. When Ahmet Davutoğlu become foreign minister, this approach turned more soft power. During the Justice and Development Party governance, until the Syrian Crisis, Turkey's foreign policy based on "peace at home, peace at world". Davutoğlu as a professor of international relations stated that zero problem with neighbors. Accordingly, he aimed to strengthen relations with neighboring countries without any military forces (Hurriyet, 2010). However, with the Syrian Crisis, foreign policy of Turkey changed soft power to hard power. Although Turkey's position about Syrian civil war was unexpected because of relations between Syria and Turkey were best in the history. However, after the civil war, Turkey immediately showed its position with Syrian publics. This kind of opposition approaches disputed zero problem policy but Davutoğlu argued that "We wanted Assad to be the Gorbachev of Syria, but he chose to be Milosevic. That is a problem." (Yakut and Erdoğan, 2013, p.210). Therefore, he still defended zero problem policy by emphasizing Turkish policy against undemocratic Syrian Regime. Turkey formed a council named Syrian National Council (SNC) to support Syrian public who damaged by Asad government. Purpose of Ankara was to take down Syrian regime and create opportunity for international intervention possible so all Syrian ethnicity that Kurds, Sunnis, Alevis and Muslims were included this council (Weiss, 2011). At that time Turkish government wanted to top off this conflict with using soft power by taking concern of international association on behalf of the armed opposition. But these attempt were fruitless because of conflict in the council and pressure of other countries such as Russia, Iran and China (Manhoff, 2017, p. 15). Moreover, Turkey as a neighbor of Syria has right to worry about undemocratic movements in Syria and has right to protect its borders and interests. Turkey's intervention calls for international forces remained unanswered so they provided weapons directly with the leadership of SNC and Free Syrian Army for Syrian public (Manhoff, 2017, p. 7). Thus, Erdoğan has always spoke to the power of the public in domestic policy in Syria, and also, he thought if public would be winner, he will win this conflict. The Turkish foreign ministry formerly declared that "Countries of the region and all the other parties should be responsible about the Syrian's national and territorial unity. Our hope is that this conflicts should be solved democratically and humanistic. Discrimination of Syrian people according to their gender, religion, and ethnicity is a

phenomenon that should be prevented to solve the problem.” (Yakut and Erdoğan, 2013, p.210-211).

4.2.4. Reasons of Cooperation of Turkey and Germany on Refugee Crisis

At the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Turkey and Germany have produced a short-term solution to the refugee crisis because they thought that the Assad regime will end sooner or later and the Syrian refugees return to their homeland. However, even if the Assad regime comes to an end, Turkey and Germany have to consider the possibility of Syrians not returning and to consider mechanisms for the integration of Syrian refugees. It was surprising in both countries that the number of Syrian refugees arriving was higher than expected. Although policies to solve the crisis produce short-term solutions, a long-term solution could not be achieved. At first, no one could predict that the crisis would grow so great. For this reason, tolerance towards refugees in both countries was welcomed by the locals but the unexpected state of the crisis caused the developed policies to be insufficient. Both countries could not get the support they expect from the international institutions they are members of. Besides, both publics were not satisfied with the high number and cost of refugees. This situation caused both governments to lose their power, so they sought new policies and new partners to find more permanent solutions. Thus, before the crisis in Syria, Turkey and Germany who do not have a connection about this, they sat at the table to resolve the crisis. This part will first explain why they need partnership, then explain what agreements they have made to meet these needs and what their mutual interests are.

The refugee crisis has deeply affected both countries. These states, which initially approached the crisis in a humane way, required different policies and new partners with the prolongation of the crisis and the consequences. First of all, the question of why Germany tried to deal with Turkey by changing the policy, will be answered. Then, same answer will be said for Turkish part and the question of why did they want to cooperate even there was political stagnations each other will be answered.

Germany, which is the most preferred country in the EU, stated that it will accept the Syrian refugees by suspending the Dublin Convention within the scope of its policies. In

addition, both the other partners of the European Union and UNHCR described Germany's suspension of the Dublin Convention as a positive development. This decision of Germany relieved countries such as Hungary and Greece, where asylum-seekers were accumulated. In addition, Angela Merkel states that Schengen's future is at risk unless a fair distribution of immigrants, including the European Union, is created (Martin, 2015, p. 5). Donald Tusk, President of the Council of the European Union, states that European Union countries such as Angela Merkel should show solidarity. In addition, Tusk emphasized that Germany's refugee policy is of critical importance in the current crisis. It is stated that the German approach to the migration crisis will shape the future of Europe itself. However, in this process, the European Union's support for Germany could not go beyond saying. The immigration policies of the member states of the Union have been left to their own initiative and the idea of establishing a common immigration policy has failed to implement. According to the numbers of international institutions, those who apply for international protection are the Syrian citizens. This is also true for Germany. In addition, according to UNHCR reports, 518,000 Syrian asylum applications were filed to Germany. This figure corresponds to almost half of the number of asylum-seeker applications made to European Union countries. Therefore, half of the applications for asylum seekers made to the European Union countries were made to Germany (UNHCR, 2015). The Open Door Policy pursued by Germany has not been long-term due to reasons such as the lack of support from other European states that are members of the Union, the asylum seekers who have reached millions in a short time, and the burden caused by these individuals cannot be shared among member countries. In November 2015, Germany reinstated the Dublin Convention, which it had previously suspended. However, both Syrians and asylum seekers from other countries are disappointed. Later, a quota system was included in the agenda of the European Union, especially Germany.

Another reason for Germany's refugee policy to change is the rise of the right parties. While extreme right movements gained the support of people who were generally affected by the economic crisis in Europe in the 1930s, today they are supported by those who are negatively affected by the globalization process in social, cultural and economic terms. The

general feature of the far-right parties is that they show minority groups as “others” and feed discourses containing fear and hatred to the opposing group. According to far-right parties; The priority of job and education opportunities belongs to the majority group. Another feature of these parties is that they form their policies on anti-foreign discourses. So much so that far-right parties often refer to asylum seekers as the source of all problems (Öner, 2014, p. 163). The Paris attacks, which resulted in the death of 138 people in November 2015, increased Islamophobic and racist discourses in Germany as well as in European countries. Islamophobia, which has risen across Europe with xenophobia, has also become one of the issues that frequently occupy the agenda in Germany. In the protests held in the same year, slogans were shouted that mosques were not wanted and Angela Merkel criticized these demonstrations for being anti-alien and racist and called for these groups not to be followed. According to the Islamophobia report published in 2015, it is stated that there were 850 attacks against the places where the refugees sheltered. Increasing discomfort towards the acceptance of nomadic asylum seekers both at Germany and at the European Union level has reduced support for Merkel and her party, which has recently made major reforms, and the right parties, such as the Alternative Party for Germany (AfD), have started to raise. Founded in 2013, AfD has become the most successful new party in Germany in less than a year (Bulkan, 2018, p. 72).

In addition, in some studies conducted in Germany, it is seen that the increase in the number of asylum-seekers in the country deepened socio-political polarization with anti-asylum-seeker policies, although it does not increase the crime rates in Germany. With the rise of Islamophobia in recent times, this polarization has tended to popularize movements famous with xenophobia and racism (Alkan, 2015, p. 287). In the same period, politicians from AfD tried to legitimize their discourses with terrorist incidents while conducting anti-asylum-seeking policies. The AfD party has found significant support among German voters with its increasingly anti-foreign statements and anti-Islamic rhetoric, which has caused the Angela Merkel government to lose votes. The fact that AfD, which was installed in the 5 percent threshold in the elections in the year of its establishment, entered the parliament after 2015 by increasing its voting rate seriously is an indication that racist discourses respond in

the society (Reuters, 2018). The AfD party, which is rapidly rising in Germany, has been criticized for a long time on the grounds that it does not have a concrete policy. With the Syrian migration crisis, it has shaped its Party policies on issues such as asylum seekers, Islam and security. AfD has criticized the refugee policy pursued by Prime Minister Angela Merkel, opposing the 'Welcome Policies' for asylum seekers applied during the process of the refugee crisis. While the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party of Prime Minister Merkel lost votes in the 2015 and 2017 state elections, the AfD continued to increase its votes. Merkel was criticized for failures in state elections and she said, "The emergence of this result is that the direction and goal of the government's asylum seeker policy is not adequately explained, and I will try to explain the goals of the asylum policy better." (Aljazeera-Turk, 2016). So it can be said that she accepted that the policies applied to asylum seekers were the basis of the election failure. To summarize, Germany wanted to solve refugee problem in outside of its border due to the number of refugees and the cost to the country is higher than expected, increasing the voting rate of the right parties with the loss of the positive attitude of the people, decreasing the voting rate of Merkel's party, leaving Germany alone in this crisis and the EU's failure to implement a common immigration policy.

Second of all, Turkey as a most active country for Syrian Issue, had to rearrange its policy. Early in the crisis, Turkey has implemented an open door policy and agreed to all asylum seekers coming. They also made military interventions to create democracy and a safe space in Syria. Turkey has recently produced a short time in this line of thinking policies like refugee camps, considering the Syrian regime would collapse like in other Arab countries. However, the continuation of the crisis and cost and number of asylum seekers arriving higher than expected was very costly for Turkey. At the same time, the military intervention in Syria had a great impact on the Turkish economy. Thus, Turkey began to seek new policies and new partners because of no support from international institutions.

The preference of Syrians to stay in their rented homes in the border provinces has led to an increase in the prices of rented homes in their residential areas. It is very difficult to find a house for rent in the border provinces. Syrians living outside the camps settle in the outskirts of cities and districts, as they do not have much budget for housing costs. Local people, who

want to get rental income from Syrians, make additions to their homes, without their projects and permission. This increases skewed urbanization and night condensation. The high number of Syrian conditional refugees and the ongoing arrivals and the lack of stability due to the lack of stability in the country cause demographic structure to deteriorate especially in border provinces. This situation is clearly seen especially in Kilis. The population of Kilis is around 129 thousand. The number of Syrians living in Kilis is about 120 thousand. While the local population of Kilis was of Turkish origin, the fact that the incoming Syrians were of Arab origin led to the formation of two communities in different languages and cultures in a short time in the city. The presence of Syrians as much as Turkish citizens in Kilis created two separate communities in the city (Nurdoğan and Dur and Öztürk, 2017, p.230). The large number of Syrians and their extended stay have some effects on the labor market and wages. Especially, the most important effect it has on the labor market emerges when Syrians are employed as cheap labor by illegal means. There is unfair competition between companies employing and not employing informal workers. Workers living in seasonal jobs and living in migrated provinces adversely affect them. With the arrival of Syrian workers, there was a decrease in daily wages paid. Syrians' willingness to work with lower wages causes the region to become unemployed, resulting in the exclusion and marginalization of Syrians (Yonca, 2014, p. 38). Unemployed Turks living in border provinces see Syrians working illegally and cheaply as a reason for their unemployment.

Turkish government's main target of toppling the Assad regime in Syria appeared feasible in the summer of 2015, because Turkish, Saudi and Qatari assisted coalition of Islamist rebel groups. Nevertheless, Russia and Iranian forces helped to stop the collapse of Assad regime, and positions of Iran and Russia changed the conditions completely so the fall of Dictator Assad looked unlikely (Manhoff, 2017, p. 10). Thus, Turkey realized that they need from direct involvement of the West for toppling Assad. On the other hand, the US and Russia backed PYD and prevented Turkey to located directly next to the militants and made it impossible to fight with ISIL. Turkey was deprived of the support of the Western allies with the claim that he supports more radical groups against Assad. US, despite strong criticism from Turkey changed its policy in favor of YPG (Manhoff, 2017, p. 10). The cooperation

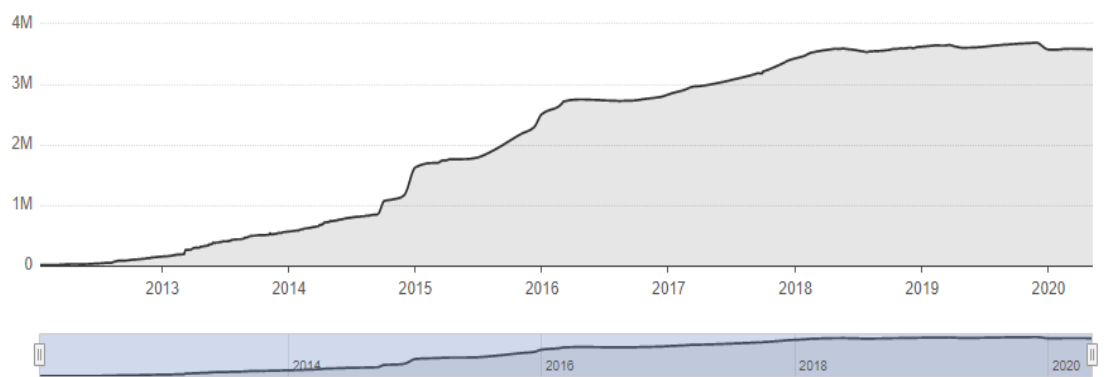
between the United States, PYD and YPG led to the exclusion of Turkey in Syria. so this means that Turkey must find new partners to solve this problem.

Turkey as a NATO member declared the begin of 'Operation Euphrates Shield' to protect its border on August 26, 2016, their aim was protecting its border by producing a safe corridor from the Turkey to the al-Bab province with military intervention. Turkish government said that this is necessary operations for Turkish national security by preventing terrorist organization such as ISIS, PYD and PYD. Also, Turkey thought that if creating a safe zone in Syria, Syrians in Turkey are settled in this region (Heller, 2017). Moreover, NATO member state leaders have made negative remarks about Turkey's military intervention. This situation shows that Turkey left alone by NATO for protecting its borders. According to the Turkish government, they disregarded the collective defense principle, which stipulates that an attack on a country would be considered an attack on all members specified in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. Turkey's southern border is also NATO's southern border. Leaders who ignore this fact also damage the spirit of the Alliance. Turkey engages anti-terrorism policies in the context of NATO's democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law (Aksam, 2019). In addition, Communications Director Republic of Turkey Fahrettin Altun said that "Turkey's aim of the operations carried out in Syria, is to destroy the terrorist attempted to establish a corridor on the border. Turkey has no hidden agenda in Syria or any other country. It is no secret for NATO member states that the YPG is a Syrian extension of the terrorist organization PKK. NATO member states should be aware that supporting the YPG / PKK, another terrorist group, in order to defeat the DAES terrorist organization, will have dire consequences for the region." (İletişim Başkanlığı, 2019). Also, Jens Stoltenberg who is Secretary General of NATO made a statement to the German press "No allies did not take up Syrian refugees as much as Turkey. Turkey received 3.6 million Syrians, and no NATO country did not live up to the terrorist attacks as much as Turkey lived." (Congar, 2019). Turkey's legitimate expectations, which is based on Article 5 as a result was inconclusive.

Erdoğan's party lost votes in the last election, as in the case of Merkel. The opposition party, the Republican People's Party (RPP), says that Syrian refugees will be returned to their homeland, with or without peace. The reason for sending it back is economical. Syrian

refugees are seen as the source of the problem in many issues ranging from employment to investment, from home rents to tourism, and it is especially indicated as causing unemployment of the Turkish worker. The RPP’s president claimed that the aid to the Syrians was not given to the citizens. this increases the xenophobia. The RPP's approach to refugees has led to tensions among citizens and a bad look at refugees (Tuğsuz and Yılmaz, 2015, pp. 3-4). It was claimed that Syrian refugees have a direct impact on the election results in many newspapers in Turkey. The last election results showed that RPP’s discourses were adopted by the public and the JDP's voting rate decreased. The most of Turkish idea was ‘‘Everywhere is full of Syrians. Maybe we will send the Syrians back. The JDP brought Syrians here, but it was not interested at all. Without order, this cannot happen. We became foreign in our own land.’’ (Babat, 2019).

Table 4. Registered Syrian Refugees by Date in Turkey



Source - Government of Turkey, UNHCR

(UNHCR, 2020)

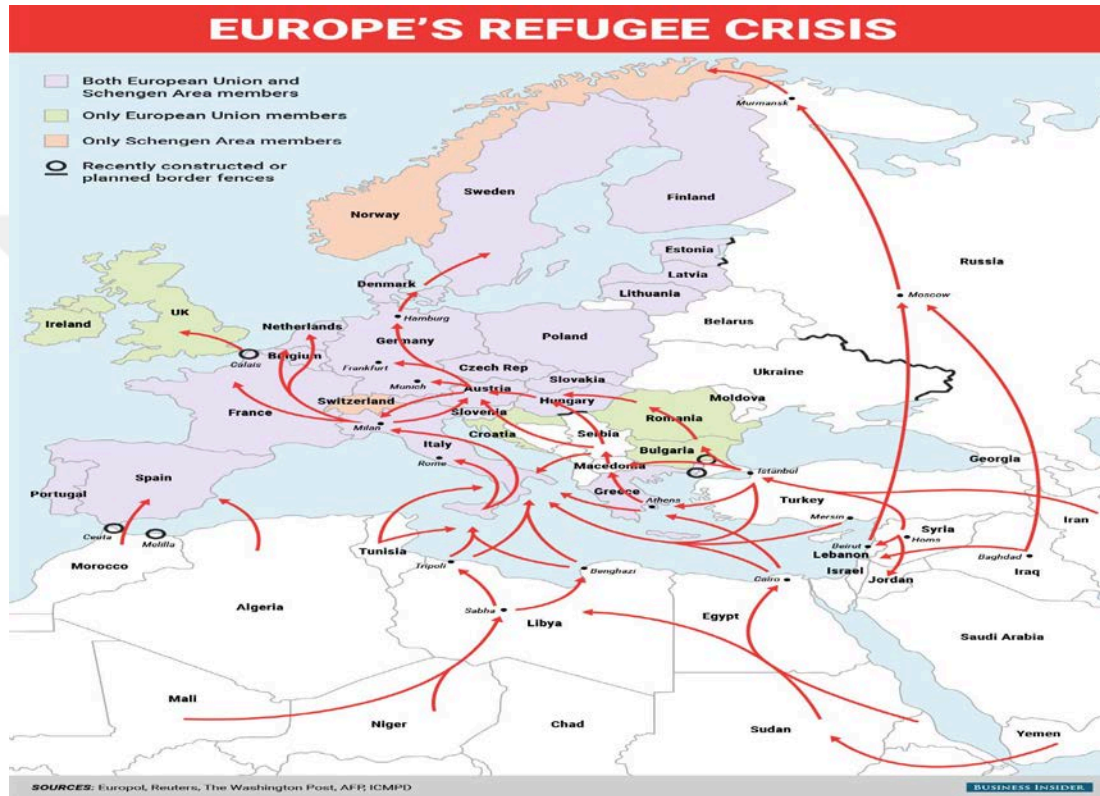
Today, Turkey is the world's most asylum seekers in the country that hosts. Table 4 indicated that the number of Syrian refugees has increased rapidly and greatly since it has been implemented through the open door policy. This situation has been very costly in terms of Turkey. All the physical, social and psychological needs of a city are met in 22 accommodation centers established by AFAD for Syrian refugees. Hosted about 250 thousand in temporary accommodation centers, the number of Syrians in Turkey under the temporary protection is up to about 3 million. The economic cost to Turkey of Syrian

refugees in Turkey, which since March 2011 has been calculated as follows. 6.752.423.795 TL for health costs of Syrian refugees, the construction of shelter centers and maintenance expenses, 12.210.510.816 TL for education services and 1.919.617.646 TL for health services; totaling up to 20.882.552.257 TL (Karabulut and Aak, 2018, p. 142). The implementation of a comprehensive refugee policy will bring additional costs. However, the failure to manage the social integration process may disrupt the environment of security, stability and social peace in the provinces where Syrian people live in the long run. Such a situation may have a negative impact on the general economy of the country. In summary, Turkey called for new ways to solve the problem because Turkey was left alone for military intervention in Syria, NATO did not support, JDP's voting rates decrease, polarization occurred in some provinces due to the number of Syrians coming was higher than expected and meeting the needs of Syrians and their large numbers negatively affected the Turkish economy.

4.2.4.1. Agreed Points Between Turkey and Germany on Refugee Issue

People who flee from political and economic instabilities in various parts of the world primarily want to secure their lives. They want to become refugees in developed countries where they can lead a relatively better life afterwards. Developed countries, which are the target countries, especially the EU countries, are trying to ensure that refugees and asylum-seekers stay in countries outside the borders of the EU countries. Located on migration routes, Turkey is seen by the EU as a buffer zone. Turkey does not accept refugees from outside Europe. This situation prevents Turkey to become a safe third country and prevents the EU to use Turkey as a buffer. Geographical restrictions application is a step for removing Turkey from being the target country.

Map 1. Refugees Route for Europe



(Nudelman and Tasch, 2015)

The Map 1 indicated that Turkey is one of the countries most affected by the civil war in Syria. Turkey's longest land border with Syria, where millions of people fleeing took refuge in Turkey. People moving to Turkey, while maintaining their lives in refugee camps in Turkey has a majority to reach the European dream. Turkey has an important position in people's path to reach Europe. The vast majority of people who reach Europe travel from the Aegean Sea to the Greek Islands and from there to the interior of Europe. The final destination that millions of refugees who want to reach Europe wants to achieve is Germany. Turkey is the most important partner for solution for Germany who want to prevent social, economic and political problems created by refugees. Therefore, the main motivation that has brought Turkish-German relations to the next level is the problems created by refugees

and refugees. It cannot be denied that this rapprochement has a pragmatist aspect for Germany. Germany is dependent on the location of the Turkish partnership because they want to solve problems arising from refugees both in itself and in Europe. The main issue for Germany is to prevent refugees from reaching Germany and Europe in masses. and Turkey should be supported economically and politically in this context (Akkaya, 2016, pp. 40-41).

Looking at the last period of Turkish-German relations, it is seen that the rapprochement is tried to be reinforced with high level visits. Chancellor Merkel visited Istanbul on October 18, 2015 and then visited Ankara on February 8, 2016. In a short period of two visit to Turkey from German chancellor is very important in terms of showing the view of Germany about Turkey. In addition, the date of January 22, 2016 at the Turkey-Germany High Cooperation Council meeting in Berlin, especially in strategic areas of the refugee crisis by making the exchange of ideas, policies converge in Turkey and Germany are considered to be the common denominator follow. Germany previously did not support military intervention but then has support the proposal of Turkey to create a safe but no-fly zone in Syria, and repeat it even the USA and Russia oppose. Germany is in favor of economic assistance within the EU with regard to the admission of Turkey into refugees and shelter. In this context, the removal of a 3 billion euro within the EU budget and planning done in giving it to Turkey has started to be implemented. In addition, opening some chapters and taking steps to facilitate visa-free travel to Turkish citizens were among the topics discussed (Akkaya, 2016, p. 41). As a result of the unprecedented number of Syrians in Turkey, Turkey's location which is migration route, Germany and the EU sees Turkey as a partner. This made Turkish-German cooperation compulsory (Turhan, 2018, p. 193). In this context, it requests the implementation of the Readmission Agreement, which was signed on December 16, 2013 and entered into force in October 2014. The readmission agreement is a regulation that includes the return of refugees, asylum-seekers, immigrants, migrants who have been identified to enter a country illegally or whose visa period expires, to the countries they are citizens of (Çelik, 2014, p. 1). According to Readmission Agreement, if people who come from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and so on, went to Europe illegally via Turkey, they will be returned to the Turkey. If Turkey has a treaty with their home countries, then they

will be sent to these countries. When it considers that Turkey Readmission Agreement with Syria signed in 2011, Syrian refugees who go to the EU via Turkey will be able to be returned to Turkey and later they will be send to Syria (Akkaya, 2016, p. 41). Although it seems that there is no obstacle to the sending of Syrian refugees who migrated to Germany in terms of legal and theoretical dispatches to the source countries, it seems impossible to implement the practice in view of the current situation in Syria. It is one of the policies carried out by the European Union in order to prevent illegal immigration. The European Union is returning illegal immigrants from countries that signed this agreement back to their countries (Özsöz, 2014, p. 8). Moreover, there is no written commitment regarding the funds of the European Union in the Signed Readmission Agreement and also there is no record directly intended to raise the funds to be allocated to refugees in Turkey. The European Union tried to install the refugee crisis in Turkey with the least cost and it is seen that they were trying to be protected from the political, cultural, social and economic effects of crisis (Köse, 2016, p. 12).

The main purpose of Readmission Agreements is to stop immigrants by preventing irregular migration on the border with Turkey or ensure the return to the country of origin or are forced to leave to reside in Turkey. Syrians come first among those who are mentioned as irregular migrants. Turkey's capabilities and facilities are not the capacity to meet this strategy. This situation will lead to Turkey in terms of asylum seekers to come to the position that the European Union's eastern border guarding the buffer zone. During the negotiations of the Readmission Agreement, the European Commission carried out a successful negotiation process beyond expectations and achieved significant gains for the Union. On the other hand, Turkey was forced to make do with the future conditional drives and agreed to pay a substantial price in exchange for a visa exemption that is unrealized. The crisis caused by Syrian refugees is seen as a clear example of this situation (Köse, 2016, p. 21).

Turkey as a country in accession process of the EU, trying to harmonize asylum and immigration laws with the EU. However, Chapter 24 “Justice, Freedom and Security”, which is also related to migration policies and the legal framework, is still unilaterally blocked by Cyprus. However, Turkey has made significant progress on issues related to migration in aligning with the *acquis*. With the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement, Law on Foreigners

and International Protection and the establishment of the Directorate General of Migration Management are prove for Turkey's alignment with the EU standards but these developments seen that Turkey as potential to become a transit and immigration country (Turhan, 2018, pp. 192-193). The German Chancellor played the key role for the formulation of the so-called EU Turkey "deal" with determining scope and the conditions of the agreement. She contributed to the formulation by adding the acceleration of the visa liberalization dialogue, the opening of new chapters, and the allocation of €6 billion for Turkey to be used for hosting Syrian refugees in Turkey (Turhan, 2018, p. 198). The agreement was realized not as an EU agreement but as an "EU member states agreement". Thus, institutionalization of the EU has been avoided. Although there were political commitments in the agreement such as visa liberalization and revival of membership negotiations the most important part of the process was financial support. A further important pillar within the framework of the Readmission Agreement on is that Turkey regarded as a safe third country for refugees. When Turkey's objectives such visa liberalization and improving to the EU process soon fell into the background, the title of the Agreement has been transformed into the Financial Assistance Program for Refugees in Turkey. Thus, the EU has produced a very simple solution to an extremely complex problem without being institutionally committed. Turkey has been given the task of protecting the EU from refugees by taking financial support. Thus, Europe has reduced the costs considerably and Turkey was provided to undertake political and social risks arising from refugees. (Erdoğan, 2019, p. 18).

If Turkey takes place in the list of safe third terms for the asylum applications of 's EU, Turkish citizens who apply for asylum in the EU but are not accepted are returned and Turkish citizens who has a criminal prosecution about him and fled the country will be sent back to Turkey. This is another matter is that Turkey wants to win at agreement (Gürcanlı, 2015). The most important legal basis of the EU-Turkey reconciliation of Turkey is considered as a safe third country for refugees and Readmission Agreement is used within this framework. However, it is not clear that proper recognition because of Turkey's geographical reservation to the Geneva Conventions in terms of refugee rights. There are many other objections and discussions on this subject (Erdoğan, 2019, p. 18).

To summarize, the refugee issue is very important both for Germany and for the future of the European Union. Turkey is one of the key countries in the resolution of this issue point. The main route of hundreds of thousands of refugees who went to Europe passes through Turkey. Moreover, people fleeing the war in large masses come to Turkey because Turkey is Syria's neighbor. It is clear that next target of these people is reaching Europe and Germany. Thus, the agreements made are vital for the two countries and increases their interdependence each other.

Turkey's goal in the Readmission Agreement are as follows. Turkey who left alone in Syria, is seeking the support from the EU against the USA, Iran and Russia. Ankara government wanted to continue negotiations with the EU and intended to develop visa liberalization and customs union and finally signed the agreement to reduce its economic burden with financial aid program. On the other hand, Germany's reasons for needing to Turkey are as follows. Increased anti-alienism and racism become more dangerous with refugees, far-right discourses are effective in German politics, economically under much bigger loads and damage to European integration. All these reasons make Germany more dependent to Turkey. Germany sees that act as partners with Turkey is the most important way of stopping the influx of refugees. In this context, the recent direction of German foreign policy and the perception of Turkey established relations, to be seen as the result of a pragmatic attitude.

5. SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL BETWEEN 2011 AND 2020

5.1.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2011

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made a speech on Turks on February 7, 2011 in Düsseldorf, Germany. He said, “In Germany, we have a nice and successful citizen, they blistering both Turkey's and Germany's chest. Today, there are no visiting Turks, no foreign Turks. There are both Turkish and German citizen who can also speak in Turkish and in German at the same time. Our children should learn German, but they have to learn Turkish first. I want you to know, to make sure, dear brothers; you are never and never alone. You

are not orphans. You are both under the guarantee of the Federal Republic of Germany under the guarantee of the Republic of Turkey. You should know that where if a citizen of the Republic of Turkey, that's what we're there with all of our facilities, and we stand by them.’’ (Haberler, 2011). German Chancellor Angela Merkel said, ‘‘They must learn German to be successful here. I am in favor of learning German and Turkish with the same care.’’ about Erdoğan's message to Turks just before the opening of the CeBIT fair (Danışman and Akal, 2011). She made a more cautious assessment of Erdoğan's words. She also pointed out Erdoğan's request for Turks living in Germany to adapt to the society they live in and said that they welcomed this positively (Danışman and Akal, 2011). Also, she said that ‘‘The integration of Turkish immigrants living in Germany has a very special meaning for us. At this point, we will discuss the progress made and the pending issues with Mr. Erdoğan. To me, learning German is a top priority here.’’ (Euronews, 2011).

Prime Minister Erdoğan spoke at the gala dinner of the Migration Symposium, which was held due to the 50th year of immigration to Germany on November 1, 2011. He said, ‘‘You worked and produced for Germany and Turkey rather than yourself. You contributed to German economy as well as Turkey's economy. You have become a bridge of friendship between Europe and your homeland and between Germany and Turkey. Therefore, each of you in the migration of the 50th anniversary, on behalf of my country and my nation, our gratitude on behalf of Turkey, I express once again our thankfulness. The migration from Turkey to Germany on the 50th anniversary, I mean especially underlining; The Germans and the German authorities need to understand and realize that Turkish workers are no longer guest workers, expatriates, but Turkish citizens who have settled in Germany, and are integral members of the German society. Maybe even our citizens who came that day were planning to make some money and return to their country. But 50 years have passed, and today it contributes to the 4th generation Germany, the German economy. I must express this with great pride that today over 72 thousand Turkish employers in Germany are operating in various sizes and employ 350,000 people, including Turkish-German. It is employed in the investments of Turkish businessmen. The annual turnover of our businessmen in Germany has reached approximately 33 billion euros. It's not just trading. Our citizens here are

integrated very quickly in Germany. However, integration is bilateral. It is our most natural right to question how far integrated it is, as well as integrated. It is our right to ask and question how much the Turks, who came as guest workers 50 years ago, and now have an undisputed place in the social fabric of Germany with their 3rd and 4th generation, benefit from equality of opportunity, equal participation and the opportunity to live together. I have expressed it at every opportunity, I am also saying here today; My brother here should definitely learn German. My brother here can be German citizen if he deserves it. But no one should expect us to forget our mother tongue. We do not want to see an assimilated society that is Turkish only by last names 50 years later. We want to see a society that exists with its language, culture, traditions, beliefs, standing and making significant contributions to the country where it lives. Please be a pioneer and succeed in learning German and making use of all kinds of political, social and economic opportunities. Likewise, learning Turkish is also important and I say that in terms of linguistics, it is not possible for those who do not know their language well to learn a second language. First you will know your own language so that you can learn a second language very well. Continue your struggle in unison to preserve culture and beliefs. We do not want to see division. We want to see unity, to see solidarity and to see a Turkish society that produces common solutions to common problems. We will continue to work with the German authorities to resolve any problems you may have. We find it important for you to design your own future with the future of Germany within the framework of law, democracy and laws.” (DHA, 2011). Moreover, Erdoğan emphasized that “We expect Germany, which we hope to understand us, support us, and see us closer to history and today, to support us more strongly in the European Union process. Even though we have revealed all its documents, information, and concrete evidence, we cannot at all give meaning to the tolerance shown in some European countries against the activities of the terrorist organization. Turkey left alone in the fight against the terrorist organization mean, it undermines the credibility of European countries. I am saying it clearly. Germany is not suffering homeland for Turkey. Turks are not migrant workers for Germany. We are two separate nations where history brings us closer in every respect. We are together. So, ‘wir sind zusammen’.” (Kadam, 2011). German Chancellor Angela Merkel made a speech after Erdoğan. Here is the speech of Merkel, “Today, the friendship between Turkey and Germany

to celebrate the 50th anniversary is a great joy for me. Mr. Prime Minister, I greet all of you and say welcome. You show how alive the special relationships that were formed at that time. This agreement brought about major changes in Germany. Let's go back to a moment of 1961. It was a cold war day, Germany was divided and I was at the center of the conflict. The Berlin wall was newly built. For example, a person like me was cut and torn. At that time, the social market economy was successful and almost full employment with miracle of economics was signed with Greece, Italy. Turkey agreed when the proposed deal. It is not possible to know the number of people coming to Germany in the following years. Our estimate is that about one million people set off from 1961 to 73. Among them were those who benefited from family reunification in 1964. Starting from this period, a large Turkish community started to form. The journey at that time was made by train. Mr. Prime Minister, once I accepted the people who were called housing workers at the time, I realized once again how important it is to make this train journey. They always waited for the day they would return home. These narratives made me extremely emotional. Many people now feel at home now. Therefore, I am grateful to everyone who came that day. These people made their mark on Germany. They took a bold step by leaving the circle they were used to, leaving their families, coming to another country. People called migrant workers at that time worked in factories and hospitals. As I said a little while ago, therefore, their longing for their homeland was enormous. Many Germans stayed away from immigrants from that time. It was understood for a short time that only employees had not come, people had come. In this context, the first relations were established in the companies, in the places of study. However, it took a long time in Germany for the awareness that these people came to stay in our country to settle. From 2005 to 2010 we spent more than 1 billion euros for integration courses only. However, there are also problems. We should not cover these either. Otherwise, we will lose the trust of people who have these problems in our society. There are also educational problems in terms of guilt. Everyone should know that schools and diplomas are a prerequisite for success in Germany. This is what we say, regardless of origin. However, the children of immigrant families should be especially supported. Opportunities need to be provided. It is important to attach great importance to school here. Education should be emphasized from the very beginning. When you start school, children who speak German

very well can succeed. There are volunteer training volunteers in many cities. We are responsible for this issue for everyone in Germany. In my opinion, the extent to which integration has been achieved is decisive for the future of our country. Finally, there is one thing we need to understand is that multicolor, polyphony is a color. We need a common foundation. This is the Constitution, the acceptance of human rights. This forms the basis of our Constitution. I say this underlining. Germany wants to offer all the opportunities of the country to all the people who come to our country. Living together is always a matter of taking and giving. No matter how people work in our country, if they do not want, they cannot succeed. Togetherness must be lived. in families, in neighborhood, in schools. Moreover, Relations between our countries are based on an intense exchange as before. People who immigrate to our country are people who create a bridge in this regard. We are sorry that some great talents have left our country. Three million people originated in Turkey, creating a special relationship between the two countries. The fate of your country also concerns us. We stand by you without any doubt about the fight against terrorism. Especially with the PKK, we are with you with great determination. A phenomenon that makes me very hopeful. Many young people are interested in Turkish-German culture. I say that all those living in our country for generations, dear Tayyip Erdoğan, you all know that I am the federal government of these people. I want you to be equally happy.’’ (T24, 2011). Merkel said upon asking her opinion on dual citizenship; ‘‘I come from a conservative environment and I am against dual citizenship because I believe that a person cannot serve in the army of two different countries. In this regard, I have difficulty in understanding France and the USA, which are warm about dual citizenship. I do not believe that dual citizenship has something to do with harmony. It does not show that my desire for single citizenship I do not want to meet people. I approach everyone living in my country with sympathy. Our sympathy for people does not depend on dual citizenship.’’ (A Haber, 2011).

Table 5. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2011

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Common	2	1
Successful	1	2

Friendship	1	1
Bridge	1	1
Together	2	2
Support	2	1

5.2.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2012

Turkey Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made an official visit to Germany on October 30-31, 2012. On the first day of his official visit he opened the new service building of the Embassy of Turkey in Berlin. On the second of his official visit, a meeting was held with Chancellor Angela Merkel and a joint press release was made. Erdoğan said, ‘‘I would like to thank Chancellor Merkel for the exceptional hosting exhibited by Germany. I think Turkey's embassy in Berlin with modern lines, Ottoman’s architectural features and Seljuk’s architectural features will give hosting service and it is an important work for the future. This is actually the crowning point of a 250-year diplomacy in Turkish-German relations. It is very very important that it coincided with such a period. This building is an expression of the importance we place on Turkey-Germany relations. It is a step we have taken in order to carry out more comfortable services for our 3 million siblings, cognates and citizens in Germany. I believe that Turkey-Germany bilateral diplomacy will be much more active not only in regional but also global world issues. Moreover, we evaluated the situation in political, economic, commercial and economic fields with Chancellor Merkel. As of 2011, we had reached 32 billion euros in trade volume. As of the 7th month of this year, we are still around 17 billion Euros. We want to catch 2011 by the end of the year so that we will find stability. Achieving this target in foreign trade volume will also be the determinant of the steps we will take towards 2013. We will entertain Mrs. Chancellor Turkey in February and I wish we could lay the foundation of the Turkish-German university together. Today we have demonstrated that determination and willpower. We gave this instruction to our Foreign Ministers and this instruction was given to our National Education Ministers in the same way. We are taking the steps of a similar organization in Germany as in the same way in this

universities in Turkey. At the same time, we also want to start a new process. It is, of course, further enhancing the process of Turkey's particular sensitivity on Syria due to the agreement with NATO and Germany. We strongly need Germany's support in this regard. It is important to maintain both Germany-Russia relations and Germany-China relations with more precision. A number of our Syrian brothers in Turkey currently has reached 105 thousand. While these 105 thousand people came to us, there are people going to Lebanon, going to Jordan, this figure reaches 300 thousand. In Syria, this number has reached 2.5 million people who have left their homes. This is a disaster in an era when global peace is missed. We have to counterwork and prevent this disaster together. Besides, you have destroyed the walls in Germany, but Israel is still building walls, it is not possible to understand this. We do not want the walls built between people, we want the walls built between people to be demolished. The world needs this for humanity, and we are longing for it. In addition, we discussed issues related to the separatist terrorist organization. Intensive cooperation is required here. The attitude of the EU towards the separatist terrorist organization is decisive. We would like to see the results of such a certain attitude of the EU. In other words, it should not be a western backed separatist terrorist organization. The West must demonstrate its attitude clearly, openly. This is our expectation. Indeed, most of the western countries have an extradition agreement with our criminals. Based on this agreement, we expect the return of such criminals to our country. I often undertaking to repatriate many criminals as Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey. There are extradited criminals I sent to Germany, there are criminals that I sent to France and England. We are waiting for the same. I think this is our most natural right.' (Öymez and Karakuş, 2012). At the press conference, on the question of dual citizenship and the blue card of a reporter, Erdoğan said that "Our desire is this: It is the demand of our citizens, who are in Germany especially up to 3 million, to be granted the right to double citizenship, just like in France. Fortunately, if they give an opportunity to take such a step again, that was in the past, so there are more than 700,000 citizens here. Of course, there are over 2 million 300 thousand Turks who have not been able to obtain this dual citizenship. Our desire is to eliminate this. At this point, we do not have any problems. For example, there are currently 50 thousand German citizen from Germany to Turkey. We started to give citizenship to some of them, we do. As long as they wish. We

are comfortable we have no worries about it. We find it more convenient to open the road to dual citizenship in order to get our citizens here to become German citizenship.” (Hastürk, 2012). On the other hand, Erdoğan added that “Another important issue is this. We are currently the presidency of Southern Cyprus, and there are no discussions with Southern Cyprus on these issues. It is very meaningful that Southern Cyprus is admitted to the EU. It is accepted as Cyprus, whereas there is no country or state in the world called Cyprus. Why not? Because an island with a green line between the south and the north can be accepted as Cyprus. There is Northern Cyprus, there is Southern Cyprus. We accept North Cyprus as the state, others may not. But those who accept Southern Cyprus now that Mrs. Merkel has also had a statement on the subject in the past; ‘We have already made the mistake of taking Southern Cyprus into the EU’. Indeed, this has been a very serious mistake, and this error is increasingly continuing. Our hearts wished that such things should not happen. A 50-year period related to Turkey's EU process, now, let us also a result of this process. Because no one was found in such a treatment to any country. Now we have to overcome this.” (Büyüктаş, 2012).

Chancellor Angela Merkel said that “I would give intensive support for Turkey in the fight against the PKK that classified as a terrorist organization. I want to say about the terrorist acts in Turkey. If they are receiving support from abroad, we will do our best in this regard. It is also valid if the PKK plans actions over Germany's territory. In this context, negotiations between the undersecretaries of the interior ministries of the two countries will become more frequent. In addition, there are many issues that concern us in terms of foreign policy. Because we are allied countries with close relations. We have discussed economic progress. We are very pleased to economic progress in Turkey. I wish dynamic development would be in the euro zone as in Turkey. In the framework of economic developments, dynamics in Turkey is very good condition. We would have liked the same situation. We must strive to make these better for our bilateral trade relations. We are already in very good condition but we want it to be even better. We will always keep our contacts. I sincerely welcome you again.” (Kulaksızoğlu, 2012). Later, reporters asked a question about Turkey-EU process and Merkel replied. She said, “The European Union is an honest partner. The

rules are valid for other countries on EU membership and also they are valid for Turkey. Many chapters were opened. After that, the process will continue in the same way There are important points in the progress report prepared. Certain problems need to be explicitly. There are some problems in the Progress Report on Turkey. I believe that negotiations will continue, let alone the questions that need to be clarified. and I support the ongoing negotiations.” (Kulaksızoğlu, 2012). It is known that the CDU which is Merkel’s party is opposed to Turkey's European Union membership. Party favors privileged partnership for Turkey instead of full membership. But the German government is exhibiting an attitude in favor of continued open the negotiations between the European Union and Turkey and journalist asked that “Doesn't this create a contradiction?” (Kulaksızoğlu, 2012). Merkel said that “My party's perspective has not changed. Despite this, it began negotiations with Turkey. Despite the change of governments, the decisions taken may not change. Therefore, we will continue the negotiations with Turkey. Although we do not share the same views on this issue, we learned to live with this fact and improve our relationships. Moreover, we are aware that the situation in Syria constitutes a real burden for Turkey. For this reason, the German federal government has offered assistance to Turkey in the humanitarian field. Relations with Turkey's stance on Syria is worthy of praise. We feel responsibility for Turkey's security. The Syrian crisis is one of our problems. We think that what happened in Syria is a serious burden for Turkey. I thank Erdoğan due to his responsible attitude against to Syria as a member of NATO. Finally, I will make a visit to Turkey in 2013 and I want the progress of work on a German-Turkish University in Germany and Turkish-German University in Turkey.” (Kulaksızoğlu, 2012).

Table 6. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2012

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Support	1	3
Thank	1	1
Negotiations	0	6
Cooperation	1	0
Important	5	1

Turkish-German relations / Our relations	2	4
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5.3.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2013

On February 25, 2013, Chancellor Angela Merkel visited Turkey. The Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the Chancellor Angela Merkel met international and bilateral issues. For example, on the banned Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), she said that "We will do everything in our power to fight terrorism. Germany will also do all it can to ensure that the murders committed by the extreme right-wing terror group NSU are fully investigated and those responsible brought to justice." (Chancellor, 2013). On the other hand, Erdoğan asked the Chancellor for support in Turkey's accession process. The Chancellor said that "The outcome of the EU's accession negotiations with Turkey is not a foregone conclusion. That means that the outcome is not predetermined during the negotiation process. I have said frequently that I am skeptical about full membership for Turkey. But I would like to continue this negotiation process as we agreed." (Chancellor, 2013). Moreover, Turkey is one of the most important trading partners after the European Union for Germany as bilateral relations. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that "Economic relations between the two states are important. About 5,000 German companies now operate in Turkey, where they provide jobs for more than 350,000 people. In Germany too there are a large number of Turkish investors." (Chancellor, 2013). Angela Merkel emphasized the significance of Turkish and German citizens and said that "I share the opinion that the relations between the people of Germany and the people of Turkey, especially as a result of the many Turkish citizens and the many more individuals with Turkish roots living in Germany, are a very important aspect of our bilateral relations. The people who live in Germany are a bridge of friendship between our two countries." (Chancellor, 2013). Chancellor Merkel added that "German soldiers are in Turkey because of some security concerns. Therefore, we attach great importance to support here within NATO. If I need to talk to former Germany, Turkey was always a reliable ally for us during the cold war before

unification. There are very close relations between the two countries. I am happy that German tourists are in the first place. They really love this place.” (İHA, 2013). Prime Minister Erdoğan said that the meeting took place efficiently, “I would like to thank them on behalf of my nation, especially for the sensitivity of the German State to send Patriots within the scope of NATO cooperation and the attitude of Chancellor. As a result of our meeting today, I can easily say that our bilateral political relations, especially on the economic and commercial dimension, have reached a very serious trade volume. Despite these troubles, we have a trade volume of approximately \$ 35 billion. As of the end of 2012, Germany rose to the first place in tourism and more than 5 million German tourists are in our country. This increases the unity and solidarity among our peoples. It is the primary position of Germany in our exports and second in our imports. According to the figures of the past year, there are currently about 5 thousand German companies in our country. Companies with German capital continue their activities here. The amount of direct investments from Germany to our country has exceeded 5.5 billion dollars in the last 10 years. Turkish investments in Germany are also increasing. Since 2002, approximately 1.5 billion dollars of direct investment has been made from our country to Germany. Our citizens residing in Germany gradually became their employers over time, and the number of Turkish businessmen in Germany has reached 70 thousand. Besides them, the number of employed people and the number of employees is over 350 thousand.” (İHA, 2013). On the other hand, they discussed a planned Turkish-German University and Merkel said, “I am delighted that we are making progress on the German-Turkish University. I hope that by the autumn/winter semester 2013/2014 we will see the first lectures held.” (Chancellor, 2013). Erdoğan stated that he would be appointed as a rector for the Turkish-German University in a short time, and that his studies would continue. He said that “Human bond creates a solid bridge of friendship between our countries. One of our most important culture and education steps is the Turkish-German University event. Developments on this subject are continuing rapidly, and studies will continue by making a rector appointment in a short time.” (İHA, 2013).

Table 7. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2013

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
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Negotiation	0	3
Friendship	1	0
Bilateral relations /close relation	1	3
Bridge of friendship	1	1
Cooperation	1	0
Partner	0	1

5.4.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2014

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who made a study visit to Germany at the invitation of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, made important statements on February 3-4, 2014. During this official visit, positive developments and mutual positive comments were made on many issues. For example, Erdoğan said that “Essentially, we have witnessed important events of the world in recent years laid out in a clear manner the vitality of Turkey becoming an EU member and the importance of Turkey-European Union relations. In particular, many of developments such as global financial crisis, Arab Spring, Syria and Egypt issues, especially, has enabled all of us to see the need for the European Union to Turkey. I want to emphasize a few points here. Turkey's economy has recorded an average growth of 5 percent between 2002-2012. Our national income increased more than three times, and our exports more than four times. Despite the growing population, unemployment has decreased. High inflation and uncertain period that one of the most important problems of Turkey's economy is now behind. Borrowing rates decreased, indebtedness decreased significantly, and our budget reached an unshakable discipline. In addition, we have carried out very important structural reforms in finance, banking and financial areas. The one of the biggest obstacles to democratization and economic growth was terror in Turkey. Terrorism had a serious economic cost as much as its social cost. In addition, terrorism prevented reforms in a healthy environment and politics from dominating the processes. As a result of our intense efforts, I can say that the terrorist issue has entered a solution. Because Turkey

does not suffer losses due to terrorism in recent years. Also, I would like to emphasize this here. Turkey and Germany, showed significant collaborations in history for a very long period. Currently Germany is the country with which Turkey exports the most. Germany is the second country in our imports and Germany is in the first place in the number of tourists coming from Germany to our country in tourism. More than 5 million German citizens visit our country. Now, our people's merging process is in a very, very different position. Therefore, I believe that such an approach and the steps taken by the two countries with such fusion towards the future are very meaningful. German citizens and tourists who settle in Turkey feel themselves in their second home. I believe that 3 million Turks in Germany are happy to feel at home in this way. Turks in Germany, on the other hand, have become an important element of German society with their second, third and fourth generations. This picture, which history and today put before us, is a very important opportunity for the two countries. Our efforts will continue without interruption to take our relations and cooperation further. We want to see the biggest contribution and the greatest support from Germany in our European Union process. The one so far is not enough. I would like to remind you that the population of Turks living only in Germany is more than the population of many European Union countries. Turkey also formally will continue its reforms without interruption for membership. We expect our friends from Germany to support this process, and we want it wholeheartedly. Moreover, I am happy to say that here in particular, to take place 11 Turkey-origin MPs in the federal parliament, responding really important that these elections. Turkey origin Aydan Özoğuz as SPD deputy is appointed for Immigration and Integration Ministry of State for Refugees office. I want to express my gratitude to the Chancellor because of this. Of course, there is an atmosphere created by this in our country. I believe that the success stories of these politicians will inspire younger generations. Of course, the most important expectation among our citizens in Germany was the issue of voting in the elections. The Supreme Election Council from Turkey and the German authorities have reached a mutual agreement for this matter. Thus, our citizens here will have a chance to vote in 7 different points.” (Euronews, 2014). Merkel expressed that there were doubts about Turkey's full membership, she said no change in her thinking “This is not a secret; my ideas have not changed. I have my doubts about Turkey's full membership in the

European Union. However, this should not affect us at this stage. This is an open-ended process and we want the process to continue.” (Euronews, 2014). On the other hand, Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that “Germany and Turkey will be establishing closer business links, especially in the energy sector” (Chancellor, 2014) after a meeting with Erdoğan in Berlin. Also, while the Chancellor indicated especially to the German-Turkish Year of Research, Education and Innovation 2014, which has just started, she declared her gladness that “The first students began their courses at the Turkish-German University in Istanbul in late 2013” (Chancellor, 2014). Moreover, Angela Merkel talked about Agreement on exchange regarding legal system, which was decided to exchange between the two justice ministries and with this agreement to look at the independence of the judiciary and the appointment of judges and prosecutors so she continued that “We obviously hope that the reforms that have been undertaken in the last few years in Turkey will stand the test of time. This is to be reinforced in bilateral discussion.” (Chancellor, 2014). In point of Turkey’s accession negotiations for the European Union, the Chancellor noticed that “The results of the process are no foregone conclusion. Negotiations will now concentrate in depth on Chapter 22, regional policy. It is thinkable that Chapters 23 and 24 can be opened as soon as possible. They will deal with the rule of law, the judiciary and human rights.” (Chancellor, 2014). Another issue in the meeting was the Turks living in Germany and how they can vote in the coming presidential election in Turkey. Angela Merkel stressed that “I see myself as the Chancellor of all those living in Germany, not only of those who have been here longer. Young people who have grown up in Germany, should not be forced into the difficult situation of having to choose between two citizenships. This is laid out in the coalition agreement. This is an important step towards making these young people welcome in Germany” (Chancellor, 2014). The fight against terrorism and the Syrian crisis was one of the topics discussed and in order to combat terrorism, it was decided to intensify the ongoing dialogue between the two countries. The Chancellor said that “The civil war in Syria too has played an important role. Turkey is making a massive contribution to accommodating Syrian refugees. We are to explore ways of supporting this. Developments in Syria are untenable. These talks have demonstrated once again that Turkey and Germany share major strategic

interests. People with Turkish roots living in Germany are a genuine bridge that brings together our two countries.’’ (Chancellor, 2014).

For the mining accident that occurred in Soma, the German Chancellor called Prime Minister Erdoğan and wished her head health on 15 May 2014 and she said that ‘‘I would like to express my deepest sympathy for you and the Turkish people. We hope that those injured will make a speedy recovery to full health. At this difficult time, Germany stands by Turkey and is ready and willing to help.’’ (Chancellor, 2014). German Embassy and consulates in Turkey after the accident German flags were lowered to half and mourning for the families of the victims was declared on the official website of the German Embassy in Ankara.

Table 8. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2014

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Cooperation/collaboration	2	0
Support	2	1
Contribution/ help	1	2
Bilateral/mutual	1	1
Gratitude/gladness/happy	2	1
Important	8	2

5.5.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2015

On January 12, 2015, Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu met with Chancellor Angela Merkel in Berlin. After the meeting, Merkel announced that the three million people of Turkish origin in Germany makes relations between Germany and Turkey very special. She emphasized that the fight against terrorism as well as integration issues is an important topic for both countries. Merkel stressed that ‘‘The German government worked to have EU accession negotiations with Turkey opened, and continues to support further negotiations, without the outcome being a foregone conclusion. Important points still have to be clarified,

including the discussion about the rule of law and the Cyprus conflict. In the latter, in particular, Germany would like to act as a partner.” (Chancellor, 2015a) and for the fighting terrorism, she said that “Turkey is an ally in the fight against terrorism. To put it another way we are acting together. We may sometimes differ on the finer points, but we stand side by side against terrorism. The stationing of the Bundeswehr’s Patriot air defence system in southern Turkey is further cementing the friendship between the two countries. The civil war in Syria is a threat to the Turkish people and to Turkish territory. Against this background the Bundeswehr initially stationed its Patriot systems in Turkey.” (Chancellor, 2015a). Syria was also an issue for the meeting. She said, “The discussion about Kobane is a discussion that involves territory that directly borders Turkey. To resolve the conflict, it is important to listen to one another and compare concepts. There is a will to cooperate here. We praised the efforts made by President Recep Erdoğan to bring about reconciliation with Turkey’s Kurdish population. This is of existential importance not only for Turkey, but for all of us. Also, we praised Turkey’s enormous efforts to take in refugees streaming across the border from Syria. This is a very major humanitarian contribution.” (Chancellor, 2015a).

On September 9, 2015, Chancellor Angela Merkel reiterated that “Germany should lead the refugee problem in the German Bundestag. This is the only way to get the European solution. At the same time cooperation with African states and indeed with Turkey must be improved. As Syria’s immediate neighbor, Turkey has accepted a great deal of responsibility. And it is clear that the situation in Syria, Eritrea and Iraq will not change overnight. This clearly illustrates how domestic, foreign and development policy is interconnected.” (Chancellor, 2015b).

On October 7, 2015, Chancellor Merkel delivered a speech at the European Parliament. While she was talking about many issues in her speech, she made the following comment about Turkey. “Turkey has a key role to play. It is our direct neighbour and a gateway for irregular migration. Turkey is doing amazing things for more than two million refugees from Syria. But it needs more support from us – to feed and accommodate the refugees, to secure borders, and to fight human traffickers. For this very reason, the dialogue on migration policy that the European Commission has launched with Turkey is of vital importance. Germany

will work bilaterally in support of the Commission's endeavors in this regard.'" (Chancellor, 2015c).

At the peace rally held in Ankara on October 10, 2015, two people committed suicide as live bombs, and some of the participants in the rally were killed and injured. Merkel enounced her big distress and deep shock at the news on 10 October that what is thought to be an act of terrorism had cost so many lives. She said, "I would like to extend my deepest sympathy to you. If it is confirmed that this was a terrorist attack, then it was a particularly cowardly act that directly targeted civic rights, democracy and peace. Most of the victims were there for a rally to promote reconciliation and non-violence. An attack on this crowd was a targeted attack on the cohesion of society. It was an attempt to intimidate, to sow the seeds of fear. I am convinced that the Turkish government and Turkish society as a whole stand together in this moment and that they will respond to terrorism with resoluteness and with democracy. Please pass on my condolences to the families of the victims. I wish those injured a speedy recovery.'" (Chancellor, 2015d).

Chancellor Angela Merkel met with Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as part of her visit to Istanbul, where the migration crisis was the main agenda item on October 18, 2015. "We are offering an accelerated visa process. In return, we expect the swifter introduction of the readmission agreement. We could now manage a close matching of speeds between visa liberalisation or visa waiver and this readmission agreement for citizens of third countries.'" (Chancellor, 2015e) said Chancellor Angela Merkel in the meeting with President Erdoğan in Istanbul. On the other hand, President Erdoğan stressed that "Another very important matter is obviously refugees and the influx of refugees into Turkey and to the West. With respect to refugees, we addressed the question of sharing burdens.'" (Chancellor, 2015e). Over and above this, she said, "Turkey must receive assistance when it comes to sharing burdens, because Turkey has accepted a huge burden. We can support the bigger picture, with a bilateral agenda between Germany and Turkey and through talks that are to be continued over the next few days, thus achieving improved legality and better sharing the burden posed by the refugee situation. This process has now been launched; it must be carried forward in many smaller steps. We

have noted that the fight against terrorism, and in particular the question of finding a political solution to the Syrian conflict are interests that are most intensively shared by the two countries. That is why in future too we will maintain close contacts on these matters.” (Chancellor, 2015e). Merkel also added that “On EU membership, this is an open point. As Germany, we would like to open chapter 17. Turkey was formerly attending the meetings. But it's not in the family photo anymore. We need to rethink how candidate countries can incorporate in rework. Germany wants a stable Turkey before everything that occurred. We do not want instability. The reconciliation of the subject with the Kurds after the elections, we want the agenda.” (BBC, 2015). After the meeting, a joint press release was made. President Erdoğan's statement is as follows: “I would like to thank you again for their courtesy by calling us about over 102 citizens who died in the terrorist act in Ankara on October 10. Our sensitivity to focus on the common action plan against terrorism continues. And of course, one of our important topics is refugees (İHA, 2015). Work on the chapters related to the evaluation of EU-Turkey negotiation was able. We evaluated the chapters 15, 17, 23, 24 and 31. I especially requested the support of Germany, France, England, Spain, such countries on this matter. One of our key topic of refugees should the current situation in Turkey and the orientation of the West. In this regard, we had an evaluation on burden sharing. As Merkel also said Turkey has assumed the heavy burden in this regard and we must help Turkey so we agree on this.” (Yeni Şafak, 2015).

Turkey-EU Summit was convened in Brussels on 30 November 2015. concrete results were produced in the EU-Turkey Summit. Chancellor Angela Merkel said that “These concrete results make the summit meeting another building block in European and international efforts to master the refugee crisis.” (Chancellor, 2015f). She stressed that “The partnership between the EU and Turkey, which is a candidate country for accession, has been given a new impetus, not only with respect to the refugee situation.” (Chancellor, 2015f). Before the meeting the Chancellor emphasized that “There are a great many reasons why the EU should work more closely with Turkey: the civil war in Syria, the fight against the regime of terror of the so-called Islamic State, and measures to address illegal migration all affect both EU member states and Turkey.” (Chancellor, 2015f). On the other hand,

during the budget debate in the German Bundestag on 26 November 2015, she said that “When we speak about international efforts to address the refugee crisis, Turkey is a key partner for the European Union. If we want to return to an orderly and legal situation at the EU’s external borders, we will have to cooperate with Turkey.” (Chancellor, 2015f). Moreover, Chancellor Angela Merkel has made the following comments for Turkey's negotiation process. “Negotiations are to be re-energized. We will work on preparations for opening additional chapters. Progress is also to be made on visa liberalization. Visa requirements for Turkish citizens entering the Schengen Area could be lifted as early as 2016. The preconditions for a dialogue with different states regarding visas are clearly defined, and it is now a question of seeing whether these preconditions can be met more rapidly.” (Chancellor, 2015f). She also noticed that “Close economic relations, in particular progress on the customs union and on cooperation in the energy sector.” after the summit meeting (Chancellor, 2015f).

Chancellor Angela Merkel talked about issues that should be decided in a government statement before going to the Council of Europe meeting on 15 December 2015. She said that “No European country can master the current challenges alone...In the 21st century, closing borders is not a sensible option. Turkey remains a key partner in the refugee crisis. It is important here to make progress on the provision of the three billion euros pledged by the EU. The better the living conditions for refugees in Turkey, the fewer will set off from Turkey for Europe.” (Chancellor, 2015g).

Table 9. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2015

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Support	1	4
Cooperation /cooperate	0	4
Important	2	4
Negotiation	1	4
Close partner	0	4
Refugee	5	10

5.6.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2016

Chancellor Angela Merkel on February 8, 2016 came for an official visit to Turkey. She met with Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. She said that “Turkey and Germany will be give advice about all the consequences of the influx of refugees from Syria to engage in NATO for intervene. In particular, we will make a joint effort to use NATO's monitoring and surveillance mechanisms effectively at the border and in the Aegean. We will accept Syrian refugees through legal means to solve the migration problem. The important thing for all of us is to end human traffic illegally. This situation not only important for Turkey, it is important for all of us. To a certain extent, we must be prepared to officially accept refugees. Especially Syrian refugees. We have done our best in terms of refugees. We will act together with Turkey in this regard and we will work on a permanent solution. Turkey-Syria border in the silence of the guns may be possible to create a space where people are safe. I think that if people feel safe, they will come from their homeland so little.” (Euronews, 2016a). Erdoğan and Davutoğlu said that “NATO should also be involved in refugees. We have reached an agreement with Germany on the subject of acting together in about 10 basic issues. Under the memorandum, a joint diplomatic initiative will start to end air strikes against civilians around Aleppo. AFAD and the German Technical Assistance Group will also work together on refugees on the Syrian border.” (BBC, 2016).

On March 16, 2016, German Chancellor Angela Merkel made statements in the Federal Assembly before the European Union Leaders Summit. She said that “I support Turkey's proposal for solving the refugee crisis in Europe. Some costs will be paid in the solution of the crisis. But now I want to say that nothing has changed in the accession negotiations with Turkey. The tip will continue openly. Turkey's EU membership issue is not an issue that is currently on the agenda. Also, there are no changes to the conditions for visa removal. Extensive readmission agreement and visa liberalization are discussed. We feel that both sides want to solve the problems in the refugee policy together. I see this as an important advance. However, we have not reached the conclusion. Legal and political difficult issues need to be clarified in order for the interests to be balanced and truly balanced. EU's external

borders of the maritime border between Greece and Turkey. This needs to be protected. This requires decisive struggle against human traffickers. NATO is patrolling the Aegean Sea. They supervise the island of Lesbos. However, we need to enter Turkish territorial waters to control all the islands. I find it entirely reasonable to Turkey's request more financial aid. The EU is ready for this. The important thing is to use it in appropriate places. Turkey was able to host more than 2 million refugees. This success deserves respect." (Samar, 2016).

On May 23, 2016, German Chancellor Angela Merkel met with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Istanbul. She said that "I made it clear in our meeting that we needed an independent judicial system, an independent media and a strong parliament. Undoubtedly, removing the immunity of one of every four lawmakers causes deep anxiety. I transferred this to the Turkish President. Turkey must meet 72 criteria to be able to travel without visas to the Schengen zone. These conditions were not new either, but were determined by the European Union in December 2013. All of these criteria must be met in order for visas to be lifted and approved by the European Parliament and the Council of Europe. In this context, if the terrorist laws are not changed in the coming weeks, these conditions will not be met. We already talk about these issues frequently. But still there are question marks. We will continue to follow the developments closely. For now our questions have not found the answer." (BBC, 2016).

The draft about the 1915 events, which are planned to be voted in the German Parliament, caused tension between Ankara and Berlin. On May 31, 2016, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reacted to the bill by calling German Chancellor Angela Merkel. He said "We will believe first; do we have a problem like the so-called Armenian genocide? We have no such problems. We are comfortable with this. Germany is currently a country where more than 3 million Turks live and our relations are at a very high level. If it comes to such a game, this is both diplomatic, economic, commercial, political, military between the two countries that are oriented towards our future, we are also two countries in NATO, of course this is all the damage. I think it will all be considered. I do not find it right to evaluate a decision that has not been released at the moment, but a decision comes out, what is the reason for this decision, what is included in it, after that, both our government will evaluate it and we will

evaluate it together. But this has nothing to bind us in international law. I want you to know that too.’’ (Euronews, 2016b). The Bundestag adopted the draft resolution, which recognized the Armenian claims regarding the 1915 events, by majority of votes. The majority of CDU lawmakers disagreed. Chancellor Angela Merkel, Deputy Prime Minister and SPD Chairman Sigmar Gabriel and Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier did not attend the session. Merkel said that ‘‘I can say the following about the voting in the German Assembly; There are many things that connects Turkey with Germany. Even if we have different views on any subject, the range of our relations, friendly and strategic relationships is very wide. There are a lot of issues, starting with defense issues. 3 million citizens living in our country is another matter.’’ (Euronews, 2016c).

On July 15, 2016 it was coup attempt in Turkey and parts of the Turkish army dared to take control of the country but they could not. Chancellor Angela Merkel has condemned this attempted coup and she said that ‘‘It is tragic that so many people have paid with their lives. Tanks in the streets and airstrikes against your own people are wrong. On behalf of the entire German government I condemn in the strongest possible terms the attempt of Turkish army units to use force to overthrow the elected government and the elected president of their country. It is tragic that so many people have paid for this attempted coup with their lives. The bloodshed in Turkey must end now. At this difficult time, we are led by our commitment to parliamentary democracy and its institutions, to the rule of law and to liberty. We are led by our solidarity with all political forces in government and in the opposition which also feel bound by precisely these values. The rule of law can and should now prove its worth in the way Turkey deals with those responsible for the events of this night. Germany stands shoulder with all those in Turkey who defend democracy and the rule of law. It is and remains the prerogative of the people to choose its rulers in free elections. Political changes must be advanced through the political institutions and in line with democratic rules. Tanks in the streets and airstrikes against your own population are wrong. I have been in constant contact with those responsible within the German government, especially with Federal Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Vice-Chancellor Sigmar Gabriel and the Head of the Federal Chancellery, Pester Altmaier. The task force at the Federal Foreign Office is

assessing events on an ongoing basis in conjunction with the diplomatic missions in Turkey. We urge all Germans currently in Turkey to follow carefully the information issued by the Federal Foreign Office regarding the situation in Turkey, and to behave with circumspection during this time of uncertainty. The Federal Defence Ministry is in close contact with Bundeswehr troops stationed in İncirlik, to enable it to ensure their safety there at all times.” (Chancellor, 2016).

On September 4, 2016, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan met with German Chancellor Angela Merkel in the People's Republic of China, where he was to attend the G20 Leaders Summit. After the closed-door meeting, the leaders made a short statement. Erdoğan said that “We have discussed bilateral relations, Turkey-EU relations, İncirlik base, Syria, and the issue of fighting terrorism at the meeting. During the meeting, the July 15 coup attempt was also mentioned. In addition to the support of Germany, I would like to express my satisfaction that we had two phone calls with Chancellor Merkel during this time. On this occasion, I informed Merkel about the Euphrates Shield operation. I would like to point out that the ending of the crisis in Syria with a political solution is important both for restoring stability and for effective fight against ISIS and other terrorist organizations. We will not allow the creation of a terror corridor along Turkey's southern border.” (TRT Haber, 2016). Merkel said that “First of all, I want to say that Germany condemns the coup attempt and favors democracy. We have stated that we are committed to further developing economic, political and cultural relations between Turkey and Germany. Furthermore, we support Turkey's fight against terrorism, including in particular ISIS. In addition, within the framework of Turkey-EU relations, we also agreed that visa exemption for Turkish citizens and readmission simultaneously come to inforce. We discussed the refugee agreement and visa liberalization and compliance with the necessary criteria within this framework. The negotiation on this issue will continue for a while. I got the impression that a positive result could be reached. However, we cannot confirm this today. We have a process that can take weeks. The EU wants Ankara to change its anti-terrorism law for visa-free travel to Turkish citizens. But Turkey says it will not step back on this issue to Brussels.” (Küçük, 2016). On the other hand, after the German parliament adopted the controversial Armenian bill in June, German

deputies were not allowed to enter the Incirlik Base. Merkel noted that “There were positive developments on the Incirlik issue that caused tension between Berlin and Ankara.” (Küçük, 2016).

On December 19, 2016, there was a terrorist attack in Berlin. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan called the German Chancellor Angela Merkel for the attack in Berlin. Erdoğan said that “Because of the attack in Berlin, I called Chancellor Merkel and offered my condolences to all the German people. I was deeply sorry for the attack that led to the death of 12 people in Berlin. I share the suffering of all Germany, especially the families of the victims and I wish healing to the wounded. On the occasion of this meeting, I informed Chancellor Merkel about the evacuation process and humanitarian aid in Aleppo.” (İHA, 2016).

Table 10. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2016

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Support	1	2
Together/joint	4	3
Refugee	2	9
Important	1	5
Our relations/bilateral relations	2	2
Solution	1	2

5.7.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2017

German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who visited Ankara on February 2, 2017, met with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Merkel who visited Turkey for the first time after the coup attempt on July 15, emphasized the importance of press freedom. The two leaders held a joint press conference after a 3-hour meeting between President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and German Chancellor Angela Merkel. She said that “We discussed bilateral relations, anti-terrorism issues, and freedom of press and expression in Turkey. I stated that the fight against

terrorism is very important. We have discussed cooperation in the fight against Islamist terrorism, all kinds of terrorism - including the PKK. What should be done for the criminals, but also the crime should be determined individually. We have seen how the Turkish people reveal themselves for democracy and democratic principles. This is why it is so important to respect freedom of expression in this critical process.” (Euronews, 2017a). She added that “Furthermore, as regards the return of persons considered to be members of FETO, we are committed to the fight against terrorism and the fight against crime, as Turkey's wait. Every country expects this. But we need evidence to take action and take action. Courts are evaluating this evidence. There are some court orders in Germany. That the return cannot be made under certain conditions. Our ministers of justice will hold talks on this issue. We must also respect the decision of the courts.” (BBC, 2017). Erdoğan said that “Combating terrorism is not something the only country can handle. We talked about the need to cooperate closely with all kinds of terrorism. I want to answer the concerns that the separation of powers will be harmed along with the constitutional amendment. The legislature still exists, the executive branch exists again, the judiciary exists again. So, at the point of separation of powers, there is no such thing as destroying them. Here, the whole issue has been given opportunities to enable the executive to work much more rapidly, and the ways for the legislature to make much cooler decisions have been opened. The judiciary also exists. There are no issues like the opposition's steps towards deflecting the target. I also reminded Merkel that the expression of Islamist terrorism seriously upset the Muslims and that it was not right to use it. This seriously upset us. These two words cannot come together. The word meaning of Islam is peace. If we put these two words together, that would upset us Muslims. Let's not use this.” (Euronews, 2017a). Merkel then drew attention to another issue, “There should be no wrong developments. Religious Affairs should not be against the German rule of law, as imams working at the Turkish-Islamic Union Headquarters gather information about some people. Freedom of religion is very important to me. For this reason, we do our best to make the Germans live their faith. There is a difference between the Islamic and the Islamist. Our people have great appreciation for Muslims.” (BBC, 2017).

Deniz Yücel was arrested due to making propaganda of terror and this negatively reflected on the Germany-Turkey relations. On March 2, 2017, Chancellor Angela Merkel, who made the traditional Ash Wednesday speech in Demmin, Mecklenburg Vorpommern province, requested the release of Deniz Yücel. She said, “Independent journalism must continue its existence. Journalists should have the opportunity to do their jobs. Therefore, we demand the release Deniz Yücel's currently imprisoned in Turkey.” (Euronews, 2017b).

Turkish politicians were not allowed to hold rallies in Germany. On March 5, 2017, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reacted strongly against Germany's refusal to hold rallies. He spoke at the Meeting of Women and Democracy in Istanbul. Erdoğan likened the cancellations to Nazi era practices and said that “They don't make our friends talk in Germany. Let them not speak. You have nothing to do with democracy. Your current practices are no different from past Nazi practices. I thought Nazism was over in Germany, but it was still going on. It is clear that if you believe in democracy, my minister will meet with the minister there and he will hold a meeting there. why are you bothering.” (Euronews, 2017c). On March 9, 2017, German Chancellor Angela Merkel made a speech in parliament and touched on tensions between Turkey and Germany. Merkel said that “The analogy of Nazism has no justification. There is a deep differences of opinion about freedom of press and expression between Germany and Turkey. Disagreements remain on the fate of more than a hundred journalists in prison as well as the fate of our citizen journalist Deniz Yücel. I would like to address our citizens of Turkish origin who have German citizenship living in Germany or that we have lived with for many years. The Turks here are part of this country. We will do our best to avoid damaging our relations with Turkish citizens because of Turkey's domestic issues. Turkey is an important partner. Despite some differences of opinion between the two countries, we are still not in favor of moving away from Ankara. There is no obstacle for Turkish politicians to participate in election campaign activities in Germany on condition that they get permission in advance.” (Euronews, 2017d). On March 20, 2017, German Chancellor Angela Merkel reacted to the Nazi analogy of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Merkel said at a joint press conference in Hanover with Abe, Turkey could be banned in Germany will organize activities related to the April 16 referendum. She said, “These Nazi

comparisons made by Turkey must end without saying if and but anymore. Unfortunately, they continued using these comparisons. We will not allow this viewpoint that breaks all taboos and uses any means for the purpose, regardless of the pain of people killed and persecuted during the Nazi era.” (Euronews, 2017e).

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who came to Hamburg to attend the G20 Leaders Summit on July 7, 2017, met with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. After the meeting, the leaders did not hold a press conference. On July 9, 2017, Merkel evaluated the topics addressed at the summit and answered questions at a press conference at the end of the G20 Leaders Summit as the term president. It was asked to meet bilaterally with President Erdoğan and Merkel stated that “I want to say that President Erdoğan and Turkey heavily engaged the entire summit agenda here. He offered his contributions. We appreciate Turkey's about what they do with asylum seekers. He pointed out this in the negotiation on immigration. During the meeting, arrests, general improvements in Turkey, and Incirlik issue came to the fore. We have seen that there are great differences of opinion on these issues.” (Euronews, 2017f).

The arrest of 6 out of 10 human rights activists who were detained during their meetings in Buyukada was met with reaction in the international public. On July 18, 2017, German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that “We will work for the release of activists, including a German citizen. From our perspective, these arrests are another incident where innocent people are put into a difficult process and sent to prison. Of course, this is a big concern for us. We will do everything to help these people, especially for Peter Steudtner.” (Euronews, 2017e).

On September 4, 2017, CDU President Merkel and SPD President Martin Schulz discussed in a live broadcast simultaneously from the 4 biggest TV channels of Germany for the election that will be on September 24. The discussion will be effective on undecided voters estimated at refugee crisis and tensions came to the fore experienced with Turkey. Chancellor Angela Merkel said that “I do not want to cut diplomatic relations with Turkey just to use as a trump card in the election campaign. I was never in favor of Turkey entering the EU. I will think in detail about how to take a stand. I am in favor of the immediate

cessation of EU funds already paid to Turkey. We will see the door slamming. But before all this, I want to ensure the release of German citizens who are detained for political reasons. After all, we should think well. Because 50 percent of the people of Turkey have the prospect of the European Union. I do not want to cut diplomatic relations with Turkey for the sheer election campaign.” (Euronews, 2017g). On August 28, 2017, Schulz accused Chancellor Merkel to make concessions for the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Merkel said that “The Customs Union between the European Union and Turkey will not extend because of some German journalists and representatives of civil society organizations detained in Turkey. The EU's financial assistance to Turkey will only go to areas where it is known of the money went. We must protect all imprisoned journalists. While we consider that 3 million Turkish people live in Germany, we prefer better bilateral relations with. But this is directly related to the acceptance of the rule of law. And we see that it is not currently in Turkey. The new titles will not open for Turkey’s membership for the EU and negotiations will be minimized. However, we do not want to reach a level that cannot speak by taking very hard steps.” (Euronews, 2017h). After these words of Merkel, Erdoğan accused her of applying double standards. Erdoğan said that “We give our message from here. You should not give vote for part who is enemy of Turkey. Please, be with party who is friendly with Turkey. Don't look at it, it's a small party. I am calling out to all my citizens in Germany. Do not vote for these. SDP, Christian Democrats, Greens. This is now a struggle for the honor of my Turkish citizens living in Germany. There are Turkish voters who will cast close to a million votes. I think that Turkish voters should give the required courses, especially for against those political parties that such a disrespect to Turkey.” (Euronews, 2017i). In response to these words, Merkel said that “All German citizens have the right to free choice, including Turkey origin. We do not tolerate any intervention We need to work harder and stay in dialogue. Recently, it began to arrive the first signals from Turkey, especially businessmen, that they need economic cooperation. Stimulation for the German tourists had to think of Turkey. However, all this is not enough. Therefore, we must protect Deniz Yücel and other journalists with all our power. I do not want to send wrong signals to the other 50 percent who do not want to sever ties with us in Turkey. Turkey does not consist only Erdoğan and his

government. It should not be forgotten that almost 50 percent of the country said no in the referendum. And they have expectations from us too.” (Euronews, 2017j).

On October 20, 2017, Chancellor Merkel spoke about relations with Turkey at the meeting in the Council of Europe. She stated that “This is a consequence of the entirely unsatisfactory human rights situation in Turkey and the way Turkey is moving further and further away from what we see as rule-of-law preconditions. Any reduction in pre-accession assistance must, however, keep sight of the Turkish citizens who want to see rule-of-law development in their country. We have a responsibility towards all Turkish citizens. There is no majority in the EU to ending accession negotiations with Turkey at this time. There will be no talks relating to Turkey’s demand for an extended customs union with the EU. Nevertheless, the EU would like to keep open lines of communication with Turkey. We very much respect, appreciate, recognize and support the fact that Turkey is doing so much for the people fleeing Syria.” (Chancellor, 2017).

Table 11. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2017

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Cooperation	1	2
Diplomatic relations /bilateral relations/our relations	0	5
Against	1	6
Appreciate	0	12
Together	2	0
Negotiation	0	3

5.8.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2018

The Deniz Yücel case continued to cause problems in Turkish-German relations in 2018. On February 15, 2018, Angela Merkel said that she met with Binali Yıldırım who is the Prime

Minister of Turkey about this problem and other problems. Despite the differences between the two countries, she announced that cooperation with Turkey would boost. She said that “We are aware that our bilateral relations were in deep water, and in some ways still are. But we are endeavoring step by step to resolve the cases that are responsible for this. Deniz Yücel has been held for over a year in prison without charge. I had once again pointed out today that this case is particularly urgent as are all other cases. The expectation that a charge will be forthcoming is great. And I made this very clear to the Prime Minister. We had also discussed questions relating to the rule of law. Germany has always stressed that it condemns the attempted coup in Turkey. Nevertheless, investigations must remain proportionate. We would like to see rule-of-law mechanisms and that we will push for these. Also, we discussed the major importance of our relations. On the one side, differences exist in how we see values and the way these are translated into practice. On the other, the two countries have shared interests even in complicated times. These result partly from the fact that three million people with Turkish roots today live in Germany. They are a bridge between cultures, enabling the two sides to deal reasonably with one another. We are both countries belong to NATO and that we both are engaged together in the fight against terrorism. The long-standing our economic relations are also important, and both sides are interested in taking these to the next level. That of course presupposes that we can deal with one another on the basis of mutual trust and understanding. Thus, the two sides have agreed to step up contacts once we once again have a stable government in Germany, which we hope will be soon. I praised Turkey for taking in Syrian refugees. Germany fully understands how costly and complicated it is to provide schooling and health care, and to ensure that refugees are integrated into the labor market. That is why Germany particularly appreciates the efforts Turkey has made in this regard.” (Chancellor, 2018).

September 28, 2018 President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan came to Germany with the invitation of the Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier. A joint press conference was held after meeting with Chancellor Merkel. She said that “I want to underscore the importance of the Turkish President’s visit. Differences can only be resolved through dialogue. If we do not talk, we will not find common ground. Germany and Turkey have

many ties. For decades the two countries have enjoyed very close relations. We are allies within NATO. And we share a number of important interests, including the fight against terrorism, the need to resolve the conflict in Syria and the question of migration. Relations are shaped, above all, by the 3.5 million people with Turkish roots who live in Germany. The German government works to represent their interests as she assured the Turkish President. Germany is also endeavoring to integrate these people. Furthermore, Germany has a major interest in economic stability in Turkey. We intend to step up their dialogue. A German-Turkish economic commission is now to meet for the first time, and the German-Turkish Energy Forum is to come together for the second time. Turkey are of great interest for Germany. Over the last few years profound differences have arisen, relating primarily to questions of the rule of law. I called for a swift solution for the German citizens imprisoned in Turkey. We are happy that a number of specific cases have been resolved and that some individuals have been released, she said. But there are still other German nationals being held in Turkish prisons. I had urged that these cases too be resolved as swiftly as possible. Another item on the agenda was the EU-Turkey Agreement on illegal migration. We will honour our commitments. It is important to ensure that the EU aid pledged does in fact benefit Turkey with as little red tape as possible. I praised Turkey's commitment during the refugee crisis. Turkey is doing an excellent job, and has taken in more than three million Syrian refugees. On the other hand, we also discussed the Syrian civil war and the situation of the civilian population in the last rebel stronghold, Idlib. There would be a four-way meeting with the Presidents of Turkey, Russia and France in October.” (Chancellor, 2018). She added that “We condemn the July 15 coup attempt, as I said before, it is never acceptable. We need more information so that the Gülen movement can be classified as a (terrorist organization) like the PKK. PKK is banned in Germany. We take very seriously the arguments of Turkey on the subject FETO but we need objective findings. We need more evidence to deal with the PKK at the same level. There are also people who are wanted in Germany. We have not been successful in some cases yet. We are not sure if some people are in Germany, the research is ongoing, and there are a total of five cases of imprisoned German citizens. We concretely address these issues. It is obvious that there are disputes about Can Dündar. It is completely Can Dündar's own decision not to attend the press conference.” (Gökkuş,

Erdoğan: Can Dündar bir ajandır, Merkel: PKK ile Gülen Hareketi'ni eş tutamayız, 2018). Erdoğan stated that “In our meeting with Merkel, we reached a consensus on making cooperation mechanisms that have not worked for a while. We plan to fulfill the remaining 6 criteria regarding visa liberalization as soon as possible. Ensuring visa liberalization and updating of the customs union would benefit both Turkey's and the EU. I would like to reiterate here that the effects of speculative based period fluctuations on our economy are limited thanks to the structural measures we take. Our country, as in other fields, is prepared for the threats that may arise in the field of economy and has the power to eliminate them. We want to continue our economic relations with Germany with a win-win approach. We want our cooperation to continue stronger in the fight against terrorist organizations. Respect for the decisions taken by our courts within the framework of the rule of law and respect for independent judiciary is a requirement of respect for democracy. We also discussed our expectation to effectively fight terrorist organizations. Hundreds of members of FETO are located here. It will be easier for us to deliver it to whoever we are catching each other with confidence. We have an agreement to return criminals. Moving from here, it is very important in the security point for the peace of our countries. You named Enver Altaylı. If I ask, if you would like to know Enver Altaylı, would you? Why did the Turkish judiciary arrest this person? Therefore, we have to respect the judiciary. the judiciary is independent in Turkey. Independence of the judiciary is a requirement of democracy. In addition, Can Dündar is a prisoner, agent and disclosed the secrets of the state according to the Turkish judiciary. Can Dündar is an agent. You know that the state reveals its secrets and is sentenced to 5 years and 10 months. This person fled and came to Germany. In this way, if there is another person in Turkey and Germany wanted, I would return it. This is the original event. It is good to know. Furthermore, there are common steps we will take in economy, digital technology, defense industry. Our neighbor Syria has 7 years of persecution, which cost the lives of 1 million people. As two countries, we want this to end as soon as possible. At this point, we have a similar approach with Germany.” (Gökkuş, 2018).

On October 29,2018, Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan spoke at opening DITIB Central Mosque in Cologne after meeting with President Frank-Walter Steinmeier and

Chancellor Angela Merkel. Erdoğan said that “We had an extremely successful visit with German President Frank Walter Steinmeier and Prime Minister Angela Merkel. We have riveted our friendship. I think the contacts we made for two days further strengthened the deep-rooted Turkish-German friendship. In our meetings with both Mr. Steinmeier and Mrs. Merkel, we sincerely addressed the issues that concern the two countries. Putting aside some of the differences of opinion recently, I emphasized that we should focus on our common interests from now on. We should focus on our common interests from now on, putting aside some differences of opinion. This mosque must be the epitome of our presence in Europe. This place must be the epitome of our presence in these lands, to those who try to make us look like the other and the enemy of Europe. While we were struggling with a terrorist organization, we did not blaze the other. Unfortunately, our strategic partners still call us evidence. The Turkish judiciary has decided on these. Your decisions are valid, ours is not valid. What kind of understanding is this? It should not be allowed for murderers who harm our country to travel here waving their hands.” (Gökkuş B. , 2018)

Despite the reaction of the German opposition, Erdoğan's visit to Berlin, which will take place at the invitation of the President of Germany, Frank Walter Steinmeier, is expected to give positive momentum to the relations between the two countries. Moreover, according to German media, although expectations are not high, the economic relations and issues such as refugee treaties, makes Turkey indispensable. According to analysts, with Erdoğan's visit to Turkey will contribute significantly to the re-establishment of a climate of trust between Germany. (Euronews, 2018)

On October 27, 2018, Syria's future was laid on the table in Syria Quartet Summit held in Turkey with the participation of Russia, Germany and France. Host leader President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Russian President Vladimir Putin, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron met for quadruple summit. The leaders held a joint press conference after the talks. Erdoğan stated that “As the summit participants, I believe that we will increase our efforts to improve the situation in the field and progress in the political process. I urge other countries to support these efforts. We are determined to continue our struggle in Astana platform and in different and broader platform like today for finding

solutions to the problem. Undoubtedly, this determination also concerns Iran, which is a member of the Astana process. Of course, we will inform Iran from these steps we have taken. We ensure that this process continues in a much more positive way and we deem it necessary. This determination is a requirement of our solidarity with the Syrian people. Also, the striking issue in the Idlib memorandum is this. There were extremist forces now controlled by Turkey. The success of this process is that approximately 60 thousand people have returned to Idlib so far. In addition, the will to determine the situation of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is the will of the Syrian people. All the Syrian people inside and outside will make the decision about it. Of course, in our opinion, Assad is unfortunately a person who has meant the lives of nearly 1 million citizens. Therefore, it is not in a favorable position for us. As a matter of fact, what has happened so far is obvious. The massacres there are still going on. It is our hope that this process will be finished now, so that people in Syria can easily find an answer to the question of how to continue their lives.’’ (Gökkuş, 2018). Merkel said that ‘‘It was an extremely productive peak. Although we have different approaches, we have agreed and issued a joint declaration. This shows that we have a common will. In Syria, there is a fight against terrorism on the one hand and there is a war that the regime fight with own people on the other. Therefore, it is necessary to find a solution not only militarily but also politically. There are many humanitarian disasters in Syria. More than half of the population there as refugees in European countries, in Jordan and in Turkey. We will do our best to avoid other human disasters. In addition, I would also like to express that we are committed to not using chemical weapons. Furthermore, we would like to contribute to the convention of the Constitutional Committee by the end of the year within the scope of the political solution in Syria. Close cooperation should be made with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for Syrian refugees to return home. Returnees should not be arrested and mistreated. I would like to thank Staffan de Mistura who is United Nations Special Representative in Syria for his contributions within the scope of the political solution.’’ (Gökkuş, 2018).

Table 12. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2018

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
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Interest	2	6
Common	3	2
Important	1	4
Refugee	0	8
Cooperation	2	2
Close relations/our relations	1	4

5.9.SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2019

On October 13, 2019, Chancellor Angela Merkel met with President Erdoğan on the phone. Merkel, who met with President Erdoğan on the phone, asked for an end to the military operation as part of Operation Peace Spring. Response from Erdoğan to Merkel was not delayed. He said that ‘‘Tell me something, are we allies with you in NATO? Aren't we? Or did you take the terrorist organization to NATO and didn't you inform me? On the one hand, we sit and get up and then we are discussing how to fight terrorism from different parts of the world. On the other hand, you are coming now, you are with this terrorist organization.’’ (Sözcü, 2019).

On December 3-4, 2019, NATO members would come together in London to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Alliance. However, before this celebration, differences of opinion became more visible among NATO members. In fact, French President Macron criticized NATO's existence very heavily by blaming the USA and Turkey. Conversely, Turkey's President Erdoğan argued that ‘‘NATO should update itself and our attitude towards YPG will not change. If our friends in NATO do not accept terrorist organization which we are calling terrorist group and struggling with them, as a terrorist organization, we will be against any steps that will be taken there. NATO needs to behave much more decisively and effectively in the face of asymmetric threats, particularly from terrorist organizations. According to today's threat priorities, NATO is now inevitable to update itself. The terrorist conflict and the irregular migration movements triggered by them threatens stability across the entire Atlantic region of Europe. Turkey is an important country which play a critical role

in the prevention of migration flows. Our country is an indispensable partner of NATO. In the fight against terrorism, we want full support to our country without but and if. The London meeting will also be the first step in the alliance's adaptation to the 2020s. We will have the opportunity to explain both the current situation in the peace spring operation and our projects on the return of Syrian refugees. We will express Turkey's determination to combat the PKK and YPG at the highest level.” (Euronews, 2019a). On November 27, 2019, Merkel talked in German parliament. She said that “We supported importance of Turkey for NATO. Europe needs NATO to defend itself. NATO also needs Turkey because of its strategic location. Turkey must stay in NATO; we should support and do our best for it. Because it is important for Turkey's geostrategic position of the alliance. It is in our interest to protect NATO. Protecting NATO is at least as important as in the Cold War. As the foreign minister said yesterday, Europe cannot currently defend itself alone. We rely on this transatlantic alliance. Therefore, it would be appropriate to work for the alliance and take more responsibility.” (Euronews, 2019b).

Table 13. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2019

Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Need	1	2
Alliance	1	3
Important	1	2
Terrorist organizations	5	0
Support	1	2
Protect	0	2

5.10. SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT ERDOĞAN AND CHANCELLOR MERKEL IN 2020

On January 24, 2020, German Chancellor Angela Merkel made official visit to Turkey on the invitation of Turkey's President Erdoğan. Erdoğan and Merkel first attended the Opening Ceremony of Turkish-German University New Buildings. Merkel stated that “The

Turkish-German University is an example of cooperation between the two countries and a symbol of the Turkish-German partnership. Science and education improve people's creativity and freedom. The freer science, the richer the results obtained in science. Science needs critical analysis. This university offers students the opportunity to advance both themselves and the communities they belong to. The students here add richness to the relations of both countries. The civil society dialogue established with the education bridge is of great importance in the relationship between politics and governments. Turkish-German relations have deep roots for science. Turkey is currently providing assistance to the millions of Syrians. These efforts win our thanks and appreciation. Turkey's efforts to instill hope for the future that Syrians. When these people return to their countries, the potential they offer to rebuild Syria is growing. As Germany and the EU, we supported Turkey for training of the Syrian refugee in Turkey. We are determined to continue this cooperation in the future. Finally, at the opening of this campus, 5 thousand students are planned to study in the Turkish-German University, which has been operating since 2013. Turkish-German University, is an outstanding example of cooperation between Turkey and Germany. This campus symbolizes the students' being open to the world and symbolizes the Turkish-German partnership.” (Euronews, 2020). Erdoğan said that “First of all, after 5 days Berlin Conference, I am delighted to welcome German Chancellor Angela Merkel. We will have bilateral and inter-delegation meetings with Merkel in the afternoon. We will discuss in detail the regional issues, especially Libya, as well as our bilateral relations. Turkish German University has quickly become one of the locomotives of our academic cooperation. We send a significant amount of students abroad every year to study at the best schools in the world to meet the need for qualified academic staff at our universities. We are opening the way not only to our citizens who have gone abroad, but also to scientists, researchers and academicians who have been educated in other countries. Our expectation is that our country becomes attractive for qualified foreign faculty members, in other words, brain drain turns into one of the attraction centers. Turkish-German University is a project that has emerged within the framework of this vision and has been successfully implemented. Likewise, studies on the establishment of joint universities such as Turkish-Japanese Science and Technology University and Turkish-Italian University in our country continue. We hope that

these works will be completed in a positive way as soon as possible. The success of the Turkish-German University will set an example in the establishment processes of new partner universities in this sense. On this occasion, I would like to emphasize that we want more German citizens to get higher education in our country and that more lecturers engage in research activities. We will be able to accept up to 7 thousand students in capacity. Providing education with 237 academic staff, 64 of which are foreigners, the Turkish-German University provides its students with an international environment where they can develop themselves in many different fields. Thanks to the close dialogue that our university has established with the business world, I see it as an important privilege for its members to have the opportunity to do internships in German institutions. I believe that the cooperation with industrial institutions will be further strengthened through the technopark that will start operating within our university. In this technopark, we want to host both the Fraunhofer Institute and the R&D centers of German companies. I congratulate everyone who contributed and contributed to the Turkish-German University to reach this level. Hopefully, we will continue to provide all kinds of support to the Turkish-German University as well as our other public universities. In addition, Merkel's first participation in the opening of the new building of the university and sharing the excitement is an indication of the importance of the project. We know that Chancellor was a scientist before his political life. Also, Merkel's contribution for the cooperation in the education, cultural field and youth exchange programs between Germany and Turkey exceeds 25 years. We remember that Merkel signed the Cooperation Protocol on Youth-Oriented Policies signed on April 18, 1994 on behalf of her country as the Federal Minister of Youth and Women of the time. In the presence of Chancellor Merkel, I would like to thank the German authorities on behalf of my country and nation for their ownership of our university. I especially wish that the German-Turkish University, like the one and a half century old German High School, has become a symbol of Turkish and German friendship.” (Euronews, 2020).

Then, they held a joint press conference after the bilateral meeting. Erdoğan said that “I would like to express that I am very pleased to welcome Angela Merkel and the delegation in Turkey. Today, we realized an intensive and efficient program. We have officially opened

the new educational and social facility buildings of the Turkish German University, which is the product of the cooperation of the two countries in the academic field, and, we have discussed Turkey-Germany bilateral relations in a comprehensive manner. We exchanged ideas about regional developments, especially Libya and Syria. The continuation of long-established friendship relations between our two countries is the interests of our region as well as Turkey and Germany. Global and regional uncertainties once again reveal the value of this cooperation. We are determined to further our existing cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, investment, energy and tourism. We also have a serious potential for renewable energy, digitalization and artificial intelligence. Last year Turkish-German Conference on Artificial Intelligence planned in Berlin and planning same organization in Turkey represents a good example. Moreover, we conveyed our expectations from the European Union to Chancellor in the coming period. Starting from July, Germany will assume the Presidency of the European Union. We believe this would constitute an important opportunity for the development of Turkey-European Union relations. Furthermore, it is very, very important for us that Turks feel themselves at home in Germany, where they work and reconstruct after the Second World War. In this direction, there are many steps that our German friends can take. The supporters of our terrorist organization, who excused our Peace Spring Operation in recent months, carried out attacks against the Turks in Germany. The service vehicle of our embassy was set on fire by members of the organization. Cursing these attacks once again, I condemn. It is not possible to understand that these actions are ignored and that they are shown as a democratic right. We look forward to punishing those responsible from Germany and not tolerating such statements. Turkey and Germany has undertaken a large part of the burden about immigration in Europe. It is above all humanitarian responsibility for the European Union and European countries to provide more and faster assistance to Syrians. İdlib, where 4 million people live, has been subjected to heavy attacks by the regime in recent weeks. The regime is constantly bombing all civilian settlements, including schools and hospitals. We are trying our best to alleviate the human drama that the people of İdlib are in. As a matter of fact, today I told Mrs. Merkel what we are doing about this, especially what we are doing at the accommodation. We now want to rescue people from tents in the winter season by making shelters from this briquette so that

we can save the people of İdlib. In order for the brutality against our İdlib brothers to end, everyone must put pressure on the regime. I thank the German Chancellor Merkel for starting the Berlin process and providing support for the solution efforts in Libya. We have emphasized in every occasion that a military solution is not possible in Libya. We are at the top of the countries that provide the most effective and sincere support to this initiative of Germany. The partial tranquility provided in the field as a result of both our call for truce with Mr. Putin and our intensive diplomatic initiatives also played a role in the organization of the Berlin Conference. The purpose of our support to the legitimate government in Libya upon its request is to prevent bloodshed and contribute to the revival of the political process. Supporting the National Consensus Government is not an option but an obligation in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2259. The fact that the putschist Haftar and his supporters had increased their attacks for the past few days showed that this person had no intention of reconciliation. And these supports given to him have spoiled seriously. In any case, we are determined not to leave our Libyan brothers alone in these difficult days. Libya, with its five centuries old ancient ties, is an important country that cannot be left to the mercy of war barons and terrorist organizations. In addition, we see that the tension has increased recently in Iran and Iraq. Iraq, which is trying to stand up again after DAESH, should not be allowed to continue with a new climate of chaos and turmoil. we urge the parties benign common sense and sanity and gives priority to the solution of problems through dialogue as Turkey and Germany. We will strengthen our dialogue with Germany on regional issues. I hope that the developments we will make on the issues we are discussing today will contribute to our multi-dimensional bilateral relations and the European Union accession process. I welcome my dear friend Merkel to our country and leave the floor to her.” (AA, 2020). Merkel said that “Thank you very much Mr. President, it is good to come here for bilateral meetings. We visited a very important project with the emergency of the new campus of the Turkish German University. It is a very important progress especially in terms of education and training projects between the two countries. The increase in the number of students will contribute significantly to the contacts between our countries. In my interview with Turkey Chamber of Commerce this morning, we talk them and agreed that German companies can contribute to training projects and we also said that there could be

the same educational activities in Germany. In particular, we said that we can contribute to our commercial and economic relations and dialogue with the continuation of a joint commission. I stated that I would like to make progress in the situation of those who are German citizens and are banned from traveling abroad and are detained within the scope of bilateral matters. We also talked about receiving the accreditation for German journalists who working in Turkey as soon as possible. During my meeting with President Erdoğan, we discussed the humanitarian situation in İdlib. These people are trying to spend the winter in tents and live in difficult conditions. We said that we are ready to make a financial contribution to improve the humanitarian situation of those who fled İdlib. It is important that we provide these people with stronger housing. Substances accepted in Berlin will be approved at UNSC. The military committee reunites with UN's Libyan Special Representative Salame's initiatives. Efforts need to be made to turn the fragile ceasefire into a solid ceasefire in Libya. It is very important that the legitimate Government of National Accord (GNA) Prime Minister Fayiz es-Serrac at the United Nations (UN) is open and contributes to the process. I hope that positive steps will be taken by Hafter, the leader of the illegitimate armed forces in the east of Libya. The important thing now is the meeting of the military committee. Beyond this agreement and final declaration, Salame members of the committee, suggested names were notified. Of course, I did not expect that all conflicts would end immediately. There is a very fragile balance right now. It was very important for the parties to accept the 55 articles. Actually, these items are a difficult process to follow. As Germany, we are following this process intensively and other countries in the meeting stated that they will do their best to prevent the tension from escalating. These 55 items were accepted by the attendees and will later be approved by the UN Security Council. Serrac also accepted the ceasefire. Hafter only accepted the ceasefire and made a name for the military committee. The first goal was to bring together those who have supported one of the parties so far. Furthermore, I think that the EU will provide support for refugees who fled İdlib, apart from 3 plus 3 billion euros in refugees. In the current political situation, those who fled İdlib in the short term are not back to return. We are ready to support here. Especially fleeing towards Turkey from İdlib to trying to pass the winter in tents. For them, there were fixed shelters and buildings with Kızılay. We may be able to support Germany for these efforts.

During the talks, political issues in Syria came up. We thought that this process started by UN Syrian Special Representative Pedersen should continue. We had also met with French President Macron. We have stated that such negotiations should continue in the first quarter of this year. Moreover, we will do our best for Turkey-EU process in our EU term presidency. We want to progress Customs Union as Germany and Turkey. However, Greece and South Cyprus Greek Administration have different views. When we take such a step, everyone should agree with the EU. We will try to do our best to make progress in our EU presidency. We will do our best for the continuation of financial supports. Because these aids are used directly for the benefit of refugees. On the other hand, I would like to point out that the interior ministers of the two countries will continue to negotiate to prevent the activities of human traffickers. I would like to say that Germany will have some financial support for the issue of coast security regarding illegal human trafficking.’’ (CNN, 2020).

Table 14. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2020

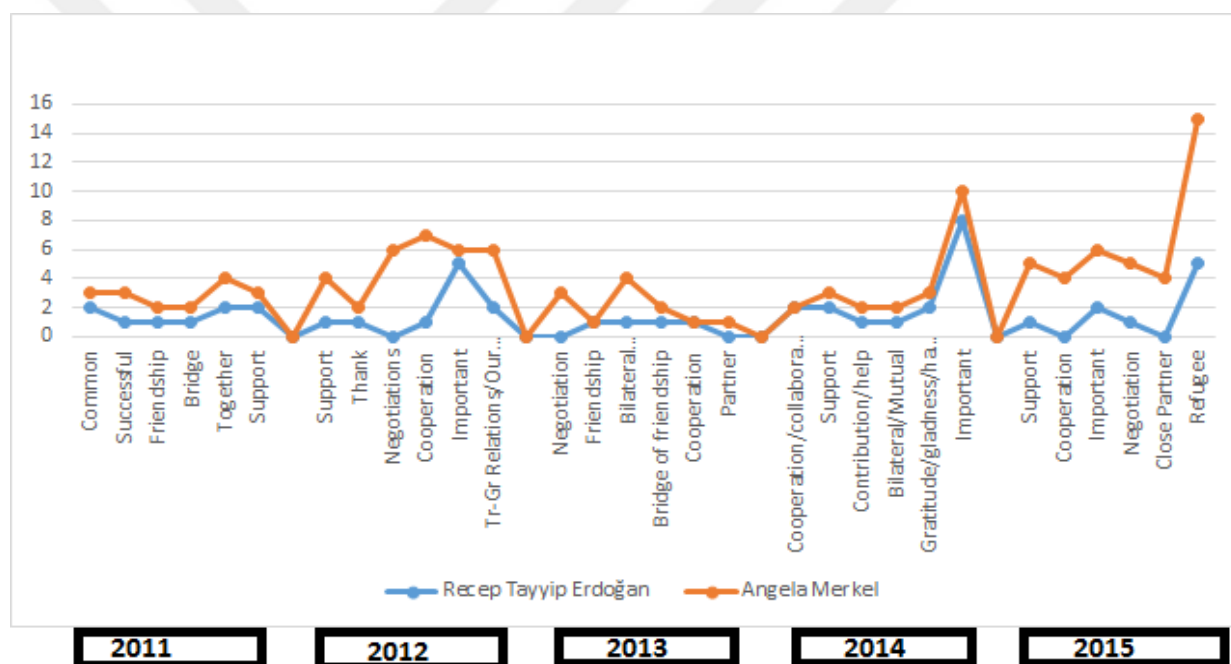
Words	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Angela Merkel
Cooperation	7	3
Best	2	4
Important	5	7
Bilateral	4	2
Thank	3	2
Dialogue	3	2

5.11. THE RESULT OF THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BETWEEN 2011 AND 2020

The speeches given by President Erdoğan and Chancellor Merkel between 2011-2020 are given above. This has been observed that both leaders paid attention to the words they used in their statements. They have been careful to make discreet statements regardless of political relations. The words frequently used in the discourses of the two leaders made between 2011 and 2020 are given in a table each year. The frequency numbers of the words used between

these years are given in the tables. These tables showed that frequently used words are positive words. The date 2011, when the Arab Spring began, was chosen as the starting date for discourse analysis. The 2015 date, when the Syrian refugee crisis increased and became a problem, was chosen as the turning point. In this framework, two tables were created to see the big picture. Table 15 graphically presented the frequently used words between 2011 and 2015, together with their numbers. In Table 16, the frequently used words between 2016 and 2020 are graphed with the numbers they are used.

Table 15. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2011-2015



The words that the two leaders made the most for each other in 2011 and 2015 are shown in Table 15. Accordingly, in 2011, the words common, successful, friendship, bridge, together and support have been spoken by both leaders. Positive comments were made for bilateral relations and further cooperation was mentioned for the future. The words that the two leaders made the most for each other in 2012 are support, thank, negotiations, cooperation, important and Turkish-German relations /our relations. Positive comments have been made for bilateral relations as in the past year and care has been taken to use discreet discourses. The words negotiation, friendship, bilateral relations/close relation, bridge of friendship, cooperation and partner used by the leaders for their mutual countries in 2013.

Both leaders highlighted the importance of the relationship between the two countries and the need for cooperation. In 2014, the words cooperation/collaboration, support, contribution/help, bilateral/mutual, gratitude/gladness/happy, strategic interest and important were the most carefully used words by leaders. They stressed that bilateral relations have gained importance day by day and expressed their satisfaction with their cooperation. The words that the two leaders used the most for each other in 2015 are support, cooperation/cooperate, important, negotiation, close partner and refugee. In addition to discreet discourses, the word refugee has entered the literature of both leaders. Cooperation, especially in the point of refugee crisis, have been discussed more. Considering all the findings obtained between 2011 and 2015, it is noteworthy that frequently used words are positive and discourses are positive. In this period, cooperation points are the economic, cultural and political period. Judging by the words in the speeches of both leaders, they made statements drawing attention to the points of cooperation. Considering the discourse analysis from 2011 to 2015, it was observed that the number of positive words used increased. This situation is expected in the discourse of the leaders of the two states, who are mutually dependent. Especially the frequent repetition of the words friendship, bridge and support is an indicator of mutual dependence and it shows that leaders want to maintain this cooperation. Indeed, table 15 shows that the frequency of these positive statements and words has increased over the years. For example, while the word support was used 3 times in 2011, this number increased to 5 in 2015. This situation shows that the irregular and uncertain international system created by the Arab Spring has led the two countries to strengthen relations at the point of cooperation. This has been proven by the increase of positive words in his discourse. In the years when the Syrian refugee crisis started to be a problem, the word refugee was added to the positive statements by both leaders. It has been seen in these years that the variety of positive words has also increased, such as negotiation and partner words. Therefore, it can be said that with the disruption of the international environment, the need for cooperation in the two countries has increased and their level of interdependence has also increased. The fact that frequently used words are positive words and their frequency of use increases is an indicator of this.

Table 16. Words that Erdoğan and Merkel especially use in 2016-2020

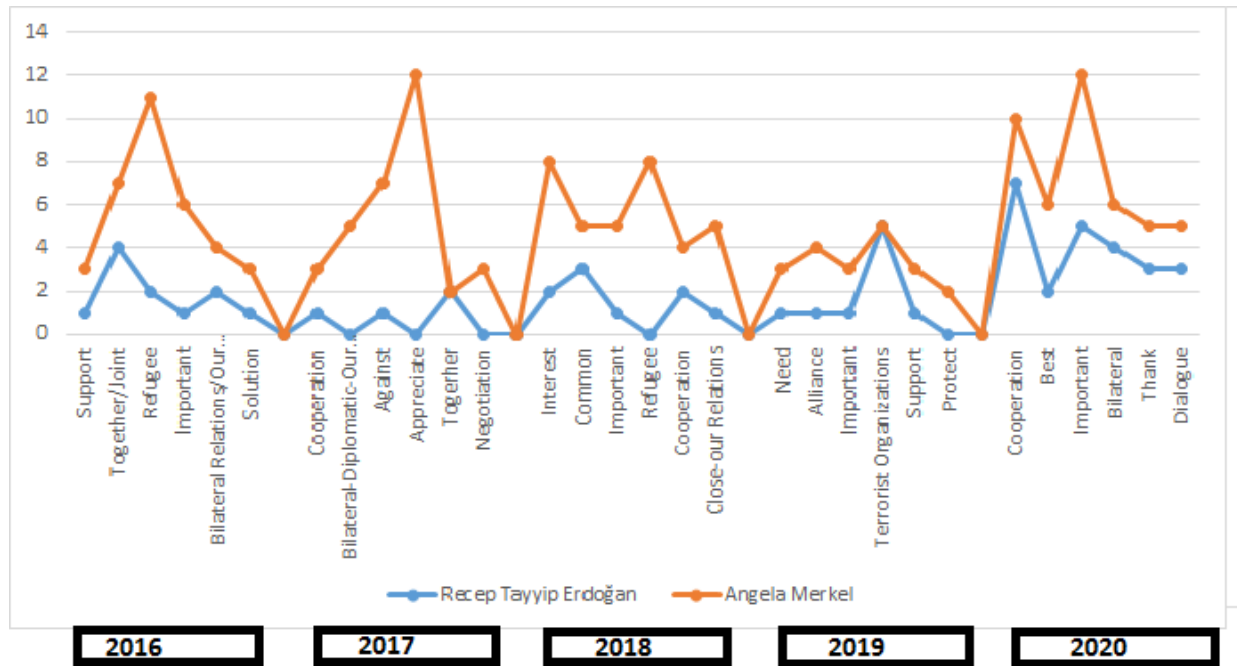


Table 16 shows the words that the two leaders used the most for their mutual countries in 2016 to 2020. In 2016, the words support, together/joint, refugee, important, our relations/bilateral relations and solution were the most emphasized words. Both leaders stressed that bilateral relations have become more important in the face of the increasing refugee crisis and stated that they will work to increase their cooperation. In 2017, the words cooperation, diplomatic relations/bilateral relations/our relations, against, appreciate, together and negotiation have been said a lot by both leaders. Unlike other years, political problems increased in 2017. However, leaders paid attention to discreet discourse for bilateral relations when making statements. They expressed in a more positive language that there were some political conflicts and drew attention to the points of cooperation. They refrained from talking about political conflicts in joint press conferences. Although the intensity of political disagreement and diplomatic problems increased, the two leaders did not mention negative events in their discourse. They wanted to draw attention to their cooperation points. When asked about the problems between the two countries, they gave the

image of being solvable. In 2018, the words of interest, common, important, refugee, cooperation, close relations / our relations became the most used words. Both leaders expressed that the cooperation was in the interest of both countries. Political problems were put in the background and attention was drawn to the special relationship between the two countries. The words that the two leaders made the most for each other in 2019 are need, alliance, important, terrorist organizations, support, protect. This year, both leaders highlighted peace threatening elements to prove the importance of cooperation. They expressed the need for cooperation between the two countries. In 2020, the words cooperation, best, important, bilateral, thank, dialogue became the most used words. Both leaders stressed that bilateral relations are very deep-rooted. It has been said that some of the differences of opinion that occurred before will be resolved through dialogue. The importance of the friendship of the two countries is emphasized in the face of the increasing refugee crisis, terrorist attacks and other problems. They said that these friendly relations and cooperation will continue. The frequency of using positive words seen in Table 15 continued to increase, as seen in Table 16. Frequently repeated positive words were generally repeated every year more than the previous year. This is one of the effects of the Syrian refugee crisis, which became a problem especially in 2015. This crisis and the problems caused by the crisis increased the need for cooperation of the two countries. In this case, it was reflected in the statements of the two leaders. The two leaders that increasing their positive speech with each passing year, took care not to mention political problems in their speeches. Especially among these years, 2017 is the most politically problematic year. Germany and Turkey have experienced severe problems such as Deniz Yücel case and the AKP deputies not being allowed in Germany. The factors that lead to closer together Turkey and Germany and lead to interdependence has continued to maintain its presence. These factors are the issue of refugees, Turkey originated in Germany diaspora, security cooperation, and intense economic ties. These factors, which connect the two countries, continued to exist even as political problems increased in 2017. The bindingness of these factors is also reflected in the discourse of the leaders. Both leaders continued their positive attitude in joint press conferences and statements. They generally avoided talking about political issues. The continuous increase in the number of positive words continued this year. Unlike other years,

the word against has entered the literature as a frequently used word. However, it has also been observed that the words appreciate and together are used more than usual. Although the word against is repeated 7 times by Merkel, the word appreciate is repeated 12 times. However, although the word against is used 1 time by Erdoğan, cooperation was used 1 time and the word together repeated 2 times. In this context, it can be said that even in 2017, when political problems were severe, the positive attitude in the speeches of leaders increased. Although a negative word is added to the literature, the presence of factors that provide interdependence has caused leaders to use positive words more frequently. The positive words frequently used by the leaders in their discourse continued in the following years. Even the number and types of repetitions have increased. It is noteworthy that the word terrorist organization entered the literature in 2019 and was repeated 5 times by both leaders. In this case, it is not surprising that the leaders of the two countries, which are mutually dependent on security cooperation, use the words need and alliance more frequently in the same year. Looking at the year 2020, it is seen that frequently used words are still positive words and they are used more than in previous years. For example, while the word cooperation was repeated 10 times by Merkel, it was repeated 7 times by Erdoğan. Moreover, the word thank and dialogue were repeated 5 times by Merkel and 3 times by Erdoğan. These words were repeated more than in previous years by both leaders. To summarize, the positive words frequently used by leaders in their discourse continued to increase and diversify in Table 16 as in Table 15. In fact, the number of repetitions, types and frequency of visits of the two leaders increased more than in previous years. This is proof that the refugee crisis has increased the level of interdependence of the two countries. The increase in the frequency rate of positive words is parallel with the increasing crisis. Refugee issue, the Turkey-based diaspora in Germany, intensive security cooperation and economic ties of the two countries are important factors that make two countries mutually dependent. It is obvious that these factors exist and it will continue to exist. This situation can be read from the statements of the leaders. These words thank, cooperation, and dialogue are the messages for the future. The message that political problems will be resolved through dialogue and cooperation will increase can be read.

6. CONCLUSION

States have some obligations in the international environment and in their internal dynamics. It is obliged to develop the country in economic, social, political and cultural fields by ensuring the security of the people inside and outside. In order to achieve this, it has to institutionalize primarily as a state agency and to establish cultural and economic relations with other states, especially political. There should be common interests between states for these international relations to develop. A fundamental alliance relationship between the Republic of Turkey and Federal Republic of Germany exist from the past and the present. Bilateral relations have gained a new dimension due to the international crisis and the EU-Turkey process experienced in recent years. Especially in the past decade, while relations have been stagnant, the emergence of international crises has stimulated relations. In this case, of course, the rhetoric of the leaders of the country, the leadership roles in foreign policy and the interests of the state are quite high. According to these state interests, leaders meet at the point of cooperation and these collaborations and interests make states mutually dependent.

Turkey and Germany have historically friendly relations. They became allies in the First World War and they have never fought to this day. These reasons show a positive image politically and culturally. In addition, the average population of 3 million Turkish people in Germany is another issue causing interdependence in bilateral relations. Also, it can be said that economic relations, tourism and Turkey-EU process are the main subjects that make the two countries mutually dependent. However, changing the balance and increasing chaos in the international environment affected both countries' interest and affected degree of interdependence in relationships of Turkey and Germany. In summary, there is an interdependence between Turkey and Germany due to friendly relations, cooperation and economic fields, Turkish population in Germany. This interdependence between the two countries is particularly effective in the economic sphere. Germany is the most important in Turkey's exports of the countries. However, the same importance is not valid for Turkey. Therefore, there is asymmetric interdependence between Turkey and Germany in the economic context. Moreover, interdependence exists in the field of political relations. First

of all, the two countries are NATO members. They also share the common foreign policy objective, such as fighting international terrorism and controlling the Middle East crises.

With Merkel's coming to power, bilateral relations became stagnant. Because Merkel's government is opposed to Turkey's membership to the European Union. For this reason, Turkish-German relations continued economically during the Merkel period. Turkey's EU membership process, except for the Schröder era, attitudes against Turkey continues Merkel administration in Germany. In this context, Merkel recommends privileged partnership model rather than full EU membership for Turkey. This case proves that Merkel wants to keep close with Turkey despite not seeing Turkey as an EU member. However, once the Syrian Refugee crisis reached the European border, bilateral relations had to be revised. It can be said that both countries implemented an open door policy at the beginning of the crisis. They accepted incoming refugees to their countries and carried out tolerant policies. However, the growth of the crisis has created larger problems both inside and outside for both countries. The acceptance of refugees brought with it some problems such as integration problem and, accordingly, economic spending. Initially, the mind changed in the people who viewed Merkel's tolerant attitude warmly. The anti-foreign movements that increased more after the arrival of the refugees and started to have a socially important base put the Merkel government in a difficult situation. With the last election, it has shown that the number of votes of parties engaged in anti-refugee propaganda has increased. The number of votes of Merkel's party has decreased. Although Merkel tried to establish a common immigrant policy for the European Union but her efforts were fruitless. On top of that, she was criticized by both her country and EU members. Thus, Merkel turned to the externalization policy in the refugee crisis and tried to solve the problem beyond its borders. Merkel's remote control approach is security-oriented and based on response to migration movements so the restriction of migration movements is main target. Turkey's geopolitical position revealed with Europe's borders with Anatolia. Germany as an EU's leading countries, headed to Turkey on the refugee crisis. For the Merkel government, refugee crisis which creates a big problem in domestic politics, has been largely overcome through agreement between the European Union and Turkey. The refugee issue is very important not only for Germany but

also for the future of the European Union. Because it has negatively affected the Schengen area which is the one of the biggest achievements of the EU. This may even lead to the fragmentation of the EU. Turkey is one of the key countries in the resolution of this issue. The main route of Syrian refugees who went to Europe passes through Turkey. Thus, Germany need for Turkey to solve problems caused by refugees. In the political and economic framework, Germany, like all other countries, carries out a rational foreign policy prioritizing its own interests in the international arena. Civil war in Syria and the Arab Spring change in the balance of power in the region and head of the refugee problem has further illustrating the importance of Turkey. Precisely for this reason, Germany is born of efforts to improve its relations with Turkey. On the other hand, close to 3.5 million Syrians are living in Turkey. This population, of course, causes some problems. First of all, its economic burden reaches billions of dollars and Turkey meets this burden alone. Being a neighbor to Syria also created a security problem. At the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the Erdoğan government implemented an open-door policy for refugees. Living spaces for refugees were created and the integration process started. However, the limits of Turkey were in danger because of the war in Syria. This situation required military intervention. It can be said that Turkey followed root cause approach and it is development-oriented and proactive in structure that is based on preventing the occurrence of the migration problem. Turkey's focus point is not to limit migration movement, but to eliminate the need to migrate through policies implemented. If it thought to the economic dimension of military intervention, it can be said that the Syrian crisis has affected most for Turkey. Also NATO did not provide the expected assistance and Turkey was left alone in the Syrian crisis. Furthermore, the Turkish people who initially supported Erdoğan's open door policy changed their mind with the growth of the crisis. Erdoğan's party lost votes in the last elections just like Merkel's party. For these reasons, Turkey needed to cooperate to solve the refugee crisis. In addition, Germany is dependent for Turkey to avoid losing both in social position and the gains in the EU. This interdependence caused more attention to bilateral relations. Thus, the refugee crisis has been the most important factor in determining the direction of Turkish-German relations.

This study argues that the Syrian Refugee crisis after the Arab Spring, has increased interdependence between Turkey and Germany. The continuation of the refugee problem increases the interdependence despite the political problems. Leaders also paid attention to their discourse in order not to harm these cooperation points. Although the relations were to a degree of severity and there were harsh sanctions, the talks were not interrupted and discreet statements and joint press conferences continued. The date 2011 was chosen for discourse analysis because of the start date of the Arab Spring. Although the Arab Spring may seem like a new order or chaos for the Middle East, it is actually an important series of events for the whole world. The crises experienced affected not only the Middle East countries but the whole world order. In this context, states tried to keep up with the new order of the international system and sought solutions to overcome the crises. Turkish-German relations were affected as a result of the crises experienced after the Arab Spring. For this reason, 2011 was chosen as the starting date for discourse analysis.

The analysis of President Erdoğan and Chancellor Merkel's speeches between 2011 and 2020 is given above. According to Keohane and Nye, the term dependency means that one state is completely ruled by another state, while there is a certain cost for both parties in interdependence. Therefore, the interdependence in the relations between the two international actors depends on the fact that there is a cost for both parties and that this cost limits the freedom of movement of the parties. In this context, the speeches of the leaders in the mutually dependent Turkish-German relations are an indication of the limited freedom of movement. Despite the political problems, the leaders' being positive in their discourse is the result of interdependence. Upon the continuation of the relationship, both parties have definitions of interest and this situation reveals the relationship of mutual dependence. Therefore, both parties must show the desire and effort to maintain the relationship at different levels. If we examine the statements of the two leaders in line with these definitions, both sides showed their desire and effort to maintain the relationship at different levels by using positive words even there were some political problems. It has been proved that both leaders pay attention to the words they use in their statements. They took care to make positive statements regardless of political relations. In the years between 2011 and 2015 two

leaders talks about their economic relations, Turkish population in Germany and Turkey-EU process. Positive comments are made for bilateral relations and further cooperation is addressed for the future and the two leaders insisted on their positive attitude despite the political recessions and supported the attitude with their sentences. Between 2015 and 2020, the word refugee entered literature of both leaders. If we look at the discourses from 2015 to the present, it can be observed that the interdependence situation increasing with the growth of the refugee crisis is directly proportional to the increase of positive words in the discourse. Even in 2017, when political problems were the most severe between these years, negotiations continued and leaders emphasized their positive attitude and careful words in joint press conferences and statements. Especially between these years, although significant and major political problems have occurred, it has been proven that leaders explain with common sense. Both leaders stressed that bilateral relations are very deep-rooted. It has been said that some of the previous differences of opinion will be resolved through dialogue. They argued that the two countries should increase their cooperation in the face of the growing refugee crisis, terrorist attacks and other problems. Despite the continuing political problems, the persistence of cooperation in both leaders' speeches is evidence that the refugee crisis has increased interdependence between the two countries. To summarize, the increasing number of positive words in the discourse of both leaders after the refugee crisis shows that the Syrian refugee crisis has increased the level of Turkish-German interdependence.

There are suspicious approaches regarding the future of Turkish-German relations. Although Turkey is not an EU member, it is important for Germany and Europe due to Turkish population in Europe. Turkey's collaborations with East may showed that Turkey become away from Germany. Because, although Turkey has made many efforts for the EU membership, the EU process has become deadlocked due to bilateral errors. Turkey was disappointed by its Western allies. However, it is not possible to decrease relations. Turkey's relations with Germany, economic factors and cooperation points are absolutely binding. Although the Turkish-German relationship fluctuates, cooperation on the Syrian crisis is an important factor supporting this cooperation and it is a strong binding factor at the point of interdependence.

Although there are common interests of the refugee issue which increase interdependence in Germany and Turkey, it can be seen that there are many common interests looking at bilateral relations from a broader perspective. Points that keep bilateral relations going shows that Turkish-German relations will continue. The future of the relations will be complex but positive as some of the problems continue. For example, Turkey expects more concrete support from Germany about fighting against terrorist organizations such as PKK, FETO and ISIS. Germany wants Turkey to be more democratic and dialogical in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. Despite the continuation of many problems, Turkey did not give up to join the EU. Although Merkel did not support for Turkey's EU membership, she would keep close Turkey to Germany and the EU. Bilateral relations developed with the Syrian refugee crisis gave the chance to solve the temporary problems in historical Turkish-German relations so interdependence points of Turkish-German relations increased. These important collaborations will continue as they are mutually dependent in both countries. In these days when the international system and order have changed, the cooperation points of the states are safe ports. When radicalistic and racist discourses find supporters, both countries should cooperate by taking the necessary steps for common ground. The foundations that form Turkish-German relations are indispensable and sound. Despite some disagreements and political problems, it will be stronger in the future as in the past.

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