

**A COMPARISON OF TWO AFRICAN GROUPS IN TURKEY: HOW
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECT THE INTEGRATION OF
AFRICANS IN TURKISH SOCIETY?**

Master's Thesis

BÜŞRA TOSUN

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**TÜRKİYE’DEKİ İKİ AFRİKALI GRUBUN MUKAYESESİ:
EKONOMİK DURUMLAR AFRİKALILARIN TÜRK
TOPLUMUNDAKİ ENTEGRASYONUNU NASIL ETKİLER?**

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the social and economic condition of two African groups in Turkish society. Thesis focuses on two African groups based on their economic conditions; *AGEC* as Africans in good economic condition and *APEC* as Africans in poor economic condition. The main purpose for categorizing Africans into two groups is to clarify the issue whether there is a disintegration or marginalization of the Africans in poor economic condition living in suburb neighborhoods of İstanbul contrary to the Africans with a good economic income in Turkish society. In this regard, thesis basically discusses about effects of economic conditions on Africans integration status in Turkish society by analyzing their social identity and economic existence in the society. To reach a broader finding, thesis not only works on Africans in Turkish society but also analyzes Turkish citizens' perception about Africans. For this reason, there are three main groups. These groups are categorized based on their race and economic condition. Two groups consist of Africans living in Turkey, and third group includes Turkish citizens in touch with Africans (TITA) in Turkey. By comparing Turkish citizens and Africans' ideas, feelings and evaluation for one another, the findings were analyzed under "Social Identity Theory". As a result of this analysis, it was put forward to determine whether the integration of African and Turkish citizens is achieved or whether one group is marginalized by the other group due to economic status or other factors such as race, skin color, culture and belief.

Key Words: Africans, Turkish Citizens, Economy, Identity, Integration.

ÖZET

Bu tezin temel amacı, Türk toplumundaki iki Afrikalı grubun sosyal ve ekonomik durumunu analiz etmektir. Tez ekonomik koşullarına göre iki Afrikalı gruba odaklanıyor; AGEK, ekonomik durumu iyi olan Afrikalılar ve APEC, ekonomik durumu kötü olan Afrikalılar. Afrikalıları iki gruba ayırmanın temel amacı, Türk toplumunda ekonomik geliri iyi olan Afrikalıların aksine, İstanbul’un kenar mahallelerinde yaşayan, ekonomik durumu kötü olan Afrikalılarda bir ayrışma veya ötekileşmenin olup olmadığı konusunu açıklığa kavuşturmadır. Bu bağlamda tez, temel olarak Afrikalıların toplumdaki sosyal kimliklerini ve ekonomik varlıklarını analiz ederek ekonomik koşulların Afrikalıların Türk toplumundaki entegrasyon durumu üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaktadır. Daha geniş bir bulguya ulaşmak için tez, yalnızca Türk toplumundaki Afrikalılar üzerinde çalışmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda Türk vatandaşlarının Afrikalılar hakkındaki algısını da analiz ediyor. Türk vatandaşları ile Afrikalıların birbirlerine yönelik fikir, duygu ve değerlendirmeleri karşılaştırılarak bulgular “Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı” altında analiz edildi. Bu analiz sonucunda Afrikalı ve Türk vatandaşların entegrasyonunun sağlanıp sağlanmadığı veya ekonomik durum ya da ırk, ten rengi, kültür ve inanç gibi diğer faktörler nedeniyle bir grubun diğer grup tarafından ötekileştirilip dışlanmadığının tespiti ortaya konuldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrikalılar, Türk Vatandaşları, Ekonomi, Kimlik, Entegrasyon.

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“The day was swallowed up by the factory; the machine sucked out of men’s muscles as much vigor as it needed. The day was blotted out from life, not a trace of it left. Man made another imperceptible step toward his grave; but he saw close before him the delights of rest, the joys of the odorous tavern, and he was satisfied.”

Maxim Gorky (Mother)



Declaration of adherence to the rules and ethical principles



ABBREVIATIONS

AU: African Union

AGEC: Africans in Good Economic Condition

APEC: Africans in Poor Economic Condition

IOM: International Organization for Migration

SIT: Social Identity Theory

TITA: Turkish Citizens In Touch with Africans



1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of African migration to Turkey has been a hot topic for the past two decades. The first relations between Africa and the Ottoman Empire date back centuries, starting with the Ottoman occupation of Egypt in 1517 (Gökakın, 2010). The Ottomans maintained dominance over the continent for an extended period. In recent history, significant migrations began in the 1990s, particularly following the creation of the African Initiative Policy in 1998. In response, the Turkish government formulated the 'Opening up to Africa Policy' in the same year, signaling a multidimensional foreign policy approach towards Africa (Kesgin, 2015). This marked a milestone year for Turkey's relations with Africa. Subsequently, Turkey declared 2005 as '*the year of Africa*' (Özkan, 2008).

Moreover, at the First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit, which took place in Istanbul in August 2008, the African Union (AU) designated Turkey as a strategic partner, fostering economic, social, cultural, and military projects between the two regions. The partnership is characterized by bilateral contributions encompassing political, economic, social, and humanitarian activities, serving the interests of both Turkey and the African continent (Özkan & Uzgel, 2017). The declaration of 'the year of Africa' in 2005 has influenced the mobilization process between Africa and Turkey. However, according to Icduygu & Sirkeci (2009), the economic decline and inconsistent political situations in Africa have emerged as major factors driving African migration to Turkey. While some migrants view Turkey as a transit country en route to Europe to escape such challenges, others perceive it as an ideal destination offering better living conditions.

1.1. Statistics

As a usual phenomenon arising from natural, social, economic and cultural circumstances throughout the history, migration, in today's world, becomes a political issue. In recent past and today's world, 'migration' becomes mostly political agenda rather

than a natural circumstance caused by natural disasters. With the political instability and revolts in the certain countries has not only affected the home country but also has affected the other countries, even the continents. As a clear instance, undoubtedly, The Arab Spring is one of the hottest issues still having effect all around the world (Harman & Williams, 2014). It became an issue more than migration wave, and now it is an intercontinental political issue.

In 2020, there were about 281 million foreign migrants worldwide. This represents 3.60 percent of the global populace. IOM presents the map showing total numbers of international migrants in each country. For Turkey, this number was 6.05 million, and the percentage of migrants is 7.2%, while percentage of non-migrants is 92.8%. By the end of 2020, the number of refugees all around the world was 26.4 million (IOM, 2022, p45). About 4.1 million people, whose status has not been determined as refugee, are seeking for international protection. The Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, and a few African nations like South Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are the primary places where refugees originate. These nations' refugees are thought to make up more than 80% of all refugees worldwide (IOM, 2022, p 45).

According to the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (5.3 million), Yemen (3.6 million), and the Syrian Arab Republic (6.6 million) are the top three countries with regards to the number of internationally displaced people as a result of issues like war, political unrest, and violence. After that, Yemen (with over 12%), South Sudan, the Central African Republic, and Somalia (with 19%) had the next-highest percentages (IOM, 2022, p 50). In 2020, the number of new displacements due to conflict and violence was highest in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2.2 million) and the Syrian Arab Republic (1.8 million). These two countries had a significant impact on worldwide figures. Ethiopia (1.7 million), Mozambique (0.6 million), and Burkina Faso (0.5 million) are the next most populous countries (IOM, 2022, p52).

One of the main nations impacted by this wave of political migration is Turkey. In particular, the Syrian civil war (2011) and the African Year of 2005 became the primary motivation behind the millions of Africans and Syrians that migrated to Turkey. Turkey's foreign population has grown significantly in terms of numbers since 2017 and before. This figure was 407.888 in 2017 and the preceding years, and it increased to 1.823.836 in 2022 (IMS, 2023). As of July 2023, the Refugees Association's most recent data indicates that there are 3.307,882 or more Syrians living in Turkey. However, the precise number of Africans residing in Turkey is unknown. However, according to government figures, Anadolu Agency states that "nearly 1.5 million Africans are currently living in Turkey" (Ibid).

In a qualitative sense, Turkey has experienced a social crisis as a result of this migration process since, despite the legalization of Syrian migrants' rights, a portion of Turkish society opposes coexisting with so many migrants, particularly Syrian refugees. On the other side, the Turkish government has adopted an open door policy and accepted Syrian refugees as "guests" under the terms of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. They have also been placed under "temporary protection." A significant portion of Syrian refugees have been residing in different cities since 2013, despite the fact that millions of them have been housed in temporary camps in border districts like Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Kilis, Kahramanmaraş, and Hatay (Refugees Association, 2022). The number of Syrians under temporary protection has increased dramatically since 2012 and continues to do so. 3.535.898 Syrians were under temporary protection in 2022 compared to 14.237 in 2012, according to data from the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Interior's Presidency of Migration Management (Gecici-Koruma5638, <https://www.goc.gov.tr>).

About 25 million Africans are thought to be migrants worldwide, according to estimates (IOM, 2022; p24). According to Ibid (p. 60), the majority of African-born migrants residing outside of the region in 2020 were spread among Europe (11 million), Asia (about 5 million), and Northern America (around 3 million). When Syrian migration surge to Turkey is compared with Africans, Africans' migration to Turkey dates back to earlier times. Relations between Turkey and Africa started to become important in the

1990s. Turkey proclaimed 2005 to be The Year of Africa, enacted the Opening up to Africa Policy in 1998, and held the inaugural Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in 2008. Africans have become more oriented toward Turkey as a result of Turkey's political actions toward the continent, which have also been exacerbated by uneven political, economic, and ethnic issues. With 2.2 million refugees at the end of 2020, South Sudan remained the third-largest nation of origin for refugees since widespread violence broke out in the middle of 2016 (IOM, 2022; p45).

The Turkish Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) released statistics for 2020 showing that over 4 million foreign nationals reside in Turkey, with 3.6 million of them applying for international protection. With almost 3.6 million refugees, mostly Syrians, Turkey was the world's greatest host nation in 2020 for the sixth year in a row (IOM, 2022; p46). According to TUIK data from 2022, there are 85 million people living in Turkey. In comparison to the previous year, the number of foreign residents in the nation climbed by 31,800, totaling 1 million 823,836. In his research on African migrants in Turkey, Mahir Saul (2014) states that there were about 35,000 of them living in Istanbul in 2012. More than half of these migrants are from Senegal; approximately 5,000 are from Nigeria; approximately 1,000 are from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Cameroon; and there are smaller numbers from Ghana, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone.

Due to its strategic location surrounded by Asia, Africa, and Europe, Turkey has become a desirable destination for African migrants. While some view Turkey as a stopover country en route to Europe, others believe it to be an ideal country where they can live in peace and prosperity (Düvell, 2012). Turkey's location as a natural bridge connecting the East and the West for immigrants is advantageous when it comes to migration routes. The improving political and economic stability of Turkey is another factor contributing to the migration. Therefore, Turkey's status as a target country has altered in the approaching years (T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, Erişim: 3 Kasım 2023, <https://www.goc.gov.tr/hakkimizda>). Turkey was formerly a transit country. Turkey, according to Collyer, Düvell, and Haas (2012), underwent a migration change from an emigration to an immigration country, driven by economic growth and comparatively

stable political conditions. However, the majority of African migrants have fled to Turkey as a result of the continent's political and economic unrest.

Therefore, there are still some dynamics associated with the growing immigrant population in Turkey and how it affects society. Certain circumstances that drive Africans to Turkey also give rise to certain cases in the country of destination. African and Turkish individuals face certain issues, according to academic research and news reports from Turkish media outlets (Düvell, 2012). The integration process between Africans and Turkish citizens is still debatable in terms of Africans' opinions of Turkish citizens and living conditions in Turkey. Given the current political climate, shifting dynamics surrounding "identities" in the plural, and Turkey's economic woes, it is crucial to approach the analysis of Africans' status in Turkish society primarily through the lens of identification.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

In this section, the study's methods and procedures are presented. Firstly, the study's objective and qualitative paradigm with the theoretical frameworks including the social identity theory, especially African identity over economic situation is discussed. Secondly, the research aims and questions are explained. Thirdly, the study is conducted through participants including Africans and Turkish citizens. In this section, how interview with the participants determine the conduct and result of the study are discussed. Later, data collection and recorded process are presented. Following this, how collected data analyzed and reached a conclusion are explained. On the other hand, ethical considerations are presented. Finally, the report of the study are presented objectively and presented with some inferences afterwards.

1.3. Thesis Objective

The main objective of this thesis is to analyze the social and economic condition of two African groups in Turkish society. Thesis focuses on two African groups based on their economic conditions; *AGEC* as Africans in good economic condition and *APEC* as Africans in poor economic condition. The main purpose for categorizing Africans into two groups is to clarify the issue whether there is a disintegration or marginalization of the Africans in poor economic condition living in suburb neighborhoods of İstanbul contrary to the Africans with a good economic income in Turkish society. In this regard, thesis basically discusses about effects of economic conditions on Africans integration status in Turkish society by analyzing their social identity and economic existence in the society. To reach a broader finding, thesis not only works on Africans in Turkish society but also analyzes Turkish citizens' perception about Africans. By comparing Turkish citizens and Africans' ideas, feelings and evaluation for one another, the findings were analyzed under "Social Identity Theory". As a result of this analysis, it was put forward to determine whether the integration of African and Turkish citizens is achieved or whether one group is marginalized by the other group due to economic status or other factors such as race, skin color, culture and belief. Studies have done so far generally analyze the condition of Africans by doing interview only with Africans. Yet, this study is not one-sided; on the contrary it will put forward the perception of Turkish citizens who are in touch with Africans in the society about Africans in general.

1.4.Paradigm and Design

The study's findings are basically analyzed under Social Identity theory which engages in individuals' existence and action in group membership with changing realities and truths as social phenomena. It sees social reality as a constantly shifting product of perception. Since, the study is shaped by the social interactions and subject to change in time and place. The study is aligned with qualitative methodology relying on individual interpretation of social reality (Cresswell, 2007). It supports the changing truth and reality by the individuals' existence and manners in a social context in a changing time and space.

For example, Africans' individual identity besides their 'African migrant' identity in Turkish society is still a social process. Along with this, social identity theory which engages in existence of an individual in a particular group or society within some basic concepts such as belongingness and selfhood, the study can be reconstructed in due course. Through this process, the identity/ies are reshaped constantly by the individuals or 'other' group members. Reconstructed identity/ies have impact of changing social dynamic; for example; social integration between the races, citizens, or economic system.

The study consists of case study design. It studies on a specific social group; Africans and Turkish citizens. Comparison of two different particular social groups will be analyzed from their socioeconomic conditions. Twelve of African citizens in poor economic condition, twelve of African citizens in good economic condition and twelve of Turkish citizens in touch with Africans in Turkish society, in total thirty-six participants will light the way for the result of the study.

1.5. Research Questions

These are the research questions that this study is addressing:

- *How economic conditions of an African living in Turkey affect his social integration in Turkish society?*
- *Is economic condition the main criteria shaping the place of an African in Turkish society? Is there a difference between Africans who have 'prestigious' job and the ones who have mostly daily job to 'keep food on the table' / 'breadwinning' in respect of acceptance of their identity values by the Turkish society?*
- *Or other factors such as skin color, culture, belief etc. are the main determinants? The thesis answers these questions by clarifying the issue whether there is a disintegration or marginalization of the African nationals living in suburb neighborhoods with 'bread and butter' contrary to the Africans with good economic income in Turkish society.*

- *Is there a marginalization of a group? Is the group of Africans in poor / good economic condition marginalized by the other group (Turkish citizens or Africans in poor/well economic condition?*

- *How discourse affects Africans' condition in Turkish society? The discourse about Africans by Turkish citizens' change according to their class, economic condition?*

1.6. Participants & Sampling

Sample group of the study is Africans living in Turkish society. For the study, purposive sampling technique is used. The main objective of the thesis is to draw a conclusion about social and economic condition of Africans in Turkey by questioning if there is integration between Africans and Turkish citizens or it is possible to witness a marginalization of a group due to economic condition or race. For this reason, there are three main groups. These groups are categorized based on their race and economic condition. Two groups consist of Africans living in Turkey, and third group includes Turkish citizens in touch with Africans (TITA) in Turkey. Also, these groups are determined according to economic condition. Briefly, these groups:

- a. The group of Africans living in Turkey in poor economic condition,
- b. The group of Africans living in Turkey in good economic condition,
- c. The group of Turkish citizens in Touch with Africans in İstanbul.

Each group consists of twelve members. In total, thirty-six participants will light the way for the result of the study. The group members were chosen according to the snowball technique. The researcher contacted particular people relevant to the study and their

acquaintance or advice conduct the study. Firstly, the relevant institutions and associations are the main contact source. The relevant people in these places directed to the other relevant people which later become the participants of the study. I was in Esenyurt/Istanbul in 2023, summer for interviews. Previous academic studies direct me to the certain neighbourhoods such as Esenyurt and Tarlabası. In such places, I witness that a lot of Africans living and working there. I have met some Turkish employers having African workers in their workplace. Thanks to them, I got a chance to do interviews with Africans and Turkish citizens who were relevant to the research. Besides, it was possible to see an African almost every time on the street in such places. Thus, I decided to choose people randomly on the streets. The research was conducted between the years 2023 and 2024. Interviews were made at Esenyurt mostly. The interviews made at Esenyurt are face-to-face talk. These interviews are made mostly at a cafe around Aktower, Esenyurt. Some of the interviews were realized via ‘WhatsApp’ application or ‘Zoom’ meeting. The tables below provide general information about the participants. Each group members were defined as an acronym of the group category. For instance, an African in good economic condition is defined as *AGEC* in the study instead of repeating each member quality again and again. *TITA* (Turkish citizens In Touch with Africans) were chosen actually randomly. When I was wandering at Esenyurt, I tried to talk some Turkish citizens and Africans. Some of them informed me that many Africans reside around Aktower. Then I walked to Aktower around and met some Turkish employers having African workers in their working places. I thought that they were working with Africans so they could have many experiences with them. To analyze their perception against Africans and their evaluation for Africans’ condition in the society, I gave place to *TITA*’s experiences.

Two African groups are categorized according to their economic condition. *APEC* are the participants who suffer from lack of income. While the minimum income of *APEC* is around 1700 TL, the minimum income of *AGEC* is around 20. 000 TL. The maximum income of *APEC* is approximately 18.000 TL whereas *AGEC*’s maximum montly income in 2023 is approximately 70.000 TL.

(APEC) Africans in Poor Economic Condition	Gender: Female Male	Age	Country/City/Neighbour hood/Origin	Job	Religion
APEC1	Male	44	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Togo	Worker	Christian
APEC2	Female	31	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Uganda	Worker	Christian
APEC3	Female	29	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Gambia	Worker	Muslim
APEC4	Male	30	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Working wages	Muslim
APEC5	Male	31	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Guinea	Worker/M echanic	Muslim
APEC6	Male	31	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	maker of furniture, visa agent & ticket agent	Muslim
APEC7	Male	20	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Equatorial Guinea	Working wages	Christian
APEC8	Female	24	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Sierra Leone	Factory worker	Muslim
APEC9	Male	31	Turkey/Bursa/Osmangazi Origin: Burundi	Student&I nterpreter	Muslim
APEC10	Male	23	Turkey/Ankara/Keçiören Origin: Somalia	Student	Muslim
APEC11	Male	48	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Gambia	Worker	Muslim
APEC12	Male	34	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Working wages	Christian

(AGEC) Africans in Good Economic Condition	Gender: Female Male	Age	Country/City/Neighbourhood/O rigin	Job	Religion
AGEC1	Male	35	Turkey/Ankara/Keçiören Origin: Ivory coast	Officer/spec ialist	Muslim
AGEC2	Male	28	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Company owner	Christian
AGEC3	Male	31	Turkey/Istanbul/Sancaktepe Origin: Ivory coast	Interpreter	Muslim
AGEC4	Male	27	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Business person & Professional footballer	Christian
AGEC5	Male	36	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Business person	Christian
AGEC6	Male	33	Turkey/Istanbul/Üsküdar Origin: Cameroon	Researcher	Muslim
AGEC7	Male	37	Origin: Nigeria	Expert researcher	Muslim
AGEC8	Male	32	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt Origin: Nigeria	Sell goods	Christian
AGEC9	Male	28	Turkey/Istanbul/ Mecidiyeköy Origin: Nigeria	Assistant producer	Muslim
AGEC10	Male	38	Turkey/Istanbul/Üsküdar Origin: Mali	Export marketing specialist	Muslim
AGEC11	Male	34	Turkey/Istanbul/Başakşehir Origin: Nigeria	Company owner/ education	Christian

				consultant/ businessper son	
AGEC12	Male	34	Turkey/Istanbul/Sancaktepe Origin: Ivory Coast	Business specialist in a company	Christian

(TITA) Turkish Citizens In Touch with Africans	Gender : Female Male	Age	Country/City/Neighbourh ood	Job	Religion
TITA1	Male	19	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Security guard	Muslim
TITA2	Male	23	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Mechanical engineer/ employer	Muslim
TITA3	Male	27	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	work for wages	Muslim
TITA4	Male	45	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Baker/ working wages	Muslim
TITA5	Male	23	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Employer	Unbeliever
TITA6	Female	28	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Estate agent	Muslim
TITA7	Male	36	Turkey/Istanbul/Bağcılar	Taxi driver	Unbeliever

TITA8	Male	21	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Employer	Muslim
TITA9	Female	47	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Fashion Designer& real estate agent	Muslim
TITA10	Male	46	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Employer	Muslim
TITA11	Male	44	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Employer	Muslim
TITA12	Male	45	Turkey/Istanbul/Esenyurt	Automotive electrician	Muslim

1.7. Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data sources are utilised in the data collection process. First, firsthand accounts of actual people's thoughts and experiences were used to gather primary data (participants included Turkish and African nationals). Interviews with the participants and questionnaires are collected as primary data. The study uses semi-structured interview including both closed-format and open-format questions. Also, it can reveal random questions in the course of time. On the other hand, interviews with Africans and Turkish citizens in internet and YouTube are used for the study.

1.8. Data Analysis

The study mainly benefits from the qualitative data analysis. Words, opinions, feelings and experiences of the research participants will be analyzed with the charts and graphical methods (Poland, 1995). Additionally, membership categorization technique will be used for the study. Africans and Turkish citizens categorized by their economic condition in the society will be compared by each other.

1.9. Ethical Considerations

Firstly, participants were informed that their participation in this study would be on a voluntary basis. With the research volunteer participation form and ethics committee approval document, important and necessary information were shared with the participants and they were asked to sign the form.

Some of the information in the form is as follows;

- Participants do not have to write their name or give any information that will reveal their identity / the names of the participants in the research will be kept confidential.

- The information gathered for the study will only be utilized for scientific reasons; it won't be used for other purposes or in any other research, and if sharing the information with others is required, it won't happen without their (signed) agreement.

- The information gathered from them will be safeguarded by digital archiving techniques and stored or erased at the conclusion of the study.

- They are entitled to review the information gathered about them, if they so choose.

- They won't be bothered by any inquiries or demands while the data collection process is underway. Nonetheless, participants will be free to withdraw from the study at any moment if they become uncomfortable for any reason while taking part. The information gathered on them will be deleted from the research and never returned if they leave.

Also, where, when and how the interviews will take place will be determined in common understanding with the researcher and the participants. Interviews will be held in safe environments deemed appropriate. There will be a one-on-one interview with each participant alone.

1.10. Report

Results of the findings will be explained and reported by numeric and written data. Answers of the participants will be interpreted and categorized according to the basic concepts of the study. How, when, and where the sources processed and how they analyzed will be presented clearly. It will be explained in which ways the conclusion is reached, which theory, why and how it is used. Major themes and subthemes with the basic

considerations inferred from the sources will be discussed. Finally, evaluation of findings will be analyzed under the titles of validity, reliability, replicability, and generalizability.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this section, in order to analyze Africans and Turkish citizens' socioeconomic condition, firstly theory of identity will be explained. Following it, social identity theory becomes the main tool for realizing thesis objective. Africans' existence in Turkish society has still dynamics changing due to the economic development. To analyze uncertainty of identity issue comprising not only Africans in Turkey but also Turkish citizens, the concept of identity and its effects on the society will be explained following SIT.

2.1.Theory of Identity

2.1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, to analyze the Africans' social and economic condition in Turkish society, firstly theory of identity will be explained. Following this, Africans' status will be analyzed specifically under social identity theory.

The term of identity has broad and various meanings and contents in different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, political sciences, and philosophy. In this study, identity will be explored as a social psychological term. Identity, in the most general sense, means of what or who a subject is in the social world. It is a definition of a subject's way of specification of himself/herself in respect to his perception and environment s/he exists. There are three different usages of the notion 'identity' (Hall & Paul, 2018). The first one is that it is used to refer a culture of a people. It is seen as inseparable from ethnicity. The second usage is about identification of the subject with a collectivity referring to Tajfel's theory of social identity. The last one is the adoption and performance of various roles in social life (Ibid, p284). With regard to all three of these concepts, one may argue that identity is shaped by time and society in a dynamic and variable manner. "A ground of

action is identity" (Ibid, p64). It is an idea of a dynamic, evolving, and ongoing description of selfhood. According to Stets and Burke (2000), an identity refers to the collection of meanings that characterize a person when they occupy a specific function in society, belong to a particular group, or assert certain attributes that set them apart from other people. Identity is developed during the course of a person's lifetime and is never fixed. It is impossible to consider a person in isolation from their surroundings.

A person defines themselves in relation to his surroundings and society, taking into account specific traits and identity values. In accordance with social norms, s/he discovers a meaningful description of who s/he is (Ibid). The subject is made up of his/her social interactions, which influence how other people see him. In this way, there is a subject that defines and performs certain roles, and there is an object that defines and authorizes the subject to perform certain roles. In the framework of social psychology, the question is how social structures influence the subject and how the person influences the structures. According to the theory put out by Stryker and Burke (2000), "Society shapes self and self shapes social behavior." One of the elements of identity that forms is the interaction between oneself and society. The study of social psychology looks into how people relate to the groups they are a part of. Its "main concern is how social stimuli, often other people, affect an individual's behavior and internal states." (Ibid). In this meaning, "social identity theory," which refers to "a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s)," handles the idea of identity.

Accordingly, "everyone's identity is composed of several components, and these are obviously not limited to the specifics recorded in official records" (Saul, 2019). Of course, the vast majority of people identify these criteria as belonging to a certain profession, organization, or social milieu in addition to loyalty to a religious tradition, nationality, or perhaps two nationalities. Burke & Stets, 2000). In conclusion, for this study, identity theory is a social psychology theory in the study of sociology that aims to comprehend identities, their origins in social interaction and society, how they function, and the effects they have on these processes and societies. It poses the question of "who am I?" in psychology. It has to do with how the individual views himself / herself and where he

stands in life. In the context of social interactions, it essentially refers to what a person is in his or her social surroundings, how they identify themselves, how they are in that environment, where they belong, or who they are.

According to Stryker and Burke, there are three different usage of identity. The first one is that some people use it to refer to the people of the same culture, and they do not need to distinguish it with ethnicity (Stryker, & Burke, 2000). Secondly, some use it to describe a self that a person's adoption of multiple roles in contemporary societies, and finally the terms is used as a person's identification with a collectivity or social category. Stryker and Burke attempt to demonstrate the connection between the self's structure and the external social structure. It centers on how one's self shapes one's society and vice versa (Ibid). Individuals are bound by the social structure and the implications of this on their identities. Next, the theory proposed a connection between behaviors associated with roles that underpin identities and the salience of those identities.

2.1.2. Social Identity Theory

Social scientists Henri Tajfel and John Turner created Social Identity Theory (SIT) in the 1970s. The notion emphasizes how crucial social groupings are to people's lives. Prior to delving into the theory's specifics, it is necessary to acknowledge the significance of groups in human existence. Social psychology is interested in how groups affect individuals. People must inevitably be a part of a group.

They belong to a predetermined group such as a group of a particular nation, ethnicity, language or skin color, and also they can belong to an optional group such as a group of a particular religion, sport and profession (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Groups are everywhere, and it is almost impossible to be away from being a group member in life. Being a member of a group of a race, ethnicity, language, culture, gender or age is a universal and usual phenomenon. "All humans live in groups and behave as members of

those groups, with very few exceptions" (Ibid). Individuals get a sense of togetherness and belonging from groups. The group members develop a shared identity as a result of their shared qualities. "Our attitudes and values, the social norms and roles that direct our behavior, and our social relations with others—whether positive or negative—are fundamentally determined by our group memberships." (Tajfel & Turner,1979)

Groups have the power of affecting members' behavior and shaping them by norms and rules. The norms and rules established by the group provide a sense of conformity for each member. To maintain to belonging the group, the member regulates his /her behavior according to the group norms and rules (Ibid). The more he/she conforms, the more he/she belongs to the group. 'It shapes the knowledge, values, and skills of group members. One outcome of socialization is language skills; another is political and religious beliefs and attitudes; yet another is our conception of self.'. For the last one, group members' perception of selfhood is different from the individual self. Group members define themselves with the common features of the group. Instead of defining themselves as 'I', they say 'we' are like this, or like that. And the members of the same group see members of a different group as 'other'. From this difference, 'them and us' relation arise as a social phenomenon. This relation can be regarded as 'a collection of people should define themselves and be defined by others as a group; they should share some collective perception of themselves as a distinct social entity, of 'us' as opposed to 'them'" (Ibid). Another important point for SIT is 'interdependence'. Group members are expected to depend on each other and to keep group unity. For the purpose of meeting needs, achieving objectives, and mutually reinforcing attitudes and values in terms of social influence, social interaction, and attraction, they should be (positively) interconnected in some manner. Each member of the group gains self-esteem from this type of reliance. Their "social" identity is shaped more by their sense of self-worth than by their "individual" identity.

'Taking on a social identity entails self-categorization, which is characterizing oneself as belonging to a certain social category, like feminist, Black American, or Irish American. Burke & Stets, 2000). Another topic to consider is the dynamic between an individual and the group and the ways in which the group influences or determines an

individual's behavior. In connection with this relationship, the subject of difference when a person behaves differently compared to his behavior in the society is analyzed by the theory. It emphasizes the cognitive and basic motivational processes by examining the intergroup perception and behavior. The theory is based on the principles of social identification, social categorization, social comparison, minimal group paradigm, in-group preference, and social structure as a result of the examinations (Ibid). Each idea will be examined in this section first through analysis, and then from the viewpoints of African communities and Turkish citizens.

Social identity theory focuses on two types identity in individuals' lives; social identity and personal identity. While the former deals with classifications like gender, race, and ethnicity, the latter is more concerned with an individual's personal traits and interests. People attempt to identify with the groups they are a part of when it comes to social identity. These groups can be categorized as social class, family, ethnicity, religion or race, and these groups become an assistant element for people to make them feel accepted by and belonging to a social group. Thus, groups which people take part have a significant role providing self-esteem and pride for its members. Yet, 'the 'groups'' to which the interactants belong need not depend upon the frequency of intermember interaction, systems of role relationships, or interdependent goals'. What matters is how each person defines themselves and how other people identify them as members of a group. In this way, Tajfel views the group as a gathering of people who consider themselves to belong to the same social class. The social agreement about their group and its members has led to their having similar ideals and an emotional bond. A province, a hamlet, a neighborhood, a clan, a professional team or one involved in sports, a group of friends, a union, a business, a parish, or a community of individuals who share similar passions can all elicit a more or less intense attachment from an individual (Tajfel, 1974).

The mutual allegiances increase the sense of group identity. Group members behave or regard themselves according to the group norms and rules. Rather than acting as an 'individual', they associate themselves as a group member. '...in the relevant intergroup situations, individuals will not interact as individuals, on the basis of their individual

characteristics or interpersonal relationships, but as members of their groups standing in certain defined relationships to members of other groups' (Ibid, p10). In this respect, individuals' personal identity is shadowed by the group identity which they belong.

According to study, members in the same group have tendency to their group values while they have a negative attitude for the opposite group they do not belong to. Favoritism, discrimination or othering arise as a means of defense and unity for 'their' group identity. The members of the same group dissociate themselves from the opposite group respecting to different values, norms and characteristics, briefly 'identity'. As a consequence of this discrimination, social categorization comes out as 'them and us' perspective. "People are categorized in the same way by us." Members of the same group appear more alike than they actually are, and the group to which we belong (the in-group) is perceived as distinct from the others (the out-group). One explanation for discriminatory attitudes, or the "them" and "us" mentality that gives rise to in-groups and out-groups, is social categorization. According to Tajfel, it is when one group is superior to and subservient to another group that is not like it. "Relationships between two groups can be cooperative or competitive, friendly or hostile" (Tajfel, 1974). Yet, in Tajfel and Turner's experiments, it is seen that two different groups evaluate one another as 'different', superior or inferior, in a word 'other'. Furthermore, it is made very evident that group members detach the oppositional group in favor of their own. The fundamental and extremely trustworthy conclusion is that prejudice against the outgroup and in-group partiality result from the petty, ad hoc intergroup classification (Tajfel, 1974, p14).

In SIT, there are three basic views about how people adopt or create an identity, and maintain the identity they own; firstly, people define and identify themselves according to social groups they belong to. Secondly, a social group's status determines whether the member's social identity negative or positive, and lastly, valuation and treatments for the opposite group depend on the manner and attitudes of the members in the same group. After belonging to a group, individuals apply positive discrimination for their own group. Thus, they try to gain a positive social identity, and this arises in need of seeing or showing themselves valuable. "In relevant intergroup situations, individuals will not interact as

individuals, based on their individual characteristics or interpersonal relationships, but as members of their groups standing in certain defined relationships to members of other groups," according to the major characteristics of social behavior related to this belief (Ibid., p. 10). In this way, the group identity that develops as a "social identity" for the members of the same group will eclipse the individuals' personal identities.

According to Tajfel, there are three components of the theory. Firstly, cognitive component; it is about the realizing membership consciousness. The second one is the evaluative component. It is about the consciousness related with some values connotation. The last one is the emotional component which refers to sentimental investment for the consciousness and evaluations of the group members. To clarify, as group members are appreciated and praised by the rest, they become more loyal to the group, for this is also a sign of which they reach a higher status. Since higher status raises their social identity, members' commitment improves. The group having higher status becomes dominant and subordinates the other group (Ibid). Subordinate groups are often perceived as 'inferior' or 'second-class' later causes self-derogation of the members of this group. On the other hand, the dominant group is conceptualized as 'powerful', 'prestigious' or 'wealthy'. Therefore, the antagonism between the groups leads a conflict, later may cause *identities* crisis.

In summary, the identification of group theory distinguishes between social and personal identity, highlighting the significance of "groups" in people's lives. Regarding official and informal group memberships, such as sex, nationality, occupation, religion, etc., the former refers to self-descriptions. A person's social identities can be summed up as their social identities, which are socially meaningful social categorizations that are internalized as parts of their self-concept (Ibid).

2.1.3. Categorization and Othering

Social categorization comes out as a cognitive process in which people draws borders by regarding similarities and meaningful experiences of themselves in accordance with the other people. It emphasizes both similarities between the individuals and in-group,

and differences between the individual and out-group. The emphasis on the similarities and differences are observed in all attitude and behaviors, beliefs and values such as race, ethnicity and language. The more individuals relate themselves according to the group norms, the more they belong to the group. This sense of belongingness positively serves for their identity. Positive self-image and self-attachment can be actualized through the actions of the member in accordance with the group norms and values (Tajfel, 1974). "Social categorization is the process of grouping social objects or events that are comparable in terms of an individual's behavior, intentions, attitudes, and belief systems." individuals can use this approach to categorize other individuals and themselves in multiple dimensions. The most prevalent ones are explained below.

The first one is dealing with the individual itself as a being of human (the species dimension). Secondly, it comprises the individual's perception about itself in in-group and out-group. Also, it covers the individual's perception and evaluation about the out-group members; briefly it emphasizes the 'social identity'. The third one comes out as a selfhood perception of the individual who differs itself from the out-group members, briefly emphasizes the 'personal identity'. Both cognitively and behaviorally, the individual becomes a group member, and begins to act as a group member rather than an individual. Rather than personal views and actions, behaving as a group member and serving for the group norms and values lead depersonalization. Depersonalization is a consequence of shadowed personal identity by the social identity. For the theory, it does not carry a negative sense. Since, it does not mean dehumanization or deindividualization, but it conveys a shift in individual's actions (Tajfel, 1974). Instead of acting like an individual, the person acts like a member of the group to which it belongs. As such, social classification determines a person's position and behavior within society. People who belong to the same category (group) take on the norms and values of the group and behave in ways that reflect these norms. They set themselves apart from the other group that is not like them as members of the group. "Categorization assigns people, including oneself, to the contextually relevant category and clarifies intergroup boundaries by producing group stereotypical and normative perceptions and actions" (Robinson, 1996). Members of the

group internalize normative and stereotyped views, creating a barrier for the opposing group.

The differentiation from the other group is ensured through these norms and stereotypes. The group which has different norms and values becomes 'other' by another group. Antagonism among the groups cause 'them and us' relationship, and later 'inferior' group is subordinated by the 'superior' group. The majority of the identifications are relational and comparative in nature, characterizing the individual as either "better" or "worse" than members of other groups, or as similar to or dissimilar from them Tajfel (1974). "Even though the components of an individual's identity always fall into a certain hierarchy, this hierarchy is not fixed; it varies over time and leads to fundamental behavioral changes."

According to Tajfel, there are two basic outcomes of the categorization. Social categorization leads the members of the same group to perceive the similarities among themselves and differences with other groups as if these similarities and differences were far more than in real. In other words, it causes the accentuation effect which members of the same group exaggerate their similarities in the group and their differences from the other group (Robinson, 1996). Members' features are perceived as more close to their classification instead of their individual differences. The result of the experiment done by Tajfel and Wilkes, it is attained that group members tend to judge in a polarized way for their group. For the other group, they discriminate themselves not only according to categorizations they create but also stereotypes.

In-group members see and evaluate themselves by focusing on similarities among in-group members while noticing and paying attention to differences between their own group members and out-group members. They categorize out-group members as 'others' or 'different ones' from themselves. In this process, they produce stereotypes for out-group members comprising personal and social values of the members. Stereotypes come out as a means of dissociating out-group members from the in-group, clearly what Tajfel define is *superior* and *subordinate* group. Superior group ascribes negative concepts and judgments

to subordinate group by praising and keeping its social identity positively. *“Members of outgroups who are stereotyped experience depersonalization, homogenization, and are viewed as "identical" since they are viewed as replaceable rather than distinctive and different due to the shared traits of their group (Tajfel, 1974)”*.

2.1.4. Social Comparison

Social categorization causes individuals to assess and compare themselves to other groups. Social groups are formed as a result of group evaluation through in-group and out-group comparisons, which helps the groups set themselves apart from one another. In certain situations, ensuring superiority over an out-group is one of the goals of this difference. The group members' positive identity image is derived from their sense of superiority. Because social identities have significant self-evaluative ramifications, groups and their members are driven to pursue techniques for obtaining or maintaining intergroup comparisons that favor the in-group, and hence the self. This enhances their sense of presence, belonging, and self-worth.(Robinson, 1996).

The group members' social identity is determined by the evaluations via social comparisons, and these comparisons are actualized through the attributions and characteristics ascribed by the group members. The attributions carry a value and meaningful aspect for the group members. They are formed by a conclusion of the members' mutual emotional, cognitive or cultural consensus. The attributions of the groups are compared with the other group, and the other group described as 'different'. The differentiation as 'in-group' and 'out-group' play a significant role for the each group, for it is dealing with the perception of the group identity. The group perceives and positions its identity positively by *othering*, seeing *different* the out-group. In the process of comparison, the group members act biased for their own group in order to affirm their social identity. This is called 'in-group favoritism' by Tajfel. Affirmative action and positive discrimination support each member's sense of "self" while also enhancing the group's high status and positive social identity view. According to Tajfel (1974, p. 284), "the goal of

differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions."The ensuing table presents the perceptions and assessments of the in-group regarding several aspects of the out-group.

There is a conflict between the in-group and the out-group as a result of these prejudices and judgments made by the former toward the latter; the former becomes the victimizer and the latter is the victim (Delamater & Myers, 2010).

TABLE 12.1 Ethnocentric Orientations Toward the In-Group and the Out-Group

Member Orientations toward the In-Group	Member Orientations toward the Out-Group
See themselves as virtuous and superior	See the out-group as contemptible, immoral, and inferior
See their own standards of value as universal and intrinsically true	Reject out-group values
See themselves as strong	See the out-group as weak
Maintain cooperative relations with other in-group members	Refuse to cooperate with the out-group
ObeY authorities within the in-group	Disobey authorities in the out-group
Demonstrate a willingness to retain membership in the in-group	Reject membership in the out-group
Trust in-group members	Distrust and fear out-group members
Show positive affect toward other in-group members	Show negative affect and hate toward out-group members
Take credit for in-group successes	Blame the out-group for in-group troubles

SOURCE: Adapted with modifications from Levine and Campbell, 1972.

In conclusion, groups play a significant role in the social context. They offer people emotional connection, unity, solidarity, and social assistance. "Most people would be alone, unloved, confused, relatively unproductive, and very likely hungry without groups" (Delamater & Myers, 2010; 277). It is a social grouping of people who share common aims, customs, and values. Joining a group is crucial "because the group helps them obtain something they want (such as protection, money, status, future opportunities, or social contacts) or because the group reflects their own values." The members' levels and types of cohesion vary as a result of their disparate motivations (Ibid), but maintaining group cohesion is more crucial than it. Group cohesion is achieved through the mutual perceptions and evaluations of the members. This mutuality is ensured by the socially created stereotypes and attributes toward the other group like in the table above, and this

enhances the sense of being unit, and members become more loyal to the group. In-group orientation, the members perceives differences of the out-group intently, and focusing on similarities and differences between their group and out-group rather than among their group (in-group) comparisons. In this respect, the question is raised; is there a conflict between the groups as a result of differentiation and otherising the out-group? This question will be analyzed and answered from the perspective of Africans in Turkey and also from Turkish citizens.

2.1.5. Africans vs. Turkish Citizens under Social Identity Theory

In this section, condition of Africans in Turkey and the relationship between the Africans and Turkish citizens are analyzed under social identity theory by Tajfel.

2.1.5.1.Group Categorization

For the research, citizens are categorized according to their race and economic condition. There are four groups, and these groups comprise equal member number. The first group is the group of Africans having good economic condition (AGEC). The second group comprises Africans in poor economic condition (APEC). Thirdly, the group of Turkish citizens in good economic condition (TCGEC), and as a final group, Turkish citizens in poor economic condition (TCPEC) is determined for the research. Each group has twelve members. During the research, each group's paradigms are analyzed by SIT. The previous chapter puts forward how 'groups' are important and have effect on individuals' lives are discussed. In this chapter, the relevant questions will be answered:

- What are the basic elements of these groups affecting one another?
- How these groups evaluate themselves and one other?
- Does each group produce stereotypes for one another?
- If yes, what can be the reasons of such stereotypes?

According to SIT, there are several outcomes of being a member of a group. An individual remains in the group as long as the group satisfies its social identity. Otherwise, s/he can leave the group. At this point, there is crucial action for the individual. If it is impossible to leave the group with some reasons such as conflicting values with his social identity, he can apply such actions; he can reinterpret the situation and justify it as a group member, or he accepts the situation as it is and attempts social action by undertaking negative attributions to change them (Tajfel, 1974). The individual as a group member focuses on dissimilarity of the other group and generally pays attention to the negative aspects of the group. The group members attribute certain aspects and ideas for the other group, and these attributions generally are negative whereas they perceive themselves better and superior than the other group within positive attributions. As a consequence, social stereotyping comes out between the groups. *"People are assigned the stereotypical traits associated with their group and become perceptually interchangeable with other members of their own group and perceptually distinct from members of other groups when they are perceived solely or primarily in terms of their relevant group membership"* (Ibid).

The out-group members that are stereotyped by the other group expose to depersonalization and homogenization because they are perceived as 'identical' by the other group. Instead of being evaluated as unique, they are evaluated according to shared characteristics of their group. In the case of Africans in Turkish society, Turkish citizens evaluate Africans as certain common characteristics by attributing all Africans. For example, most of Turkish citizens see Africans dirty, messy and noisemaker. They ascribe mostly negative aspect to Africans. In this section, it is analyzed how two groups (Africans vs. Turkish citizens) use social stereotypes for one another as a consequence of for the sake of group identity that also serves for their personal/ self identity (Tajfel, 1974) .

a) Turkish Citizens Stereotyping Africans in Turkey

Character	Profession	Physical features	Geography/ Country
very cheerful	watch salesman	Nigger	oppressed nations
smiling	laundering of illicit money	a different race, biologically different from us	Hunger
cute	gold and emerald trade	black	colonialism
dirty	football player	big asses	war
rude	belt wallet seller		southern people
zero hygiene, unhygienic			a little far from civilization
noisemaker			poor people
relax people			tribe
they swear a lot			houses, huts
			lack of water
			french colony
			foreigner

b) Africans in Turkey Stereotyping Turkish Citizens

Character/ Mentality
head in mind, they talk to you arrogantly, we always see them as racist
some of not nice
They don't respect us as human being; they just see us black only
discrimination
harrassment
abuse
Different
Curious. There are two types of Turkish citizen; the first group is the ones cover their head and very close to their culture. They don't want any cultural interfrenc, they are fundamentalist. The second group is open, who are open is friendly
Racism
Turkish men are lazy, funny

These are general stereotypes for Africans and Turkish citizens. When two groups are compared with one another, it is seen that Turkish citizens produce stereotypes for Africans including categories of 'character, profession, physical features and geography/ country'. TITA generally uses negative expressions for Africans. For example, the words about Africans' country/geography completely put them in a place as *underdeveloped*, *primitive* and *miserable*. Even though, not all of African countries has difficulties in economy or life style, many TITA think that Africans are poor, live in misery, and there is no developed technology or life in their countries.

TITA12:

Africans cannot working on the automotive industry because people in Africa are in rural areas. There are cars from the 70s there.

A Turkish citizen remarks that Africans are not able to deal with in the automotive industry just because of their poor and primitive conditions in their country. Another statement below by an APEC working in a factory. He shares an experience in workplace. One day, he heads of the machine, and his workfellows are surprised when they see him on the machine. This situation implies that Turkish citizens think that as if all Africans were incapable of doing jobs requiring high quality or advanced technology.

So they look bad at us. Because Africans cannot do this. They are surprised when you do something. People can work well even in Africa. Sometimes, while I am working on the machine, they react with surprise by saying 'Oh Muhammad, what are you doing?'

Another stereotypes for physical features of Africans such as 'black, nigger, different race, biological difference or big asses' mean that Turkish citizens focus on difference in color between themselves and Africans. They point out the differentiation as *black and white*. Also, defining Africans with their physical feature as 'big asses' by Turkish citizens may imply that they see them as *sexually attractive/bootylicious*.

There is an expression of a Turkish citizen below:

He is African and black, he has a Turkish girlfriend. If you look at his appearance, she's only together for the money. In Africa, they regard the Turkish girl lover as a different race. A Turkish girl is dating an African for his money.

He thinks that a Turkish girl becomes lover of an African only for money. In this sense, perception about relationship between an African and a Turkish girl may be described as it is based on 'material purposes' rather than real love relationship. Shortly, this may reflect that Africans are in the condition of being accepted only for material purposes by Turkish girls, and they are seen as if African men are not worth to be loved by

Turkish girls just because they are black. On the other hand, the perception for Turkish girl is important here. A Turkish girl is defined as white so she becomes a 'remarkable, cool and praiseworthy' factor for Africans who are remarked as 'blacks' in this context. This perception may imply dehumanisation of Africans in white society.

Another mostly produced stereotype by Turkish citizens is that Africans' hygiene conditions. Most of TITA claim that Africans are dirty and unhygienic. An APEC below tells a memory he experienced with the householder.

Owner of the house came my home and I said what the problem is. He said nothing and passed to kitchen, looked at the furnitures, walls and other parts. They think that we are Africans and we are dirty.

Here African complains about the householder's attitude. Householder comes unannounced to the hirer's home to check his house whether it is in good condition. APEC also says that householder makes video calls occasionally and wants him to show the house parts to see that everything is okay with the house. To visiting hirer's house without getting permission from the hirer and to need to have proof that African hirer is clean and keeps the house clean demonstrates the *unreliableness* of Africans in living conditions from the perspective of Turkish citizens. Associating the condition of being 'clean' or 'dirty' with the skin color and race may imply the superiority of 'being white' over 'being black'.

Some other stereotypes for Africans are about their professions. When it is looked at professions, Turkish citizens mostly categorize Africans under the jobs such as watch salesman, or belt/wallet seller. All these jobs are generally perceived as 'low-paying jobs' in the society, and these works such as watch/belt/wallet selling are generally done by unqualified workers. The professions which are generally perceived by a large segment of the society called as 'prestigious' and requiring to be 'qualified' in many fields such as 'being a doctor, being an engineer or being a teacher' are not ascribed to Africans in the table above. Again, this implies as if all Africans come to Turkey to work in daily jobs and to be able to afford bread and butter, though there are Africans coming to Turkey as a

doctor, engineer or businessperson. This may be a sign of Turkish citizens underestimate Africans' capability in such fields.

The last allegation by Turkish citizens to Africans in Esenyurt, around Aktower is that Africans deal with laundering of illicit money. Some Turkish employers claim that Africans launder the money under the storefront sign of tourism agencies.

TITA10:

It's a world of money to get from there to here. It's obvious they didn't come to work. They come to launder money. There are people who come from financial difficulties. There are also scammers. (Pointing to the Africans around him) Ah, these people you see are fraudsters.

Turkish employer above states that some tourism agencies are not really workplaces dealing with tourism. They are just a 'show window'. Under the plaques of tourism, Africans launder money, he claims.

During the interview, another Turkish employer claimed that 'master of Africans comes to Esenyurt by a Jaguar car around 00.00 pm. He gives bankrolls of dolar to his contacts who are destitute and used as 'pawn' to launder money, then he goes away'. All these are just allegation have not been approved yet.

Africans in Turkey stereotyping Turkish citizens indicate opinions only about manners and attitude of Turkish citizens to themselves. The opinions are generally negative, and they complain about Turkish citizens' othering to themselves.

-Landlords are problem. They say 'I need my house, so I cannot hire my house to you' for blacks they do say it. It is unfair.

-Some behave respectfully some don't. Some discriminate, look at us as blacks, different.

- When you walk, enter in a place Turkish White guy said 'stand up' in a car and he sat. I did it but I felt embrassed.

-Turkish people do not care me.

The explanations of APEC above show that Turkish citizens treat Africans with contempt because of their skin color.

After analyzing interviews and stereotypes, it is seen that each group dissociates itself from the other group and produce such stereotypes for their *social identity*. This social identity sometimes comes out as a means of *nationhood* (being a Turkish or African) and sometimes with the feeling of *citizenship*. Two groups produce stereotypes differently from one another. Africans focus on attitude of Turkish citizens while Turkish citizens touch upon many fields such as profession, character, physical features and life styles of Africans. In this context, Africans are stereotyping Turkish citizens just with the feeling of ‘other’ due to taking place among the superior group. In contrast to Africans, Turkish citizens do it with the feeling of ‘landowner’ or ‘protective’ of their homeland against the ‘external threat’ which is seen as Africans /subordinate group. Some Turkish citizen use marginalizing expressions by praising their race and nationhood while some Africans use such words to express their feeling of ‘other’. This situation is defined as keeping ‘*group identity*’ that means a contribution to individuals’ *social identity* in SIT. Briefly, it seems possible to say that stereotyping Africans by Turkish citizens in many categories causes Africans’ feeling of other, and this arouses stereotype of Turkish citizens by Africans.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

During the interview, both Africans and Turkish citizens’ behaviours and thoughts about one another are observed. It is clearly seen that each group attribute positive characteristics to its own group whereas negative qualities and ideas are ascribed for the out-group. Turkish citizens answer the questions by inscribing to whole Turkish citizens rather than indicating their own personal views. For instance, Turkish citizens use sentences beginning with like ‘We Turks, We are Turkish, We Turks think...’ rather than

talking with ‘I think like that, in my opinion...’ They explain their ideas as if all Turkish citizens in Turkey think like themselves about Africans. Also, African participants clarify their ideas and feelings about Turkish citizens by dedicating their views to all Africans as if every African has the same idea with them about Turkish citizens.

APEC1: *They see us like we are underliving, we are not like them. They reject us. We always see them as racist. This reflects reality, yes.*

TITA10: *It's a pots of money to get from there to here. It's obvious they didn't come to work. They come here to launder money.*

TITA5: *A different race, biologically different from us.*

TITA8: *We are better in terms of cleanliness, hygiene, civilization, culture and etiquette.*

The opinions above state that each group member supports its group opinions rather than his/her own personal views. This is an indicator that group identity beats over individual identity. In this process, we see group construction and otherisation.

APEC9: *There are stereotypes for Africans by Turkish citizens such as we are poor. Someone asked me if I have phone, internet, çamaşır makinesi in Africa. Being a poor does not mean that you are not developed. Turkish people men think that Africans sexually machines. Africans do sex different from them. When you go in different places, Turkish men asks ‘kaç metre or santimetre, how long?’ They think that sexual private organ bigger than theirs.*

Many Turkish people have not lived in Africa, yet there are many stories about Africa like we are coming from jungle, we do not have houses, phones, materials like the developed countries. Many Turkish people think like that we are old-fashioned people. There are external and internal reasons. External reasons; there is agenda that many

Turkish people see Syrians, Africans not good. Many Turkish people hostile against foreigners, especially Africans. Internal reasons; Africans have different cultures than Turkish. Cook, African food smell. Turkish people do not like it. African culture irritates many Turkish people.

An African in poor economic condition above complain about Turkish people stereotypes for Africans in general. There are four important points in this context. The first one is the belief that every African is poor and coming from a primitive life. The second one is how agenda reflect Africans and the continent in general. Thirdly, cultural difference comes out as a factional instrument between two groups. Lastly, how sexual stereotypes create dehumanisation of Africans comes to the point. Firstly, during the interviews, most of TITA claim that Africans are poor, live in misery, and they are not capable of doing jobs requiring high quality. This may be the outcome of how agenda or media displays African countries and Africans. Even today, media generally focuses on poor living conditions of some African countries rather than introducing new developments of African countries. Having idea about post-colonial African countries on social media or documentaries is still limited. So many people still think that Africans live in jungles and live as a hunter and gatherer tribe. This may function as keeping the continent in ‘the periphery’ condition. According to the world systems theory (Martínez-Vela, 2001), African countries are regarded as ‘peripheral states’. They are defined as ‘weak’ countries with low-income sustaining cheap labor and raw materials to ‘the core states’ defined as economically powerful and hegemonic by imposing their cultural and political hegemony on the world (Wallerstein, 1984). The third point as cultural differences not only create a gap between host citizens and Africans but also impose a hegemony on Africans by implementing Turkish citizens/ dominant group’s cultural norms over Africans. There is a real event told by an African in poor economic condition. When the question ‘*Is there something you resist not to do that in Turkey?*’ asked to him, he answers:

Cooking African food. Smell is not good. If I do this, neighbours complain about it.

He avoids cooking his own cultural foods in order not to get reaction by his neighbours. Instead, he 'prefers' unwillingly cooking Turkish foods. This is just a simple example of how cultural hegemony functions on an individual who takes part as minority in the dominant group.

Lastly, stereotypes about physical features and sexuality of Africans may affect the perception for Africans in the society. Evaluating Africans as physically strong and their sexually appealing by addressing their 'big asses' or 'big sexual organ' seems to be a kind of dehumanizing Africans in social and working life.

APEC:

They give job as nanny or house cleaning. One day, oil dropped my foot, they still tell me to work. They say you are lazy. They use abusing language. They think that you should work like a machine.

The explanation above shows that Turkish householder wants an African woman to work even though she has a mishap in the kitchen while working. Expecting Africans to work hard in every condition puts them in a machine position.

Each group (Turkish citizens and Africans) has both positive and negative expression for one another. Yet, each group has tendency to favor of its own group against the out-group, and each group compares itself with the other group by focusing on mostly its own positive qualities while focusing on negative qualities of the other group at the same time. The dominant group (Turkish citizens) has basic elements in terms of being in the condition of outnumbering and host. They think that they are host and other group (Africans) is just a guest in their lands. They see superior their own cultural norms and social conventions than other group's ones. During the interview, it is seen that they mostly focus on dissimilarities of the other group with themselves. The subordinate group (Africans) has been imposed by the superior group norms and stereotypes. They have the consciousness of being perceived differently by the superior group. The subordinate group

evaluate itself with positive ideas to keep their social identity powerful among the majority, and at the same time it ascribes negative ideas to the superior group.

As a conclusion of ascribing such stereotypes of each group, both groups try to keep their own existence in a positive way. They aim to develop a positive social identity that also serves for their personal identity in the group relations. It is followed by the interviews, Turkish citizens are generally disturbed by Africans' relaxed condition and manners. Turkish citizens complain about Africans by claiming that Africans are so reckless and easy in a guest country for themselves. On the other hand, Africans complain about Turkish citizens by claiming that they are suppressed and abused by Turkish citizens. At this point, there is a key factor among the groups; economic condition. Economically weak Africans claim that they are more subject to being suppressed and abused by Turkish citizens in contrast to the Africans who are economically powerful. Also, the group of Africans in good economic condition has less negative discourse about Turkish citizens while the group of Africans in poor economic condition mostly inscribe negative ideas to Turkish citizens. This statement will be discussed under the next chapters. But now, the tables below provides information about the difference between AGECE and APEC in terms of their conformity and social identity.

QUESTION: 78. Do you feel that you must act like a Turkish citizen?			
Participants	Answers	Participants	Answers
Africans in good economic condition		Africans in poor economic condition	
AGEC1	No	APEC1	Yes. For examp. eating
AGEC2	No. Willingly. I want to integrate.	APEC2	Yes
AGEC3	Yes	APEC3	No
AGEC4	No	APEC4	Yes
AGEC5	No	APEC5	No

AGEC6	No	APEC6	No
AGEC7	Yes	APEC7	Yes
AGEC8	No	APEC8	Yes. I used to be friendly, accodomate everyone.
AGEC9	Yes	APEC9	Yes. Some of my behaviours changed since coming to Turkey according to Turkish culture.
AGEC10	No	APEC10	No
AGEC11	No	APEC11	Yes
AGEC12	Yes	APEC12	Yes

According to data above, about 66% of AGECE do not feel obligation in their behaviors as behaving ‘ like a Turkish citizen’. This rate decreases in the condition of APEC to about 33%. This may infer that economically powerful group members’ social identity is protected by self-esteem, and this confidence comes from their good economic condition.

The table below show that about 33% of AGECE think that they may have different payment from Turkish citizens. This rate increases to about 91% for APEC. Important point here is that AGECE attributes the reason mostly if they have working permit or not, language barrier or difference in mentality. However, APEC thinks that they may get less payment than Turkish citizens because of their skin color, their condition as unnaturalized foreigners in the country. Thus, economically weak group members are made to feel the difference as black and white, feeling of other and sense of not belonging to the place they live in.

QUESTION: 47. If a Turkish citizen did your job, he / she would get different salary? If yes, Why?			
Participants	Answers	Participants	Answers
Africans in good economic condition		Africans in poor economic condition	
AGEC1	No	APEC1	Yes. Race,Color
AGEC2	No	APEC2	Yes. Because we are blacks. Whites are paid more than blacks.
AGEC3	Yes. dependent on work permit	APEC3	Yes. Turks pay less.
AGEC4	Yes. It depends on mentality	APEC4	Yes. Because White and black
AGEC5	No	APEC5	Yes. Discrimination.

AGEC6	Yes. They can pay less to foreigners because they think that foreigners cannot defend their rights.	APEC6	Yes. Because he understands language better
AGEC7	No	APEC7	No.
AGEC8	No	APEC8	Yes. I don't know the reason.
AGEC9	No	APEC9	Yes. Foreigners normally don't have work permit. They use it as a 'alibi'/picktext.
AGEC10	Yes. Language	APEC10	Yes. A Turkish citizen can claim his rights but a foreigner cannot. If a foreigner can do it, it takes long time.
AGEC11	I dont know	APEC11	Yes because he is a citizen.
AGEC12	Yes. They give less money to foreigners.	APEC12	Yes. He would earn 30,000 TL because they are in their own country

The table below shows that 75% of AGECE have not been subject to humiliation by Turkish citizens whereas about 83% of APEC have experienced it due to their economic condition. This may imply that economic condition not only determines an African place in the society but also affect attitude of Turkish citizens toward Africans. Under SIT, superior group dominates the subordinate group, and impose its cultural and social hememony on subordinate group members.

QUESTION: 59. Have you ever been humiliated by Turkish citizens because of your economic condition?			
Participants	Answers	Participants	Answers
Africans in good economic condition		Africans in poor economic condition	
AGEC1	No	APEC1	Yes
AGEC2	No	APEC2	Yes
AGEC3	No	APEC3	Yes
AGEC4	Yes	APEC4	Yes

AGEC5	No	APEC5	Yes
AGEC6	No	APEC6	Yes
AGEC7	No	APEC7	Yes
AGEC8	Yes	APEC8	Yes
AGEC9	Yes	APEC9	No
AGEC10	No	APEC10	No
AGEC11	No	APEC11	Yes
AGEC12	No	APEC12	Yes

According to the table below, AGECE mostly have problems in housing while APEC mostly have problems in lack of income and discrimination. It can be inferred from the data that economically poor Africans have experienced to be marginalized by Turkish citizens in contrast to AGECE.

QUESTION: 33. What are your greatest problems in Turkey?			
a)Lack of Income b)Discrimination c)Treatment by Neighbours d)Housing e)Hunger f)Other:Explain			
Participants	Answers	Participants	Answers
Africans in good economic condition		Africans in poor economic condition	
AGEC1	d	APEC1	b
AGEC2	d	APEC2	a,b,d
AGEC3	c	APEC3	a
AGEC4	c	APEC4	a
AGEC5	b d	APEC5	a,b
AGEC6	d	APEC6	a,b,d
AGEC7	d	APEC7	d
AGEC8	d	APEC8	a,b,d
AGEC9	d	APEC9	a,b
AGEC10	f: treatment by officers	APEC10	a
AGEC11	b	APEC11	b
AGEC12	b, f: integration. Foreigners' acceptance is difficult in the system	APEC12	a b c d

3.6.Conformity:

In this chapter, the idea of ‘group’ and ‘being a group member’ is discussed as a social psychological concept. Group members’ manner and attitudes toward out-group members will be analyzed. The main question will be tried to be answered: How group members take action in case their social identity is not fulfilled with positive attributions? Do they conform their group norms and inefficient social identity, or do they choose to leave their group and try to be a member of an another group which will contribute their social identity? If it is the second, does it mean that they choose also to conform out-group norms in order to have a positive social identity?

Groups are important in human life. Each individual is in need of belonging to a group for some purposes. It can be for the sake of feeling to belong somewhere, sometimes not to feel loneliness, and sometimes to feel secure. “Every group in society coexists with other groups; no group is isolated from the others. Most people would be alone, unwanted, confused, comparatively unproductive, and possibly hungry in the absence of communities” (Delameter & Myers, 2007). In social psychology, group is described as a social unit including two or more individual. In this description, there are four main components. The first one is the ‘*membership*’. An individual has the idea of belonging to a group and must associate himself/herself with this group and recognized by also other members of the group (Lickel et al., 2000). The second component is ‘*interaction among members*’. Group members communicate with and affect one another. Thirdly, group members have common goals and they become more dependent to each other with such common objectives. The last one is the ‘*shared norms*’. Group members have some expectations which define their actions. These shared rules limit and determine their actions. *Groups are obviously more than merely collections of people; rather, they are structured systems in which relationships between people are patterned and structured* (277).

Group members are expected to conform group norms. As long as members conform the rules and values, group identity becomes stronger, and this serves as a

contribution to also members' self identity. Group norms and values impact individuals manners and actions. Social psychologist call it as *majority influence*(289). This means that group's majority outweighs the individuals' decisions in terms of adopting its norms. For this research, it is observed that Africans in poor economic condition (APEC) have more tendency to conform the majority group that is the group of Turkish citizens. Even though African members in poor economic condition have common shared norms and values, they choose to obey and conform the majority's side instead of trying to keep their existence in their own group (APEC). At this point, it is shown that majority group has an important impact on minority group which is economically weak. Economically weak group try to behave like a Turkish and to be accepted by the majority (out-group) they choose to conform to Turkish culture and social behaviors.

AGEC:

-Turkish citizens very good very good. Because of my status, they are very good.

-Depending on your economic status, if you are economically balanced you witness less racism.

The economic condition determines the border between Africans and Turkish citizens. As long as Africans have good economic condition, they live more peacefully in the society.

The table below shows answer of Africans for the question '*Is there something you do in order to be more accepted by Turkish citizens /the Africans?*' Unlike AGECE, majority of APEC answers this question as 'Yes' by focusing on the condition of acceptance of Turkish citizens' norms and rules.

APEC1:

I try to talk with them consciously for them we are not same in color.

APEC7:

Yes. I used to greet them. I always like play football in the road because they used to like me more when I play football.

APEC10:

When you act like them, they feel more sympathy to you when you act like a Turk. For example, supporting a Turkish team.

AGEC10:

Loving and meeting Turkey and Turkish people.

AGEC7:

Yes. If I learn Turkish language, I can be easily accepted.

The difference between two African groups is that APEC tends to do more action than AGECE in terms of attitude and behaviours. Learning the majority's language can be one of the solutions to integrate easily. Yet, determining one's actions and attitudes according to the majority's norms and values make APEC more effort and concession than keeping their own values and norms.

What about the other group? Why the group of Africans in good economic condition (AGECE) keeps their commitment to their group and choose to be loyal to their own norms and values? According to SIT, this situation can be explained that group members need to satisfy their social identity. If they are not able to fulfill their identity, they may choose to leave the group, or they try to legitimize the situation they have already. APEC has a tendency to break away from the group and join a larger, more powerful group. Individual members rely greatly on the majority to get the various rewards and benefits they desire, not the least of which is the acceptance of their continued participation in the group. (290).

According to theorists, this scenario can be explained by normative and informational influences, as proposed by Cialdini, Trost, and Turner (290). In this research,

APEC members' compliance is mostly associated with normative influence, which means they comply with others' expectations (i.e., norms) in order to get social incentives or stay out of penalties that are imposed for not living up to these expectations (Janes & Olson, 2000) 290. Reward can be seen as 'acceptance' by the majority and punishment is the 'exclusion' for -APEC's condition. What about another group? The group of Africans in good economic condition (AGEC)? AGEC is not at the same condition like APEC. They are in powerful condition economically. This serves a self-esteem and positive social identity for the members. It can be deduced from this survey, economically powerful group less conform to the majority group even though they are less in number. Economic assurance outweighs the *punishment* by the majority. Actually, AGEC has less subject to this punishment by the majority. Since, it is seen that AGEC has less witnessed or felt the experience of being otherised or excluded from the majority.

AGEC5 is a Nigerian business person in good economic condition. During the interview, he says:

-I go to private hospitals. You have money, treat you better, no discrimination.

-Turkish citizens very good very good. Because of my status, they are very good.

-depending on your economic status, if you are economically balanced you witness less racism.

Another inference from the research is that AGEC can legitimize or have more optimistic view about the majority because of having good economy and positive social identity in contrast with APEC. Even though APEC has experienced negative experiences by the majority /out group (Turkish citizens) they have both negative and positive expressions and feel that they are welcomed and happy with the majority. The inference can be proved with the explanation of an AGEC below.

AGEC9 is an 28 years old African (Assistant producer) living in Mecidiyeköy in good economic condition. There is a contradiction between two expressions below. An AGEC praises the country and Turkish citizens even though he witnesses racism.

He says:

-If you can migrate, you should coming to Turkey. Welcoming for foreigners and cheaper than other countries. Quite easy to live in Turkey, welcoming black people.

-One day, in metro no one sit near me even though there is a space

Another important point is that noone sat beside him probably because he is a black guy and Turkish people might have thought that he would be dirty or would smell, that's why they did not want to be close to him physically.

Another example can be seen in the following expressions by AGE11:

Turkey is a very good country. Turkey has the best medical treatment in the world. Implant, surgery, teeth... turkey is historical place, there is freedom thanks to Atatürk. Life is in Turkey is very cheap compared to europe. I love Turkey so much. I have signature of Atatürk on my hand.

There is no human right. As a foreigner when a police stops you even if you have residence permit, if you go to prison in Turkey, no human right. There is no human right for Africans general.

AGE11 tries to tell that there is no human right for Africans in the world including Turkey. On the other hand, he mentions beauties of Turkey and its good conditions.

To sum up, there are three interpretations: the first one is that AGE11 try to legitimize the reality which is negative for their social identity or secondly choose to look at the situation through rose-tinted glasses just because of having good economic condition. Lastly, AGE11, has already positive social identity because of economic condition, prefers to stay in the group even if experiencing negative situations by the majority in order to keep their economic assurance. Thus, it can be deduced that economic condition outweighs one's cultural norms and values. Since, AGE11 prefers to conform 'other's' cultural norms and values. To sum up, for the sake of social identity, he sacrifices his own self identity/

predetermined identity. Social identity outweighs self identity for the group members. (In this sense, self identity comprises one's race, culture, language etc.)

- % 91 of APEC claim that they get less salary than Turkish citizens. About 66 % think they get paid less because of their race, and about 16% attribute this to their economic situation.

- %33 of AGEK claim that they get less salary than Turkish citizens, and about 31% attribute the reason to race.

One significant outcome here is economically weak group feels racial discrimination more than Africans in economically good condition.

- Majority of TITA claim that they get less salary by Turkish citizens/ employers because of their economic condition.

During the interviews, it is observed that both groups regardless of their economic condition have a common idea: 'They do not get the salary they deserve, and not happy with their earn'.

- Majority of TITA claim that they may get more salary than Africans. They attribute this to the factors mainly such as:
 - Africans are foreigner in this country
 - There is language and citizenship barrier
 - Africans are in bad economic condition and Turkish employers see them as Africans need to do this job and need to accept the money

- Turkish employers want to have cheap labor and gain more.
- According to findings, majority of TITA do not want to continue living in Turkey .
- About 66% of AGEK are pleasant for living in Turkey, and rest of them wants to live in their homeland. About 41% of APEC are pleasant for living in Turkey. About %33 wants to live in their homeland, and about %25 want to live in another country.

In the entire interview data, four major themes come up.

THEME I: Host-Guest Relationship- Hierarchy relationship

According to the findings, it is clear that there is a strong ‘them and us’ relationship between Turkish citizens and Africans. Both Turkish citizens and Africans strongly identify themselves with their ‘own’ citizenship and race by usually say that ‘we are..., we and them, we are like this, they are like that..’. By this discourse, both race dissociate and differentiate themselves from each other by showing more positive tendency to their own race and citizen. In SIT, "the aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986,p284). This moderate tendency to their ‘own group’ mostly arise in respect to cultural aspects. Both African and Turkish groups focus on differences with one and another. This difference mostly focuses on ‘negative’ aspects of the other race. While Africans in good economic condition (AGEK) mainly focus on difference in mentality and language, Africans in poor economic condition (APEC) focus on difference in color, race and culture. There are some examples from the participants. When the question ‘*In what way you are different from a Turkish citizen / an African?*’ was asked to Africans, most of AGEK answers this as follows:

AGEK1:

I know many languages. I've lived in many countries. I have a lot of experience.

AGEK3:

Thoughts are different.

AGEC6:

I am patient. Turks want things to happen immediately. They are quick-witted.

On the other hand, most of APEC answers this as follows:

APEC1:

Apart from color there is also culture.

APEC8:

different in color

APEC9:

Physically/ Cultrally

APEC10:

If we are working in the same job they earn more than me

APEC12:

Many ways; they see you as blacks and they see white themselves, we are not together.

Thus, APEC much feel the differentiation of their race and color in Turkish society. Both groups of Turkish citizens focus on difference in race and culture. Africans touch upon Turkish citizens' negative aspects in terms of being 'different'. Similarly, Turkish citizens address to have 'better' race and cultural values than Africans' have.

On the other hand, Africans in poor economic condition identify themselves with being 'an African and migrant' in Turkish society, Africans in good economic condition see themselves as 'foreigner'. APEC mostly claims that they are made to feel that they are African, black, and migrant. This arises from economic difference of the same race. It can

be assumed that if an African has good economic condition, s/he is welcomed just as a 'foreigner', whereas an African in poor economic condition is perceived as a 'black, and African, or migrant' as if s/he were in a lower status.

Additionally, even though some Turkish citizens claim that they welcome Africans in the country, they mostly have attitude as a 'land owner' against Africans. They expect Africans to live as a 'guest' in 'their own' country. Some of Turkish citizens claim that they are disturbed by relax manners of Africans.

Finally, discourse of Turkish citizens about Africans is worth to pay attention. The expressions like 'it is human, too, after all it is human like us, nigger, black, miserable' reveal the idea of dominance and hierarchal position of Turkish citizens' group over Africans.

TITA7:

After all, they are beings, humans, just like us.

With the explanation of Turkish citizen above, treating Africans' presence in the country with the notion of 'eventually they are human too' may reflect Turkish citizens' assertion of superiority rather than genuine inclusivity, emphasising a hierarchal dynamic between insiders and outsiders.

TITA:

All foreigners come to Turkey and move very comfortably. We are not like that abroad. They act like it's their hometown.

This opinion by Turkish citizen reflects that he complains about 'easy' manners of Africans in his 'own country' as a host. The questions arouse for his last sentence '*They act like it's their hometown*': Why does he not feel at ease with this situation? What would happen Africans act as if 'Turkey is their homeland?' The answer for the latter may be as the following explanation of TUPEC7 ; '*we will send them back to their country*'.

TITA7:

They have to respect our spiritual values, our worship, our mosques and cemevi. Our Mustafa Kemal is our only truth. If they don't respect us, we will send them back to their country.

APEC9:

In Turkey, there is social distance. I cannot go another Turkish neighbour's door. You come as a foreigner. If you do this, people get angry.

Here APEC9 tries to explain that there is a social gap between foreigners and Turkish citizens. Still integration has not been achieved. Not to get reaction, he prefers not to visit his neighbour. There are more examples supporting this opinion of African. Most of Africans claim that they have no relationship with their neighbours, or they are treated in a negative way by the neighbours. Even one of TITA who is a real estate agent says that she has difficulty in renting house Africans, for Turkish neighbours, especially the ones who have family life, do not want to become neighbours with Africans.

TITA9:

They don't want Africans when it's a family apartment. We are having a hard time giving them a house to rent.

In this sense, concerning the previous data obtained by interviews, Turkish citizens may think that Africans are dirty, noisemaker, or different life styles, and that is why they avoid being neighbours to Africans.

THEME II: Reciprocal Othering

Conditional acceptance-Conformity

Africans generally feel that they must accodomate themselves to Turkish culture and norms. Behaving and dressing like a Turkish citizen seems to be only solution to get acceptance by Turkish citizens. According to findings, mostly APEC feels that they have

to accept Turkish cultural norms and feel that they have to do something more so that Turkish citizens accept them. If they do not apply these norms, they think that they will be marginalized or otherized by the citizens. Besides this, Turkish citizens claim that Africans must accept their rules and norms if Africans want to be accepted by themselves. Since, they have the idea that the right one is their own cultural and social rules as a dominant group. As a result of this, APEC is more subject to conform Turkish culture and social conventions on the contrary to AGEK. Because mostly Africans in good economic condition do not have the feeling of such obligation, or they willingly choose to learn Turkish culture or norms. At this point, it seems possible to have an inference that economic condition contributes self-esteem. This also serves for both personal identity and social identity. Conversely, APEC feel insecure and anxious in Turkish society because of their poor economic condition and *illegal* condition, for it is obtained that some of APEC has no identity card or residence permit. But every AGEK has an ID card and residence permit. To not to be deported and not to have trouble in the society, they choose to conform the dominant group's cultural and social conventions.

As a final outcome of the findings, it seems more relevant to look at the conditions of Africans under neo-racism in post-modern world we live in. Basically, it is possible to claim that in neo-racism, individuals are regarded as their social identity rather than their personal/pre-determined identity including skin color or race. The truth of the matter is that it is called as 'racism without race' (Balibar, 1991, p21). The important factor is not a superiority of a race like in 'classical' racism. Unlike biological differences of human races, it pays attention to the individuals' cultural, social, and traditional differences also mentioned as 'differentialist racism'. (Balibar, 1991, p21-22). In this respect, conditions of Africans living in Turkey are regarded as the group of 'outsider' in Turkish society under neo-racism. It is observed that during the interviews, most Turkish citizens (majority group) focus on 'cultural' and 'traditional' differences of Africans (minority group). Besides expressing of race, being black of Africans, Turkish citizens mostly complain about Africans' cultural differences such as food culture, eating style, dressing style, personal hygiene & environmental cleaning or speech.

"In the neo-colonial center, individuals who resemble the insider are included and welcomed, while those who are different" and unable to adopt the social and cultural traits of the insider, such as language, manners, and customs, are shunned by the mainstream "white" society. This is in contrast to traditional racism, which is based on the myth of racial superiority." (Bağlama, 2018)

APEC2:

Because they are Muslim. Something you have to behave like them in terms of wearing.

African participant expresses that she feels to act or dress like a Muslim. Maybe she has witnessed glances for her clothing or negative experiences for her attitudes by Turkish citizens who are mostly Muslim.

APEC1:

They react you to you have to react in the same way.

Here African implies that Turkish citizens expect Africans to behave like themselves. This means that Africans should adopt Turkish cultural and social norms. For African, this seems to be an obligation rather than just an expectation or advice.

AGEC6 says that he is exposed to warning and glances by Turkish citizens in mosque because of the fact that he does not wear sock in mosque in summers. Thus, he wears socks in summer unwillingly.

Wearing socks in the mosque can be interesting. It can be difficult during summer days.

Why do Turkish citizens warn African for wearing socks? Whould they warn Turkish citizens in the same case? Turkish citizens may do it because of thinking about Africans' feet as dirty, and this can be the reason of their skin color that is unfamiliar for them.

AGEC4:

I have to behave like Muslim.

APEC10:

*When you act like them, they feel more sympathy to you when you act like a Turk.
For example, supporting a Turkish team.*

On the other hand, most Turkish citizens expect Africans to behave like themselves according to their culture, customs, and social conventions.

TITA1:

We want them to behave the way we behave.

TUPEC3:

The way they eat is different. Let them change it. They eat rice with their hands.

TITA7:

*They have to respect our spiritual values, our worship, our mosques and cemevi.
Our Mustafa Kemal is our only truth. If they don't respect us, we will send them back to
their country by holding their ears.*

TITA10:

It's about cleaning. Let them be clean like the Turks.

Also, during the interviews, most Turkish citizens answers the question *What happen if they (Africans) do not apply these norms?* as:

TITA1:

They kill the humanity within us.

TITA11:

They (Turkish citizens) put pressure on the men (Africans).

TITA9:

They will be excluded.

TITA:

They are isolated from society. They are pushed aside. It goes to violence.

TITA7:

We send them to their country by holding their ears. As a nation, our spiritual values come first.

TITA4:

Let them send it to their homeland, Africa

To sum up, Turkish citizens claim that they do not see superior themselves or their race than Africans, yet their discourse and expectation about Africans living in Turkish society are contradictory. The perception of Turkish citizens against Africans incline to have a negative sense, especially in terms of cultural norms in social life. Even though most of Turkish citizens have not experienced a negative event by Africans, their attitude and discourse have negative sense. The words used by Turkish citizens toward African citizens, at the respect of cultural and social values, imply that Turkish citizens put African citizens in the position of ‘outsider’.

Findings show that even though Turkish citizens clearly say that they respect Africans’ own identity and existence in Turkish culture, they expect Africans to behave like ‘themselves’ like Turkish citizens. It is certain that the more Africans adapt Turkish cultural norms and daily life behaviours, the more they will be accepted by Turkish citizens. In SIT, this is an indicator of dominance/superiority of in-group members on out-group, and out-group becomes ‘victim’ by shadowing its own cultural norms and customs,

for out-group is conscious of they are accepted as long as they obey the dominant group's norms.

Another inference is that Turkish citizens support their ideas about Africans by saying 'we, we Turks... etc.' in case of 'positive' expressions about Africans. Yet, they bring up the society instead of 'we', we Turks, as if they wouldn't do it themselves. They mostly dedicate it to third parties when there are negative statements about Africans. For example, when the question '*do you think that there is othering, discrimination for Africans by Turkish citizens*' is asked to Turkish citizens, in general, they claim 'I don't do it but there are people who do it'. This is an example of blaming others of Turkish citizens. They do not accept their own hidden racism. To keep their commitment to the group, they dissociate themselves from the ones who do or say things unacceptable by the society.

Another question 'what are the differences between Turkish citizens and Africans' is asked, they use the expressions begin with we Turks, our culture, we want to... etc. This shows that group members (Turkish citizens) inscribe negative ideas such as racism, othering or exclusion of Africans by Turkish citizens to third parties, other people as if such people are not from their group in order to keep the group identity positively. Moreover, to protect their personal identity, they say 'I do not do it, I am not racist but there are people who do it, it changes from person to person'. They ascribe the things that are generally perceived as inhumanitarian to other individuals. This is an outcome of *group-favoritism* that allows group members associate and evaluate themselves 'better' from the other group.

APEC7:

We say that they (Turkish people) are terrorist. I do not know whether this reflects reality or not.

APEC1:

We always see them as racist. This reflects reality.

This is an example of polarization between Africans and Turkish citizens. With the group identity, they support their ideas as consensus. In this first quotation of APEC, he claims his idea by ascribing to whole group even though he is not sure about the truth of his saying.

APEC11:

We have difficulty here because many people reject to kimlik. They want 4000 dolar. They postpone people. For my kimlik I paid 400 dolar for 10 months. You do not read policy. They do not give the policy to you. They just say money is this. Turkish officers not access you to explain yourselves. I do not know Turkish and I try to translate with my phone in Aksaray. They say No, No, No! Because of my color.

The explanation above shows how an African has difficulty in public agencies for his identity card issue. He complains about careless attitude of the authorities. He claims that officers do not enable them to get the policy and have idea about the rules and regulations. They just care about the money, he says. For him, they do it because he is black guy.

The same person has another complaints about officers in public hospital and police officers.

I had problem with my hand, they (nurses) just passed although I said I need help. Although my hand and head is paining, I tried to use my phone to show translate, they just passed. Then I went to hospital in Meydan. (Private hospital) I met someone to speak English. I paid 800 TL to see doctor. They do not allow me because I had 500 TL. Then I went to pharmacy and took bills. I go to private hospital because state hospital they do not care.

The first explanation shows that he has faced with careless attitude of nurses toward himself in a public hospital. Even though he tries to explain his problem, he says that

nurses do not care of him. Because of this, he prefers to go to private hospital. At this point, again the questions arouse: *‘Why do nurses in public hospital not take care of him? Instead, does he prefer to go to private hospital because he knows that they care about him for money?’*

He split my friend’s arm. Abi what is this? said my friend. He told when you are in your own country this will happen to you! If we go to police, they not consider us. They support the Turkish man so we left.

The similar experience of the African guy implies that he does not go to the police office due to the fact that he does not rely on police officers. Since, he thinks that they support Turkish citizens, not Africans in any case when there is an issue between Turkish citizens and Africans.

They conditionally rent house us. The first one is that they give houses on the ground or they give the last floor up because there is no lift in so many houses in Aksaray.

The last experience shows that Turkish householders rent their houses to Africans in two ways. They rent the apartment on the ground that is generally not preferred by the citizens because it can be cold in winter. The second one is that they rent the apartment on the last floor that is also not preferred by the citizens due to absence of elevators. Citizens do not want to climb up stairs too high. This is exhausting and again can be cold in winter because being close to rooftop. The renting condition may be result of the belief that Africans after all have to rent these apartments because they are needy.

Findings reveal the reciprocal othering of two groups with one another. Economic condition and skin color are prominent factors affecting social condition of Africans in Turkish society. Yet most of Africans think that they get more respect by Turkish citizens as long as their economic condition is good and they become wealthy. The important point is that economic condition is the main criteria for Africans to live in peace and socially integrated with Turkish citizens.

THEME III: Effect of Economic Condition on Integration

According to findings, APEC thinks that they get less salary than Turkish citizens because of their race and economic condition, and they are more subject to humiliation by Turkish citizens because of their economic condition. Also, APEC face with discrimination by Turkish citizens whereas AGEK have mostly problem with housing and renting. This shows that if an African citizen has good economic condition, s/he is not subject to discrimination explicitly, but s/he encounters with housing problem because of their race. Some of Africans in good economic condition claim that they are refused by landlords because of being 'an African', but later Turkish citizens accept them after learning their good economic condition. This can be a clear example for money solves everything. It even defeats racism.

On the other hand, according to findings, the group which is economically weak incline to integrate more and make an effort to integrate with Turkish citizens. Africans in good economic condition claim that they easily integrate with Turkish citizens as long as their economy is getting better.

As a result of findings, it is clear that cultural aspects and economic conditions surpass race in social integration, and exploitation in social life arise from economic conditions. If an African accepts Turkish culture and social conventions, behaving 'like a Turkish citizen', s/he is more easily accepted by Turkish citizen regardless of their race. Yet, in business world Africans in poor economic condition are more subject to being abused by Turkish citizens related with their race, color and poor economic condition, and feel the race difference more. AGEK is accepted by the majority group regardless of their 'personal' identity including race, belief, customs as long as their economic condition is good and have high quality for job.

Theme IV: Precariousness

Effect of Economy on Social Identity of Africans and Turkish Citizens

As a result of findings, Turkish citizens generally do not identify themselves with a 'social identity' comprising being a Turkish, a member of Turkish citizenship when the issue comes to living standards of Turkey. Financial difficulties estrange them from the feeling of 'being a citizen' or 'being a Turk' on the contrary to the subject of Africans living in Turkey. When the question *'Do you see yourself as a migrant / refugee, an African, a foreigner, a Turkish citizen, an African migrant / refugee, or just a person named Ayşe/ Ali in Turkey? Which one? If none, explain'* is asked to Turkish citizens, and about 54% answer as generally 'foreigner, refugee, a person named Ali/Ayşe, stranger and unhappy'

Additionally, Turkish citizens regardless of economic condition claim that they have no purpose in Turkey or their purpose as following:

-escape abroad

-I have no purpose, I live like a grass

- to live without needing anyone

- to provide for my family and children comfortably

- Survive

-struggle

-To get through today, I live only for today. If I don't die today, I can eat my fill and move on to the next day.

-Being rich

-Going out of Turkey abroad

-working, making a living, bringing home bread, living with my family

-I have no purpose. It's not just me, I think a Turkish youth has no purpose anymore due to the economic situation.

-I want to create a good future for my children after I have my old economic situation.

-Harmless, getting along with my family

-I have to work because work is difficult. I can't see myself anywhere

Africans living in Turkey generally answers the same question as:

-To import to country Turkey

-To work and study

-To visit, graduate

-To work and care of my family

-To make money

-To improve myself

-To get experience

-To do business

Africans in good economic condition are more hopeful about their future in Turkey on the contrary to APEC and Turkish citizens in general. TITA are less hopeful and in general do not want to live in Turkey. They claim that they want to live in another country. Even a TITA (doctor) claims that he resigned from the government institution to find his respect, and he started working as a doctor in the private sector. Additionally, Turkish citizens and Africans claim that they get more respect from the society and arrange everything easily in the country as long as their economic condition becomes better.

TITA7:

If there is money, anything can happen in Turkey. In Turkey, they don't look at what kind of person you are. Being Arab or someone else does not matter. If you have money you can solve everything. If you have money, everywhere is heaven. It doesn't matter which university you study at or where you are an associate professor. If you have money, you are a man in this country. Everyone buttons their jacket in front of you if you have money. They applaud your every word.

According to the results, it seems that group members have more feeling of 'citizenship' and desire to live in their homeland as long as their economic condition is good. Economic conditions not only affect the social identity of group members but also change their actions in the society. Their social identity comprising 'feeling of being a citizen', 'belonging to a race', 'feeling of nationhood' is determined and affected by economic conditions.

On the other hand, the concept of "precariousness" becomes relevant for Turkish individuals as a result of the findings. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, "precariousness" denotes the possibility of anything failing or becoming worse, as well as the state of not being held firmly or in a safe position. Turkish citizens, in general, do not feel safe and have no purpose except for surviving. When the issue becomes 'foreigners' 'migrants' or 'refugees', their social identity is reborn as nationalist Turkish citizens by claiming that they are owners of this country and the ones who protect the country. Yet, they do not have the same enthusiasm when the issue becomes economy and living conditions in Turkey. It is possible to put forward that Turkish citizens' social identity has been deprived by economic problems, and their social existence in the country seems to depend on the threat of their 'nationalistic' feeling. Their lifeline is their homeland, territories and feeling of nationhood to stay and live in the country. Otherwise, they have the desire of leaving the country and to live in better conditions.

The last interpretation; it seems that there is an inter-group conflict in Turkish citizens. Turkish citizens use the words for their own citizens as 'swindler, trickster, deceiver, depraved'. The reason of this conflict seems to arise from economic condition in

the country. Most of Turkish citizens claim that they are abused and not respected by the citizens because of their economic condition. Also they think that they are seen as second class person in their own country because of Arabs seen as rich and wealthy in the country. At this point, it seems that economy beats over citizenship again. Economic conditions also have a strong impact on in-group members. It seems that economic condition is the main factor that provide sense of tranquility, peace, belonging and security in th society.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Turkey's wave of immigrants in the last 20 years has caused not only social but also economic changes within the country. Especially with the Arab Spring, Türkiye became one of the countries receiving the most immigration. Apart from this, Turkey's new foreign relations policy, commercial, social, economic and cultural-political interactions with Africa have directed many Africans to Turkey. In addition to Turkey's relations with Africa, political and economic tensions on the continent should not be ignored. According to the information obtained from academic studies conducted so far, some Africans see Turkey as a transit country on the way to Europe, while others see it as an opportunity to live in better conditions. Turkish people's perspective on foreigners on social media and in street interviews is quite variable. While some, as hosts, regard foreigners as guests, some attribute their economic and social difficulties to foreigners. Most of the studies conducted were put forward using interviews with Africans. However, this thesis aimed to obtain the feelings, thoughts and wishes of both nations by interviewing both Africans and Turkish citizens. Two important factors affecting the purpose of life are identity and economy. It was noticed in the interviews that the most basic need of humans is belonging and financial anxiety. An individual's need to belong to a group and their desire for economic relief are the two most important identity issues. For this reason, it has been wondered whether skin color, culture, belief or economic status are among the most important factors affecting the existence of both races (Africans and Turkish citizens) in society. The self-perception of two different races in society was examined. As if that were not enough, how these two races are perceived by each other (social identity) has also been analyzed. According to the

findings, it was seen that the best way to research this was to associate it with social identity theory.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, social psychologists, in 1970's. The theory points out the importance of social groups in individuals' lives. Groups are everywhere, and it is almost impossible to be away from being a group member in life. Being a member of a group provides self-esteem and fulfills the feeling of belonging, acceptance and unity. Being a Turkish citizen, being an African, being a foreigner in majority has effects on identity of individuals. For the study, it is put forward that being in good economic condition comes to first rather than belonging a specific race, culture, or belief. Economic condition is the main determinant contributes to social identity of both Africans and Turkish citizens. Race, culture, and belief are other subsequents. The results of the study can be explained as:

- To be accepted by the 'other group' /Turkish citizens, it is necessary to conform their culture and social conventions.

- The more an African behave like a Turkish citizen, the more s/he is accepted and welcomed by the superior group / dominant group according to social identity theory

- There is a conditional acceptance of an African in Turkish society reation to how s/he adopt the superior group's norms rather than being accepted for just as a 'human being'

- If an African has good economic condition, s/he gets better and easily integrate with Turkish citizens. On the contrary, African in poor economic condtion must make more effort to be accepted by Turkish citizens.

- Africans are mostly perceived as subordinate group by Turkish citizens, while Africans see Turkish citizens as a superior group that affects their social identity in the society.

- Africans begin to change according to Turkish citizens' values rather than keeping their own selfhood and values.

Finally, a reflexive conclusion of this my research with a quotation in 'The Lower Depths' by Maxim Gorky:

"While many acquire it with ease, few actually give it up with ease. Work? Make work enjoyable, and perhaps I'll work as well. Sure, perhaps. When life is enjoyable, work is too. Life is a drag when it's labor."Maksim Gorki

Let's hope we live in a world of joy without worrying about bringing home bread.

4.1. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

4.1.1. Limitations

There is no exact data on how many Africans live in Turkey. The provincial migration administration last prepared its annual migration report in 2016. Additionally, the shared data mostly covers Syrian citizens. This makes it difficult to know the ration and impact of the population of Africans living in Turkey to the Turkish population. It is possible to make a comment about Africans only based on the information obtained from previous academic studies and online news sites. This undermines reliability.

I also witnessed during interviews that some Africans were afraid. In fact, as soon as I said hello, an African man picked up the watch counter and started running away, taking shelter inside a shop. Some Africans were suspicious of me being a police officer and did not want to talk. During the interview, an African asked me if I would report him to the police because he was a fugitive. After a short conversation, I gained his trust and he continued the interview with me. It wasn't just Africans who felt fear. Turkish employers also got nervous when they heard that I wanted to interview their African employees and did not allow it. Because many of them employed illegal Africans and Africans did not have work or residence permits. In any case, African employees seemed to have only security from their bosses. They didn't even talk to me without asking them.

On the other hand, most of the interview participants are men. There were not many female participants around, and those who were did not agree to be interviewed. A few of the African women who accepted stood me up. Apparently they did not come to the interview on the agreed day and time. An African woman asked me how much money I would pay for an interview, and I declined.

The sample size of the study may restrict how broadly the conclusions and insights may be applied. Participation for the study is numerically limited. Only thirty-six participants provided data for the study in total, and the study was mostly based on participants in Esenyurt, Istanbul. Turkey consists of 81 provinces and includes people living in different geographies with many cultures and traditions. Therefore, the study

addressed the restricted area and the citizens living in that area. In order to capture a wider range of viewpoints and experiences among African migrants and Turkish stakeholders, future research should strive for larger and more diverse samples. Furthermore, the study's narrow focus on a particular time period would limit its application to changing dynamics of integration and migration. Longitudinal methods may be used in future studies to monitor the experiences of migrants over time and evaluate variations in integration results.

4.1.2. Recommendations for Future Research

To investigate the long-term paths and results of African migrants in Turkey, such as identity development, cultural adaption, and socioeconomic integration, longitudinal research should be carried out. In order to find similar issues, best practices, and policy implications for migration and integration, it is actually helpful to compare the experiences of African migrants in Turkey with those of migrants in other destination nations. Additionally, it would have been better to use intersectional methodologies to investigate how the experiences and results of African migrants in Turkey are shaped by the intersections of socioeconomic status with variables including gender, age, ethnicity, and legal status. Also, it will be important for analysis of the findings under post-Marxist theory. Economy and identity issue are fundamental and inevitable in human life. Undoubtedly, it would be worthy of note to take into account the subjects from post-Marxist perspective in the following studies.

After all, in order to further clarify the current scenario, it would be intriguing to conduct thorough policy analysis and evaluation studies to assess the efficacy of Turkey's current migration and integration strategies. Also, to determine areas of strength, weakness, and need for development in order to guide evidence-based policy proposals and advocacy campaigns. Lastly, the use of social network analysis to investigate the facilitating roles of

community organizations, support networks, and social Networks would provide more informations.

In conclusion, it is better to obtain the number of Africans living Turkey and their status as ‘documented or ‘undocumented’ regularly. On the other hand, Africans’ working conditions, work safety and salary in company with Turkish employers’ official documents concerning employing foreign workers should be regularly monitored by the authorized persons of the state.



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Appendix 1: Interview information Page

The author asked you to take part in this research project and it is critical that you comprehend the main reasons of the study to be undertaken and what it will entail before deciding if you are going to participate or not. You can pass thoroughly by reading the following information and discuss it with your friends if you want. Also you can get in touch with us in case you have anything to ask or add. Thanks for your time and cooperation.

1. What is the goal of this investigation?

This is part of a master's degree being pursued by researcher Büşra Tosun, who is now enrolled in the African Studies department at Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Universitesi. The primary aim of the research is to derive a definitive conclusion regarding the integration status of Africans in Turkish society through an analysis of their identity and economic presence. If integration is occurring, the goal is to ascertain whether it is beneficial or negative, and if it is negative, the primary cause is either the citizens' other values or their economic circumstances. Thus far, research has primarily focused on the perspective of African living in Turkey.

2. Purpose of this semi-structured interview?

The purpose of the semi-structured interview is to enable communication between the participant and the researcher. The following major themes will serve as the framework for the Discussion:

First and foremost, the interview aims to comprehend the viewpoints and experiences of two different African communities living in Turkey. In particular, it will investigate the ways in which economic circumstances impact these African populations' assimilation into Turkish society.

Second, depending on their economic status, each African group will have different chances and difficulties discussed. Examining the socioeconomic elements that influence their contacts with Turkish nationals and their sense of overall belonging in the host nation is part of this.

Thirdly, the interview will examine the coping methods and adaption tactics African Americans use to deal with societal hurdles and economic inequality. This will highlight these communities' agency and resiliency in managing the process of integration. Finally, the discussion will delve into possible governmental initiatives and interventions targeted at resolving the economic disparities influencing the integration experiences of African immigrants in Turkey. With the guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality, participants are invited to freely express their opinions. For transcription needs, the conversation will be recorded, but measures will be taken to ensure responders' privacy.

3. Justifications for your participation

The author is interested in having you participate in this research because you are relevant to the goals of the study. Your perspectives, as persons speaking for African groups in Turkey, are extremely helpful in comprehending the complex dynamics of integration across various socioeconomic circumstances. Your insights will help expand

this field's understanding and guide future initiatives to support inclusive integration policies.

4. Is it necessary for me to participate?

Since the author recognizes how delicate this topic is for a variety of reasons, you have complete discretion over whether or not to participate in this research. You will be given a consent form to keep and will be needed to sign if you participate. Furthermore, you have the right to cancel your participation at any moment for any explanation.

5. Outcome of the interview

The researcher is going to use the results for their Master's thesis. It's possible that the findings will be published as articles in academic publications or on websites. Recitations or quotes from your responses will be included in the aforementioned reports; but none of the respondents will be identified by their real names or identities because the recitations will be represented by a pseudonym that each participant will choose during the interview to remain unknown.

6. For further information, who should you contact?

If you have any questions concerning the study, you may contact Büşra TOSUN through phone at +90 544 569 1711 (same number is on Whatsapp), directly send a message on her Facebook account Büşra Tosun, or email at b.tosunn1996@gmail.com

7. Who has looked over this study?

Doç Dr Mürsel Bayram, the research supervisor, has reviewed this study.

8. Time and Place for the Interview

Following your confirmation of participation, the researcher will contact you via Whatsapp to propose interview dates and times; you will be free to choose a date that fits your schedule. Furthermore, the interview address will be determined between the

researcher and each participant via a video chat via Whatsapp or a web videoconference. The suitability of each respondent shall be recognized.

9. Confirmation and Compensation for Participation

If you opt to take part in the study, you will send an SMS on Whatsapp to the researcher confirming your participation. As proof of receipt, each participant will sign a document.

Büşra TOSUN

Ankara, Turkey

Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi, African Studies

Appendix 2: Consent form for study involvement

Name of the Project: *A COMPARISON OF TWO AFRICAN GROUPS IN
TURKEY: HOW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECT THE
INTEGRATION OF AFRICANS IN TURKISH SOCIETY?*

RESEARCH VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION FORM

*This study is based on A COMPARISON OF TWO AFRICAN GROUPS IN
TURKEY: HOW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECT THE INTEGRATION
OF AFRICANS IN TURKISH SOCIETY?*

*TÜRKİYE’DEKİ İKİ AFRİKALI GRUBUN MUKAYESESİ: EKONOMİK
DURUM TÜRK TOPLUMUNDA AFRİKALILAR’IN ENTEGRASYONUNU
NASIL ETKİLER?*

*It is a research study titled scientific research (Master's thesis) The study is
carried out by Ankara Social Sciences University, Institute of Area Studies,
African Studies English Thesis Master's student Büşra Tosun, and the thesis*

will be revealed with its results / It will shed light on the development of science .

- *Your participation in this study is on a voluntary basis. In line with the purpose of the study, data will be collected from you by conducting an interview. You do not have to write your name or give any information that will reveal your identity / the names of the participants in the research will be kept confidential.*
- *The data collected within the scope of the research will only be used for scientific purposes, they will not be used outside the purpose of the research or in any other research, and if necessary, they will not be shared with others without your (written) consent.*
- *You have the right to examine the data collected from you if you wish.*
- *The data collected from you will be protected by digital archiving method and will be archived or destroyed at the end of the research.*
- *There will be no questions/requests that may disturb you during the data collection process(s). However, if you feel uncomfortable for any reason during your participation, you will be able to leave the study at any time. If you leave the study, the data collected from you will be removed from the study and destroyed.*

Thank you for taking the time to read and evaluate the volunteer participation form. To ask your questions about the study, you can communicate with Assoc.

Dr. Mürsel Bayram (mursel.bayram@asbu.edu.tr) (mail/tel).

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I consent to the use of the information I have provided for scientific purposes, knowing that I can withdraw from the study entirely of my own free will, if I wish.

(Please give this form to the data collector after completing and signing it.)

Participant Name and Surname: Signature:

Date:



