T.R.

ANTALYA BILIM UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION

THESIS PROGRAM OF GLOBAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY BY GERMAN MPs OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN BUNDESTAG

DISSERTATION

PREPARED BY

GEYLANI YILMAZ

ANTALYA - 2021

T.R.

ANTALYA BILIM UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION

THESIS PROGRAM OF GLOBAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY BY GERMAN MPs OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN BUNDESTAG

DISSERTATION

PREPARED BY

GEYLANI YILMAZ

THESIS SUPERVISOR

DR. NERMIN AYDEMIR ÇAVUŞ

ANTALYA - 2021

APPROVAL/NOTIFICATION FORM

ANTALYA BILIM UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF POST-GRADUATE EDUCATION

GEYLANI YILMAZ, a master student of Antalya Bilim University, Institute of Post Graduate Education, Global Politics and International Relations with student ID 171105002, successfully defended the thesis/dissertation entitled "REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY BY GERMAN MPs OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN BUNDESTAG", which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Academic Title, Name-Surname, Signature

Jury Member (Chairman) : Prof. Dr. H. Tarık OĞUZLU

Jury Member : Dr. Nermin AYDEMİR ÇAVUŞ

Jury Member : Dr. Yavuz Selim Alkan

Thesis Submission Date : 9 February 2021

Thesis Defence Exam Date : 20 January 2021

Director of The Institute : Prof. Dr. İbrahim Sani MERT

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

As a student of the Thesis Program of Global Politics and International Relations at Antalya Bilim University, I have completed this dissertation which involves research on politics under transnational circumstances. Literature review and studies related to this field have been scrutinised meticulously.

I am sincerely grateful to my Thesis Supervisor Assistant Professor Nermin AYDEMİR ÇAVUŞ, who supported me and contributed a lot to this dissertation. Her ideas and opinions, which guided me and directed the course of this thesis, are of great importance. I want to express my gratefulness to Professor Doctor H. Tarik OĞUZLU, who encouraged me before and during the thesis period. His thoughts and lessons shaped my ideas and the way of reading and understanding Global Politics and International Relations.

Although sharing a short but essential time during my lessons with Professor Doctor Mesut UYAR, Associate Professor Işıl Cerem CENKER ÖZEK, Assistant Professor Didem ÇAKMAKLI İŞLER and Assistant Professor Dicle KORKMAZ, I am thankful for their lessons and contributions, which I appreciate a lot.

The most significant part of my gratefulness receives my lovely family to whom I owe a lot. I must admit that I could neither start nor complete this process without their support. Their presence has always encouraged me.

I attribute this study to all Turkish ‘Gastarbeiter’, who set off to a country without knowing its language and culture.

ÖZET

Bu tez, Alman Federal Meclisi'ndeki Türk kökenli milletvekillerinin Türkiye'yi temsil biçimlerini incelemektedir. Azınlık kökenli milletvekillerinin görev aldıkları parlamentolardaki çalışmalarını inceleyen literatür, daha ziyade bu milletvekillerinin kendileri ile benzer kökenlere sahip göçmen azınlıklarının haklarına ve özgürlüklerine katkılarını ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmada, literatürdeki örneklerden farklı olarak, vekillerin köken ülkelerini nasıl bir çerçevede ele aldıkları incelenmektedir.

Araştırmanın amacı Türkiye'nin yorumlanma biçimini anlamak ve bunların sebeplerini çeşitli etmenler doğrultusunda açıklamaktır. Bulgular, Türk kökenli milletvekillerinden gelen soru önergelerinin nitel içerik analizine dayandırılmaktadır. Bu hedefe ulaşmak için 18'inci (2013-2017) ve 19'uncu (2017-2019) yasama döneminde verilen soru önergeleri incelenmektedir.

Araştırmacı, milletvekillerinin memleketlerini temsil etme biçiminde değişkenliğe sebep olan etmenler olarak siyasi partilerin rolünü, ideolojiyi, cinsiyet kimliğini ve durumsallığı incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Mevcut literatüre göre Türk kökenli milletvekillerinin köken ülkelerine yönelik olarak pozitif ve / veya ılımlı çerçeve benimseyeceklerini varsaymıştır. Bununla birlikte, araştırma önergeleri ile yapılan içerik analizi sayesinde bu tonun sadece eleştirel olduğunu değil aynı zamanda konuya, cinsiyete ve hatta siyasi ideolojiye göre değişkenlik gösterdiği ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Azınlık, Siyasal Temsil, Ulusaşırılık, Almanya, Türkiye

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the representative patterns of the members of parliament (MPs) of Turkish origin in the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany. Unlike earlier works on substantive representation by minority MPs, this study focuses on representative patterns on the country of origin rather than the immigrant minorities settled in the new country.

The research aims to understand the framings of Turkey and to explain the reasons behind possible variances. Findings are based on a qualitative content analysis on the parliamentary work of German MPs of Turkish origin. Due to practical constraints, this research only focused on the most recent parliamentary periods. Parliamentary questions submitted during the 18th (2013-2017) and 19th (2017-2019) legislative periods are analyzed to achieve this goal.

The researcher aims to examine the role of the political party, ideology, gender identity and contingency as factors leading to variation in framings on the country of origin. It aims to understand how transnational ties shape and influence the framing and approach towards the country of origin. By departing from the available literature, it can be assumed that the MPs of Turkish origin can adopt moderate and/or positive framings towards their country of origin. However, the content analysis on parliamentary questions asked by those MPs reveals that the tone towards the country of origin is critical and varies by the content in the parliamentary question, gender, and even political ideology.

Keywords: Minority, Political Representation, Transnationalism, Germany, Turkey

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZET ..... **iii**
ABSTRACT ..... **iv**
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **v**
LIST OF FIGURES ..... **vii**
LIST OF GRAPHICS ..... **viii**
LIST OF TABLES ..... **ix**
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS ..... **x**
1. INTRODUCTION **1**
1.1. Immigrant Minorities of Turkish Origin in Germany 1
1.2. The Need for this Thesis 2
1.3. Methodological Notes 4
2. LITERATURE REVIEW **8**
2.1. Representation Patterns of MPs of Migratory Background 9
2.2. Representation under Transnational Circumstances 12
2.3. Party Ideology 14
2.4. Gender Identity 16
2.5. Temporal Aspect in the Agenda 17
2.6. Framing as a Conceptual Tool in Analyzing Parliamentary Debates 17
2.7. The German Political System and Turkish Migrants and/or Migrant Descendants in Germany 19
2.8. Political Parties and Elections in Germany 20
2.9. The German Bundestag 23
3. METHODOLOGY **26**
3.1. Data Collection 26
3.2. Data Analysis 28
3.3. Classifying the Parliamentary Documents 29
3.4. Content Analysis 31
3.5. Framing as a Conceptual Tool in Analyzing Parliamentary Debates 38
4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS **41**
4.1. Turkey as the Agenda of the German Bundestag 41

4.2. Content of the Parliamentary Questions 43
4.3. Political Aspect 50
4.4. Individual Approach 53
4.5. The Location of the Issues 57
4.6. Gender Aspect 59
4.7. Temporal Aspect 60
4.8. Observations 64
5. CONCLUSION 70
BIBLIOGRAPHY 73
APPENDIX A 83
APPENDIX B 88
APPENDIX C 96
APPENDIX D 98

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. List and Dates of Parliamentary Questions in Data Chart 29

Figure 2. Numbers of Female and Male MPs of Every PQ in Data Chart 30

Figure 3. Section of Political Party for Each PQ in Data Chart 31

Figure 4. Relevancy about Turkey for Each PQ in Data Chart 32

Figure 5. Content Codes of Each PQ in Data Chart 36

Figure 6. Codes Representing PQ's Location in the Data Chart 36

Figure 7. Codes Representing the Framing of PQs in the Data Chart 37

Figure 8. Share of Proposed PQ by Political Party 51

Figure 9. Amount of Neutral and Negative Framing Proposed by Die Linke..... 52

Figure 10. Neutral and Negative Framing Proposed by B90/ Die Grünen..... 53

Figure 11. Share of PQ by MPs Individually 54

Figure 12. Annual Share of PQ by MPs 55

Figure 13. Frequency, Amount and Framing of PQ in Temporal Aspect 62

LIST OF GRAPHICS

Graphic 1. Amount of PQ by Month and Year 42

Graphic 2. Amount and Distribution of Contents of PQs 45

Graphic 3. Framing of PQs According to Contents 47

Graphic 4. Positive, Neutral and Negative Framing of MPs Individually 56

Graphic 5. Internal and External Distribution of PQs by MPs..... 58

Graphic 6. Distribution of Gender by Framing of PQs 59

Graphic 7. Frequency of PQs by Political Party in Temporal Aspect..... 63

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. MPs of Turkish Origin in The German Bundestag During the 18th Legislative Period 24

Table 2. MPs of Turkish Origin in The German Bundestag During The 19th Legislative Period 24

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

AABF **:** Almanya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation of Alawite Communities in Germany)

AADD **:** Almanya Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (Ataturkist Thought Association in Germany)

AfD **:** Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)

AK Party **:** Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)

ATIB **:** Avrupa Türk İslam Birliği **(**Union of Turkish-Islamic Culture Assossiations in Europe)

AYTK **:** Almanya Yeni Türk Komitesi (The German New Turkish Committee)

BAMF **:** Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)

BPB **:** Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Agency for Civic Education)

B90 **:** Bündnis 90 (Alliance 90)

CDU **:** Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)

CHP **:** Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)

CSU **:** Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)

DITIB **:** Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)

EU	**:** European Union
FDP	**:** Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party)
FETO	**:** Fethullahist Terrorist Organisation
G20	**:** Group of 20
IGMG	**:** Islamische Gemeinschaft- Milli Görüş (Islamic Society- National Vision)
ISIS	: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MFA	**:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MHP	**:** Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
MNC	**:** Multinational Corporation
MP	**:** Member of Parliament
NATO	**:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	**:** Non-Governmental Organisation
PEGIDA	**:** Patrioten Europa's Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes **(**Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident)
PQ	**:** Parliamentary Question
RTÜK	**:** Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu (Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council)
SPD	**:** Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
TNC	**:** Transnational Corporation
UN	**:** United Nations

UK **:** United Kingdom

1. INTRODUCTION

Parliaments play significant roles in decision – making process in liberal-democratic countries. Representatives of minority origin are becoming more important with increasing diversity in populations in these countries. Existing studies mostly focus on how politicians of minority origin discuss issues about ethnic and/or religious minority voters. This dissertation shifts the focus more on transnational aspects and concentrates on how minority representatives frame their countries of origin. Taking the novelty of the subject area, this research carries out a descriptive method. How minority representatives frame their countries of origin is described in detail.

This chapter introduces the topic by bringing in information about the case selection, defining relevant studies and how this dissertation distinguishes from them, and giving foreknowledge about the methodology.

1.1. Immigrant Minorities of Turkish Origin in Germany

Germany, which has long been shown with its exclusionary policies, is undergoing significant changes. The country is more diverse than ever (Yalaz, 2015). In 2019, 21.2 million people had a migrant background, constituting 26.0% of Germany's population (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020). Such diversity has also been reflected in the parliamentary composition. The share of the members of parliament (MPs) of migration background in Europe, and thus, in Germany, is promising. A recently growing literature sheds light on the contributions of these MPs of minority origin –mainly substantive

contributions based on quantitative analysis – in representing constituency sharing similar ethnic and religious backgrounds with them (Ali and O' Cinneide, 2002; Aydemir and Vliegenthart, 2015; Banducci, Donovan and Karp, 2004; Bird and Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011; De La Garza, 2013; Wüst, 2016; Yalaz, 2015; Zapata-Barrero, 2016). Yet, not much has been said on how those minority MPs address their countries of origin – across a transnational context. Supportive cultural or religious rights and liberties of immigrant minorities might require addressing the country of origin.

The sovereignty of nations and citizenship is to define the lines and borders between countries and citizens. Nevertheless, boundaries between states are deeply blurred in a whole range of economic, social, cultural or even political activities beyond the limits of states in the contemporary world. There are activities consisting of regularly repeated behaviours with specific goals involving institutional and non-institutional actors linked to the country of origin (De La Garza, 2013). Dual citizens with migratory backgrounds may have the privilege to maintain their connection with their country of origin, which is also known as transnational ties. In a transnational context, with more than three million migrants of Turkish origin who are heavily connected to their countries of origin through strong economic and political ties, it is a debate to what degree and how these transnational ties influence migrants of Turkish origin. All in all, what MPs of Turkish origin say when they address Turkey in their parliamentary activities and reasons behind possible variances in such speeches deserves to be analyzed more in-depth.

1.2. The Need for this Thesis

The literature on minority representation mostly focuses on how immigrant minority representatives represent constituency who share similar backgrounds with them (Ali and O' Cinneide, 2002; Aydemir and Vliegenthart, 2015; Banducci, Donovan and Karp, 2004; Bird and Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011; De La Garza, 2013; Wüst, 2016; Yalaz, 2015; Zapata-Barrero, 2016). The relation between the MPs and their constituency is examined in these studies. Nevertheless, what these minority representatives say about

their countries of origin remains understudied. In a growing and intricate international order in the twenty-first century, in which, besides states themselves, transnational corporations (TNCs) and multinational corporations (MNCs), individual and cooperative actors and many other elements play a huge role in shaping the international order and the perception of knowledge, it is becoming more and more complicated to define the relations between the MPs of migration backgrounds and their country of origin as well as to find out to what degree and how the country of origin is represented.

Turkey and Germany have had strong economic and political ties since the foundation of both republics. The search for guest workers opened a new aspect between the two countries. After the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of Turkish guest workers migrated to Germany to start a new life. At present, companies owned by Turkish businessmen in Germany employ approximately 200 thousand people (MFA of Turkey, 2020). Besides, in 2019, 5,024,193 German tourists visited Turkey (MFA of Turkey, 2020). More than 4000 German companies are active in Turkey. Their approximate trade volume lies at $36 billion (MFA, 2020). Apart from economic reasons, the two countries are also allies in many organisations and treaties such as in the United Nations (UN) and its sub-institutions, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Group of 20 (G20).

Turkey also takes part in cultural and religious activities in Germany. Eight hundred fifty-seven mosques under the supervision of the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB) are present in Germany and 1100 imams, who are appointed by Turkey, serve in those mosques (Deutsche Welle, 2020). Although the number of the printed newspaper is decreasing, the flow of information through television, social media and most importantly internet newspaper lead to a strong connection between the Turkish guest workers and their country of origin, Turkey (Özsoy, 2014). Many other political, religious and ethnic motivated non-governmental organisations which are connected to Turkey and Turkish emigrants exist in Germany. The Federation of Alawite Communities in Europe (AABF), DITIB, the Islamic Society- National Vision (IGMG), the Ataturkist Thought Association in Germany (AADD) or the Union of Turkish-Islamic Culture Associations in Europe (ATIB) can be listed as some of many NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) in Germany (Kücükhüseyin, 2002).

Turkey and Germany had also difficult times in their bilateral relations. The migration issue after the civil war in Syria, which has turned into a humanitarian catastrophe, the so-called Armenian Genocide, the failed 2016 Coup D'Etat and the results emerging from the 2017 Referendum gave rise to huge tensions between the two partners.

In such a great amount of interaction in terms of political, financial and sociological aspect, the need for a study to enlighten and understand the MPs of Turkish origin and their framing towards their fatherland is pivotal. Being of Turkish origin and having an essential role in the German Bundestag is expected to have an affirmative impact on German-Turkish relations. However, the framings and approaches of the MPs are to be scrutinized and defined in order to verify such affirmative expectations, especially during critical junctures and important incidents such as bilateral agreements or conflicts, geopolitical and regional problems or even political incidents happening in either country.

Turkish immigrants in Germany very much strengthen the ties between Germany and Turkey on the way towards a transnational space – including political aspects. As it is mentioned above, there are a number of NGOs, institutions and foundations in Germany representing Turkey and connecting Turkish emigrants to their country of origin. Means of transnationalism such as media, cultural foundations, religious organisations and financial institutions, make it highly possible for Turkish governments to influence the lives of minorities of Turkish origin in Germany. Indeed, transnational circumstances and their influence on politicians of Turkish origin differ in many ways.

1.3. Methodological Notes

MPs in democratic countries do have the power to ask any issue through parliamentary questions which are effective tools in coalition governments in Western European countries. In states which are ruled by parliamentary regimes, the legislative

power has the capability to ask, demand, scrutinize any act of the government and even interpellate the ministers as well as the prime ministers. The government is accountable to the parliament as it knows that the parliament takes its power from the elections, the people's decisions. MPs of migrant origin in opposition parties do have the additional burden given to them by their constituency with the same cultural, religious or ethnical background. Besides, parliamentary questions are the most individual activity through which individual actors have the ability to create their own narratives. Thus, this thesis particularly focuses on MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag by looking into their parliamentary questions, including contents about Turkey.

This study aims to understand how events, occasions and issues in the bilateral relations between Turkey and Germany taking place within 2013-2017 as well as 2017-2021 legislative period shapes and influences the framing, content and approach of the Turkish-rooted parliamentarians in the German Bundestag. By looking into the parliamentary questions, this thesis differs in its goal as it aims to understand and evaluate the contents of the questions proposed by the MPs of Turkish origin and their framing towards Turkey and its policy.

Parliamentary questions (PQ) which make up the data of this thesis are looked into by taking into account the time periods so as to understand the temporal aspect and its influence on the Members of the German Bundestag. Temporal aspect aims to acquire the framing and content of each parliamentary question as well as their coherence with important events. Besides the temporal aspect, party ideology, gender, location and contents of the parliamentary questions are also thought to have an influence on the framing of the MPs of Turkish origin. In order to understand the direction, the content and the degree of representation as well as its course in the Turkey-Germany relations, this thesis, therefore, is related to parliamentary questions, directed by the members of the German Bundestag. The interpretation of the questions and their relations with some important events are important contributors to the thesis as they provide an output for the research in terms of their framing.

This thesis starts first with a theoretical framework by addressing previous studies and concepts conducted in this field. The theoretical framework contains various approaches in political representation which help classify the approaches of the

parliamentary questions. It then goes on with the aim of the study by explaining the goals which are aimed to be reached in the end. Afterwards, the methodology chapter of this thesis explains the methods of the study, data collection, evaluation of the data and how to obtain perceptions through these data. This is the most tangible part of the study as it provides parliamentary questions handed in by the MPs themselves. The methodology part explains how to carry out the research.

The thesis utilizes the framing approach in detecting how often, when and what minority origin address, mention, support or object when they refer to their countries of origin. Framing approach is elementarily used by taking the parliamentary questions as three divided groups: positive framing, negative framing and neutral framing. Framing is the interpretation and representation of contents as well as selecting some aspects and make them more salient in a communicating text, to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993). Under the framing approach, representative questions are grouped into three categories: pro-Turkey questions, anti-Turkey questions and neutral questions. Anti-Turkey refers to the restrictive, critical and accusing types of questions about political, cultural and religious issues whereas pro-Turkey encompasses a supportive framing about the politics of Turkey.

It can be clearly understood that being a representative alone does not mean being in favour of the country of origin (Aydemir and Vliegenthart, 2015; Durose et al., 2013; Garrett, 2017; Murray, 2010). Instead, it may even lead to negative approaches, accusation, or pressure. It proposes some qualitative anticipations referring to the literature review and aims to contribute a good amount of information obtained through quantitative analysis as well. Looking into the studies which claim that MPs of minority origin refrain from supporting cultural or religious identities, this research expects that the Members of Parliaments of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag may refrain from ethnic, cultural and religious issues connecting them to the country of origin. Meanwhile, as party ideologies and gender roles are likely to shape the speeches of MPs, the distribution of the questions according to the contents as well as the framing of the questions may differ in their style. Therefore, it is an exciting interpretation to what extent, in what content and shape the MPs act towards Turkey in the German Bundestag.

While researching the content of the parliamentary questions, the goal is also to classify and code the MPs according to their political party, their gender and the contents of issues. The research aims to understand and explain the MPs' behaviours and how the MPs of Turkish origin act towards their homeland. It is also asked how much coming from a Turkish migration background shapes the MPs behaviours in the parliament. In addition, factors such as political parties, gender identity or the subject matters are also researched to find out whether they make any difference in the representing behaviours of the MPs or not.

In this study, MPs of Turkish origin are scrutinized and understood by taking into account their national background and their political party. The number of questions and their contents may provide a better understanding when the aspect of political parties is included in this study. The research is supposed to show the diversity in political party's aspects after being scrutinized according to the parliamentary questions. Questions about how the political parties in the German Bundestag differ in their types of questions about Turkey provide a good comprehension of the thesis result.

Many scholars have researched politics under transnational circumstances or migratory politics itself by referring to issues such as gender, ideology, intersectionality, migration background or religion in Western Europe. But not much research has been done about MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag and their framings towards Turkey.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses the relevant literature to introduce previous studies and dissertations. It first emphasises the importance of political representation and the role of minority representation within political systems. It then explains the types of minority representation patterns such as supportive-, suppressive-, silencing-, substantive- and descriptive representation. Following these definitions, the basic concept of this thesis, 'politics under transnational circumstances' is discussed from the perspective of politicians of Turkish origin in Germany. While transnationalism is discussed as a notional concept, numbers and statistics about the presence of Turkish emigrants and institutions contribute to the research to give an analytical perspective.

The literature review also focuses on studies that researched how the difference in party ideology, the difference in gender and temporal changes could influence politicians of minority background. From this point of view, this chapter introduces the three notions; positive-, negative- and neutral framing which are used to classify the data of this thesis so as to define the framing and the tone of the MPs of Turkish origin. Thus, it is aimed, in this chapter, to put all these factors together by discussing previous studies and connect them to this thesis which focuses on MPs of Turkish origin in Germany. It also provides relevant information and numbers about the German political and electoral system in order to express the importance of the case selection. The chapter ends with a list of MPs of Turkish origin whose parliamentary questions make up the data of this research and discusses the literature review together with the case in Germany and the MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag.

2.1. Representation Patterns of MPs of Migratory Background

Migrants have been influencing and changing the social and political environment in which they live. Their common demands about social and legal rights can even lead to cooperations within political movements. Since individuals from the same social group communicate more effectively with each other, these cooperations result in representational pay-offs (Mansbridge 1999: 641). A representative candidate who is from the same background seems to shape the behaviours of migrants correspondingly. Studies have revealed that marginalised groups feel better represented by representatives of similar background which has positive effects on their electoral disposition, political efficacy and trust in political institutions (Abney and Hutcheson, 1981; Banducci et al., 2004; Barreto, 2007; Barreto et al., 2005; Bobo and Gilliam, 1990; Gay, 2001, 2002; Gilliam, 1996; Griffin and Keane, 2006; Lublin, 1997; Tate, 2003; Zingher and Farrer, 2016).

Representation in parliaments has been gaining a good amount of focus. Minority representation in the parliaments has often been scrutinized in terms of the approach of MPs towards their minority constituency. A lot of scholars have done valuable research about the characteristics of political representations and proposed various definitions. According to Pitkin (1967), representation is "the making present of something which is nevertheless not literally present". Representing something that is literally not present increases the difficulty of this definition and leads to a paradox. Dovi explains Pitkin's paradox about representation as follows:

> Notice the paradox: representation requires both being present and being not present. Pitkin traces this paradox throughout various usages of representation. Her paradoxical approach to representation focuses on whether the autonomy of both the represented and the representative is being preserved. Pitkin maintains that genuine representation requires both (Dovi, 2015).

From this point of view, the description of political representation becomes more clear if Pitkin's definition of how representation should be is taken into account. She

states that representation in parliament occurs only when MPs speak and act on behalf of their constituency (Pitkin, 1967). However, representation in the parliament does not always provide the expected, favourable practice on behalf of the constituency. Representatives may differ in their way of representation. At this point, Pitkin's notions of substantive representation and descriptive representation contribute a rather important milestone for this thesis. Substantive representation is the guarantee for differences in ideologies, thoughts, religions or principles to existing, even though no representatives are coming from those mentioned backgrounds (Pitkin, 1967). Descriptive representation, on the other hand, is the representation in the parliament in terms of the proportion of the migrants and minorities in the society. The representation exists by virtue of the number and the ratio of the MPs within the parliament (Pitkin, 1967). The origin, religion, culture and ideology of the representatives are taken as indicators of being represented in the parliament.

Another aspect of differentiating political representation was proposed by Phillips, who put forward the distinction between the politics of ideas and the politics of presence (Phillips, 1995). The politics of ideas consider accountability in relation to declared policies and programmes and sees the sex or race of the representative as a matter of relative indifference. In the politics of presence, by contrast, the gender or ethnic composition of elected assemblies becomes a legitimate matter of democratic concern (Phillips, 1995).

The distinction between the politics of ideas and politics of presence as well as the distinction between substantive representation and descriptive representation clearly point out that especially minority representation should not be taken unidimensional. These differences lead to a debate about how minorities are represented in various political systems, especially in the parliaments of European countries where the role of minority representation is becoming more and more important. Pitkin and Phillips point out the two side of the same coin. Other studies on representation also reveal that minority representatives do not always act on behalf of their constituency and may be influenced by other factors as well (Aydemir and Vliegenthart, 2015; Durose et al., 2013; Garrett, 2017; Murray, 2010). Although MPs of minority origin are expected to support their constituency, scholars have found that representatives may suppress and even silence

their cognates. Aydemir and Vliegenthart proposed three dimensions in this context; supportive-, suppressive- and silencing representation.

Supportive representation is the type of representation in which the MPs respond to the demands and interests of their constituency. The 'supportive representation frame' entails a supportive framing of rights and freedoms (Aydemir & Vliegenthart, 2015). When considered from this point of view, a Member of Parliament is expected to express his or her opinions and demands freely without any pressure and restriction. Being supportive does not always mean being contrary to the values of the state; rather, it is also about increasing the awareness of the troubles that migrants face. Suppressive representation, on the other hand, refers to the restrictive framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms (Aydemir & Vliegenthart, 2015). Under such type of representation do the MPs not fully represent their constituency. Subject matters such as ethnicity, religion or culture are either not mentioned or not highly limited. MPs who act in this manner do have fewer concerns about the problems which their constituency face. Close to suppressive representation, silencing representation is much more a type of a representation which remains mute when it comes to issues that concern migrants. MPs with attitudes of silencing representation do neither support nor object to any issue of migrants. Inspired by these notions, this study classifies the data contents as pro-Turkey, anti-Turkey and neutral. Detailed clarifications on these classifications are explained in the methodology chapter.

Many different promises and proposals are given during the electoral period either by candidates or by the parties themselves. However, not all wishes can be fulfilled by the representatives after they have been chosen. Whether the representatives do represent their constituency or not and to what degree they refer to their country of origin is shaped by many different factors, including transnational ties of the MPs of origin. To understand the approach of MPs, the content and the number of their written documents or congress speeches may give some information about the status of any representative and their position towards the minority groups.

It can be understood that being an MP does not mean that representatives of migrant origin do feel a close connection to their cognates or to their countries of origin. Minority representatives may even feel more attached to their countries of settlement

rather than to the country of origin in a transnational context. Transferring such restrictive patterns to transnational politics, this thesis assumes that there can be anti- as well as pro-Turkish statements when German MPs of Turkish origin address their countries of origin. This thesis also differs in its approach as it focuses on the MPs by scrutinizing their framing towards their country of origin and by taking into account factors such as temporal aspect, gender, party ideology and content of parliamentary questions.

2.2. Representation under Transnational Circumstances

As a concept which has been debated a lot about its presence, whether to have been existing for a long while (Portes et al., 1999) or being a current phenomenon because of today's peculiar conditions (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998), transnationalism is a rather sophisticated notion which needs to be approached from different perspectives. It can be defined as a whole range of activities such as economic, social, cultural or even political activities beyond the boundaries of states. These activities consist of regularly repeated behaviours with specific goals involving non-institutional actors such as home-town associations (De La Garza, 2013).

The number of migrants around the world has been increasing for the last few decades by virtue of developments in communication and transportation. According to the UN, 272 million people are reported to have emigrated from their home countries which comprise 3.5% of the world population (UN, 2019). In Germany, this proportion is far greater. With 9.9 million migrants, which accounts for 12.1% of the total population, Germany hosts the highest number of migrants in Europe (EuroStat, 2020). If German citizens of migration backgrounds are to be considered, this proportion corresponds with 25.5% of the total population (BPB, 2019). Therefore, Turkish immigrants in Germany provide a good example of politics under transnational circumstances. Turkish guest workers have been providing a good example for strong transnational connections in Germany for over a half-century. Means of transnationalism such as media, cultural foundations, religious organisations and financial institutions, make it highly possible for

Turkish governments to influence the lives of migrants of Turkish origin. Many institutions and foundations in Germany represent Turkey and lead to a connection between the migrants and their fatherland. Governmental organisations and NGOs have been shaping the transnational aspects of the Turkish people in Germany. The Republic of Turkey sends official imams (Muslim religious leaders or priests in a mosque) through the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), known as DITIB in Germany and teachers through the Ministry of National Education. There are also organisations which have no official bonds to any Turkish governmental organisation such as the Islamic Society National Vision (IGMG), Turan Foundation, The German New Turkish Committee (AYTK) or Turkos MC (Jansen, 2016).

Media is another significant factor in strengthening transnationalism across Germany and Turkey. According to a survey conducted by the Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), 66.3% of the participants stated that they are mainly watching Turkish TV channels whereas 17% of the participants watched mainly German channels (RTÜK, 2007). Although this survey was held 13 years ago, this might not have led to a profound change in the distribution of the rates. What is more, the availability of the internet, as well as other technological devices, may have kept stable if not increased the number of migrants who prefer to watch Turkish channels.

Turkish citizens who live in Germany and have the right to vote within the German borders are attached to Turkish politics. Through institutions, groups and foundations, Turkish political parties, among which the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) is mostly appearable because of their governmental role, have been able to progress political campaigns in Germany. Although there are foundations such as the Ataturkist Thought Association in Germany (AADD), which is known to have close ties with the Republican People's Party (CHP), their presence is incomparable with those supported by the AK Party. Political campaigns such as meetings and advertisements have taken place in Germany in order to convince their countrymen as if they were to vote in Turkey. Even footballers of Turkish origin who started their careers in Germany contributed to those election campaigns (Pieper, 2018). At some points, these campaigns and competitions turned into hot spots causing for declines in Turkish-German relations. This extraordinary case of Germany and its hosting of a few million Turkish migrants show how dense and manipulative elements of transnationalism can be. So far, the intense work environment

of the Justice and Development Party and its campaigns have resulted in great achievement as the 2018 election results show. AK Party got 55.7% of the total votes, 65.1% together with its ally the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). Alone the elections and their results provide a good example of how influential the politicians in Turkey and the Turkish institutions are.

The possibility of representing the country of origin or the tendency towards prioritizing the interests of their home country and their countrymen is not only depending on the identity of the representatives but also on the political environment to which the MPs belong. Therefore, to perceive an understanding of the influence of transnational circumstances and its effect on politicians of Turkish origin differs in many ways. Coming from the same origin may initially rise a positive image and high hopes. However, whether becoming a member of a certain political party influences the approach of the MPs towards their country of origin is a rather complicated point. Moreover, the likelihood for novice politicians to have their names written on the lists without representing common ways of ideals with their political party is far from reality.

2.3. Party Ideology

A significant number of Turkish electorate live in Germany. Their support and vote matters for political parties in Germany. This has led to an increasing presence of MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag. Political parties in Germany are getting more and more in touch with representatives of Turkish origin. The logic behind taking on candidates of Turkish origin is that representatives who belong to the same social or ethnic group as their voters are more likely to share their group's perspectives and to stand for their interests (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2011; Bloemraad 2013; Owens 2005; Phillips 1995; Young 2000). MPs of Turkish origin have the advantage of being representatives of their cognates within German politics, a system based on parliamentary system and democracy. They represent the Turkish guest worker families in the German Bundestag. But it can be observed that not all political movements tend to become the voice of

migrants (Claro da Fonseca 2011; Kittilson and Tate 2005; Saggar 1998, 2000; Wüst 2011). According to recent literature, MPs of migrant origin are not always favouring the interest of their constituent. Although the proportion of immigrants in many European countries is continually increasing (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020), in most cases, political parties decrease the support for ethnic politics and group-based strategies which represent immigrant groups (Deschouwer and Depauw 2014; Foner et al. 2014). Scholars state that the expectation of representatives who are supposed to be the voice of their countrymen ends up with the classic dilemma (Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009). Do the elected representatives have to work on behalf of their constituent or not, or should they show favouritism towards their group and work for other political parties' interests (Zapata-Barrero 2016)?

Studies have shown that left-wing parties are more associated with the election of immigrants than right-wing parties (Claro da Fonseca 2011; Kittilson and Tate 2005; Saggar 1998, 2000; Wüst 2011). This applies to German party politics, too, as it can be observed that the leftist political parties Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (B90/Die Grünen), Die Linke and Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) have the highest share of Turkish immigrants in the German Bundestag (Bundestag, 2020). Centre-right parties, on the other hand, are inclined to take restrictive positions towards immigration and multiculturalism (Wüst 2016: 417), as they endeavour to preserve the ethnic and cultural identity of their nation, and therefore consider immigration as a hazard to the economic well-being of their nation — most notably where low-status immigration is concerned. This also applies to German politics where the right centred parties Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU) and Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the German Bundestag do not have any MPs of Turkish origin.

Social background is expected to be one of the most important factors that people have in common and is also thought to make people take decisions similar to those with the same backgrounds. In this context, the politics of presence theory (Phillips, 1995) claims that politicians of similar social backgrounds are most capable of representing group interests through shared social experiences and mutual empathy (Ceyhan, 2018). According to the statements proposed by Ceyhan and Phillips, MPs of Turkish origin are expected to have similar attitudes towards their country of origin. They must be sharing similar social backgrounds as their fathers or grandfathers have arrived in Germany as

guest workers. They must have had similar experiences as they probably went through similar difficulties in their academic and political career in terms of their social, ethnic and religious background. Nonetheless, political ideology, as well as their influence on individuals, is expected to have a great impact.

Political parties are important determiners of relevant content as relevant studies have shown. Previous scholars emphasised the distinction between right and left parties and their attitudes towards any issue. While conservative and right-wing parties tend to refrain from the cultural integration of ethnic groups into the laws, overlook values of minorities and call for the assimilation of ethnic groups to a single national identity, left-wing and liberal parties generally advocate the representational claims of marginalised groups, demand more freedom for the existence of differences in culture, religion and language (Kittilson and Tate, 2005). Such differences between left and right-wing parties may be influential for MPs while framing issues concerning their countries of origin.

2.4. Gender Identity

Studies on political representation indicate gender identity as a significant factor in shaping framings on minority identities (Castiglione, 2012; Celis et al., 2014; Phillips, 2012). Some of them reveal that ethnic minority women have higher chances than ethnic minority men thanks to their "intersectional identity mix". This means that having a migration background and being a woman at the same time can be an advantage for the candidate and for the political party as well. Indeed, it is thought that young ethnic minority women do not threaten incumbents' power (Celis et al. 2014). Other studies, on the other hand, suggest that ethnic minority women might encounter double obstacles in politics because they are members of two disadvantaged groups. In other words, being women and being a member of an ethnic minority group may lead to a more difficult way and hence become more disadvantaged than ethnic minority men.

The importance of gender roles in this study is to understand the proportion of female and male MPs who have asked questions about Turkey. This thesis is, therefore, interested in the possible differences concerning questions coming from male and female members of the Bundestag. The role of gender as an MP of Turkish origin may provide important clues about the approach towards their country of origin. These may explain how gender and attachment to the country of origin are interrelated.

2.5. Temporal Aspect in the Agenda

The notion of temporal aspect has an important place in this thesis since it aims to acquire the framing and content of each parliamentary question as well as their coherence with important events. It is aimed to indicate changes in framing and to evaluate the content in accordance with important events. Important political events such as the failed military coup d'état, elections, referendums or refugee influxes and crises emerging from the civil war in Syria may have influenced the framing of the MPs towards Turkey. All these elements may be influential through media. Thus, the influence of events, particularly election periods, with the help of media, must be considered (Vliegenthart and Roggeband, 2007). From this point of view, parliamentary questions which make up the data of this thesis will be looked into by taking into account the time periods so as to understand the temporal aspect and its influence on the Members of the German Bundestag.

2.6. Framing as a Conceptual Tool in Analyzing Parliamentary Debates

Framing is the interpretation and representation of contents. An increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern

meaning and thus process it and store it in memory (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993). Framing contents enables exposing the readers and audiences to various aspects, rates and proportions of information. The degree, frequency and aspect of a phenomenon are likely to shape the reader's idea and perception.

This study utilizes framing as a conceptual tool to detect the variance in framings on Turkey by German MPs of Turkish origin during the 18th and 19th parliamentary periods. Parliamentary questions are scrutinized to understand the approach of the MPs and their framing about Turkey. To understand the framing, the introduction parts of the parliamentary questions provide important clues, thoughts or critics coming from the questioners. Sometimes, the MPs may directly express their framing but indirectly expressed ideas are preferred much more frequently. Rather than putting forward any claim or idea, the MPs may refer to certain news reports whose framing reveal the approach and tone. The questions themselves, on the other hand, do not explicitly reveal the framing as asking any knowledge to the government does not directly refer to the MPs thoughts and framing.

This study uses the framing approach by taking the parliamentary questions as three divided groups, namely, positive framing, negative framing and neutral framing. More information about this part is given in the methodology chapter. The decision to perceive the framing positively, negatively or neutrally is linked to certain issues. The character, causes, and consequences of any phenomenon become radically different as changes are made in what is prominently displayed, what is repressed and especially in how observations are classified. The social world is a display of potential realities, any of which can be readily evoked by altering the ways in which observations are framed and categorized (Edelman, 1993: 232). These issues have some criteria which must be evaluated carefully. The most delicate part of this matter is to evaluate a paper as a reader who comes from the same social background. That is, to decide upon criteria in the parliamentary question, which is aimed at the social background, similar to that of the readers. For this paper, this would mean evaluating the subject 'Turkey' as a reader who is from Turkey.

2.7. The German Political System and Turkish Migrants and/or Migrant Descendants in Germany

This study is based on the democratic parliamentarian system of the Federal Republic of Germany. The case is restricted to Germany as it is unique in terms of its differences such as sociology, history and economy. Germany's history, once mainly occupied with national socialist ideology during the Second World War, has been home to millions of migrants during the past few decades (BAMF, 2018). As of today, Turkish migrants to Germany comprise one of the greatest transnational community (BAMF, 2018). Moreover, the greatest number of Turkish emigrants live in Germany (MFA, 2019).

Economy, on the other hand, has been another reason for Germany to become the case of this study. After a destructive war, just within a few decades, Germany managed to reconstruct its cities and facilities and was able to become a leading power not only in Europe but also in the world (World Bank, 2019). Many guest workers from Turkey and other countries were invited during this reconstruction period after the war. Therefore, especially the first and second generation of the Turkish guest workers contributed a lot to post-war Germany's economy.

The third reason for Germany to be the case of this study is its sociological difference. It is a country full of colours, possessing migrants from all nations, all cultures and all religions. This makes Germany a unique country to become a case study for scholars who are interested in subjects such as migration, refugee influx or acculturation. The reason why MPs of Turkish origin were chosen as dependent variables is that migrants of Turkish origin have the highest rate among the migrants in Germany (BAMF, 2018).

2.8. Political Parties and Elections in Germany

The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic country consisting of 16 federal states. This makes up two bodies of parliaments; the Bundesrat, which is the state's assembly for every federal state, bringing up issues concerning the federal state itself, and second, the Bundestag, which is The Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany, bringing up issues about Germany as a whole country. The Federal Republic of Germany is ruled by a multilateral system that is balanced between the President, the head of the state, the Chancellor, the head of the government and the parliament, the legislative power consisting of different parties. Although the Bundestag has been dominated by CDU and SPD since 1949, the country has most of the time, been ruled by coalitions, which gives Germany the reputation; the Country of Coalitions. Checks and balances among the executive, legislature and judicial powers are so distributed that leading assessment bodies evaluate Germany positively in terms of democratic values. The Economist Intelligence Unit rated Germany as a 'fully' democracy in the year 2017 (EIU Democracy Index, 2017).

The intertwined relations and dependencies among the institutions make Germany a country in which decisions may not be taken very fast. The highly interdependent character of the political system may be a contributor to the democracy in the country, as there are several bodies rather than just one who make the laws, take decisions and even contradict if needed. These may be indicators of democracy, which also pave the way for minority groups to take part in politics. It is therefore first and most of all, very indispensable for minority groups, migrants and diversities to have a groundwork established based on democracy. Only if the mentioned values exist will a candidate of any minority group succeed in becoming a candidate and getting elected.

Before focusing on the candidate's features and their influences, it would be useful to understand the initial nomination candidacy process. First of all, a candidate has to surpass some phases to have his or her name written in the party candidate list. A party, on the other hand, has to overcome three stages before a candidate has become elected. First, there need to be aspirants, who are willing to become MPs in the parliament.

Second, the actual nomination of candidates needs to be placed on the ballot by the party. Third, the election needs to be held by the state (Freidenvall, 2015).

Parties choose their candidates who are going to represent their constituency during candidacy nomination processes. Incumbents in parties who are going to nominate the next candidates are the actual stringent part of the process. Within the parties, the ones responsible for list composition have umpteen power to place their hot contacts in winnable positions on party lists (Johansson, 1999). The competition among the nominees within a party is of such a great extent that it would not be wrong to say that there is even a greater challenge within parties than among parties.

So, what does a migrant of Turkish origin who wants to become a Member of the Bundestag have to do? Minorities are able to gain parliamentary representation through three different ways as Jelena Loncar explains; first, minorities may represent their constituency by running independently, and winning parliamentary seats on their own; second, they may create pre-electoral coalitions with ethnic parties of the same or other minorities or mainstream parties; third, they may run individually on the lists of mainstream parties (Loncar, 2016). Beyond these, there are two additional possibilities. These are, minorities may reach representation on the list of partial ethnic parties or other ethnic parties (Zuber, 2015).

According to Loncar, a migrant in Germany needs to take one of the following steps: Taking part in the elections individually can be a way for the MP candidate. However, this attempt may end up with ineffectualness. The reason for this is that the advantage of belonging to a party does provide economic and psychological advantages. Applying as an independent candidate may have reasonable advantages. Nevertheless, not only economic reasons but also the disadvantage of being sole makes it difficult to become elected. Second, taking part in a party that supports minorities or third, taking part in mainstream parties. These two options seem the most plausible, but the already existing system within the parties may make it difficult for any person to become a candidate. Scholars argue that incumbents who have been serving for years are not always willing to make over their position to newcomers easily (Celis et al., 2015). Therefore, a question about how democratic and equal the candidate selection process takes place in the party system remains less than conclusive. Already existing parties with well-

established systems would welcome candidates who pursue the party's priorities, rather than candidates pursuing their priorities (Celis et al., 2015).

Other concerns for minority parties are thresholds. The Bundestag has a minimum threshold of either 5% of the national party vote or three directly elected constituency representatives for a party to gain additional representation through the system of proportional representation. Thus, small minority parties cannot easily enter the Bundestag and prevent the formation of stable majority governments. The possibility for any minority group to create a party and get seats in the parliament is not possible as long as high thresholds exist. Not only do they hinder small parties from entering the parliament, but they also contribute to the winners' seats.

The election systems, as well as the pre-elections within parties, are vital procedures which a minority group must surpass in order to be represented within any party. Due to such discouraging conditions, many minority groups seek for supports in already established parties. But whether these huge parties consolidate or dissolve the existence of such minority groups is another question (Celis et al., 2015).

Germany has been hosting migrants of Turkish origin for more than fifty years. The number of Turks living in Germany has increased so much that their influence has become significant in the political system. Especially, as the political realm provides democratical possibilities for minorities, the presence of the migrants and minorities is increasing day by day. However, for a candidate, it is rather crucial how they are chosen by the parties and what kind of a process exists in the electorate system.

Since this study focuses on representatives of Turkish origin and their approach towards Turkey, it is also taken into account to what kind of parties the MPs belong. One should know that MPs do not only ask questions about their personal concerns; on the contrary, they also ask about issues which their political party's ideology supports or rejects.

2.9. The German Bundestag

The German Bundestag is to be voted every four years by German citizens who are over the age of eighteen. Germans elect their members of parliament with two votes. The first vote is for a direct candidate, who must receive the majority of the votes in the electoral district. There are 299 districts which occupy the same number of seats in the parliament. The second vote is used to elect a party list in each state as established by its respective party caucus. The Bundestag comprises seats representing each electoral district, with the remainder of seats being allocated to maintain proportionality based on the second vote. In the 19th legislative period, the German Bundestag keeps 709 seats.

Since the parliament possesses the ability to make law, it can be seen as the most powerful organ among the federal institutions. In this context, having seats in the parliament is a rather crucial opportunity for migrants. Representing the voice of them may give the chance to reinforce laws which support and protect the rights of minorities. Thus the number of MPs of Turkish origin, as well as their proportion in the German Bundestag, is increasing. Although there were other MPs of Turkish origin before the 18th legislative period, they were not taken into account as this thesis focuses just on the last two periods. Eleven members figured during the 18th legislative period and fourteen MPs during the 19th legislative period. Their names, genders and political parties are demonstrated in Table 1 and Table 2 as follows.

Aydan Özoğuz	Female	SPD
Azize Tank	Female	Die Linke
Cansel Kızıltepe	Female	SPD
Cem Özdemir	Male	B90/Die Grünen
Cemile Yusuf	Female	CDU
Ekin Deligöz	Female	B90/Die Grünen
Gülistan Yüksel	Female	SPD
Mahmut Özdemir	Male	SPD
Metin Hakverdi	Male	SPD

Özcan Mutlu	Male	B90/Die Grünen
Sevim Dağdelen	Female	Die Linke

Table 1. MPs of Turkish Origin in The German Bundestag During the 18th Legislative Period

Aydan Özoğuz	Female	SPD
Canan Bayram	Female	B90/Die Grünen
Cansel Kızıltepe	Female	SPD
Cem Özdemir	Male	B90/Die Grünen
Danyal Beyaz	Male	B90/Die Grünen
Ekin Deligöz	Female	B90/Die Grünen
Elvan Korkmaz	Female	SPD
Filiz Polat	Female	B90/Die Grünen
Gökay Akbulut	Female	Die Linke
Gülistan Yüksel	Female	SPD
Helin Evrim Sommer	Female	Die Linke
Mahmut Özdemir	Male	SPD
Metin Hakverdi	Male	SPD
Sevim Dağdelen	Female	Die Linke

Table 2. MPs of Turkish Origin in The German Bundestag During The 19th Legislative Period

Since political parties do have their own kind of filtration through which candidates have to get, it is obvious that ideologies, as well as interests of political parties, are shaping the road to the parliament. The attitudes of local party selectors are seen by many commentators to constitute a significant barrier to able candidates from under-represented groups (Catling, 2005) going beyond the ‘quality control’ role (Rush, 1994). Scholars have argued that the metaphorical barriers are in some way responsible for accepting the differences only if they are acceptable (Durose, Richardson, Combs, Eason and Gains, 2013). These accepted candidates of the migrant origin or under-represented groups are accepted by the ‘political dinosaurs’ (Lovenduski, 2012) to the political party

as they have already proven their solidarity in social as well as political context. The term acceptable difference refers to having some characteristics which are seen to mitigate the electoral disadvantages of being from a minority group, for instance, being a woman who possesses a 'masculine' behaviour. Such individuals do not access national politics on the basis of their difference, but rather by their conformity to particular aspects of the 'archetypal' candidate (Durose, Richardson, Combs, Eason and Gains, 2013). The barriers set by the incumbents of the party seem to eliminate those who think and act differently from the party elites. The conventional pathway to becoming a member of parliament gives a crucial and decisive role to local party selection panels and strong influence on local often closed networks and cliques. The perceptions and assumptions of these local party 'selectorate' are understood to narrow selection choices and undermine initiatives by party elites to improve the diversity of representation (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995; Ali and O'Cinneide, 2002; Dyke and Readings, 2010).

Another aspect of the way to become a member of parliament also enlightens the perception of what is described variously as the 'professionalisation of politics' or the rise of the 'career politician' (King, 1981; Riddell, 1993; Rush, 1994; Searing, 1994; Jun, 2003). Although the 'career' or 'professionalised' way to politics is more open, this route remains narrow, tightly defined and is often exclusive and excluding of those from different socio-economic backgrounds who may not have access to the same resources and face what Heath and Cheung (2007) describe as 'unequal chances' in accessing employment opportunities and rewards which flow from these opportunities.

As studies reveal, there are eliminating barriers over which candidates of migration origin have to come, which is also the case for MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag. The question at this point is what the likelihood for the candidates of Turkish origin is to get through the professionalised pathway to politics without being influenced by the ideology of their political party. MPs of Turkish origin do have the advantage of representing the largest group of immigrants, the Turkish guest workers and their descendants. However, should the career and professionalised politics be the case in German politics, how can one expect a positive framing from the MPs of Turkish origin about Turkey. Accordingly, this thesis is interested in researching to what degree MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag are influenced by their political party and its ideology.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the methodology process of this dissertation. It first starts with explaining the data collection process and goes on with how the collected data is classified and evaluated by content. This chapter explains how the parliamentary questions are divided according to their content by using positive-, negative- and neutral framing by virtue of content analysis.

The content analysis in this dissertation is mainly made up of qualitative analysis in order to obtain an understanding of how the data is framed. It helps understand the patterns of the MPs of Turkish origin towards their country of origin, Turkey. The content analysis also contains quantitative research in order to provide statistics about the frequency and numbers of the data. The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with an instruction about the data process and its result, which is observable in excel format. Thus, this chapter is rather crucial since this thesis is based on a content analysis of parliamentary questions.

3.1. Data Collection

Although many different sources such as press, social media, TV programmes, speeches in the German Bundestag as well as written documents can be chosen as the unit of analysis, parliamentary questions are taken as the unit of analysis. The reason of this is that; first of all, parliamentary questions give a clear message in a written form, which is convenient to understand the content and the approach towards Turkey; second, they

are mainly proposed by more than one Member of Parliament, which increases the accuracy of the framing of political ideology to which the MPs of Turkish origin belong; third, they are asked to the government, which turns the content and questions about Turkey into an indirect complaint or compliment; and fourth, it is thought that parliamentary questions are one of the most convenient environment for the MPs as they are prepared and studied before they are proposed to the government. The questions are the unit of analysis and conducted with the help of qualitative analysis. At this point, it is important to note that the essence of parliamentary questions is being critical. But there is a wide scope of issues concerning Turkey as an outside actor, which opens space for positive as well as negative framings.

MPs of Turkish origin have been defined by Turkish names and surnames in the profiles on the website of the German Bundestag. Data has been obtained through a search engine existing in the website of the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany, known as the German Bundestag. The website of the German Bundestag provides open access to anyone interested in the work of the German parliament. By typing the subject matter into the browser 'https://www.bundestag.de/services/suche?suchbegriff=anfrage', any document which is linked to the searched term becomes accessible as well as downloadable. Researchers are able to download any kind of a parliamentary question and other documents as PDF file as well as videos and press bulletin. The website provides access to documents through already existing classifications such as culture, health and migration; nevertheless, no separation focuses just on Turkey relations, which is the main point of this paper. Because of the lack of such a classification, research has been conducted by using the mentioned search engine within the website.

Data of the 18th and the current 19th legislative period were downloaded by restricting the searching date between 22nd October 2013 and 31st December 2019. The end date was December 2019 since only a few questions were proposed in the year 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic. All parliamentary questions downloaded with the reference code 'Turkey' were uploaded to the software NVIVO. Subsequently, most frequent words in such collected data were listed. Thereafter, the researcher listed other relevant keywords after a qualitative interpretation of these most frequently used words list in the initial dataset. Such an inclusive approach has been very crucial to overcome the issue of 'selective observation'. In addition to the keyword 'Turkey', parliamentary

questions were obtained by using other search elements such as ‘Erdoğan’, ‘Binali Yildirim’, ‘Cavuşoğlu’, ‘Davutoğlu’, ‘Sinirlioğlu’, ‘Grand National Assembly of Turkey’, ‘Ottomans’, ‘Ankara’, ‘Diyanet’ (The institution for İslamic Theology) and ‘Hakan Fidan’.

The above-mentioned keywords are further used to sort out the parliamentary questions. For instance, to understand what the German Bundestag asked about Turkey, the researcher analyzed those parliamentary questions containing the keyword ‘Turkey’. Keyword ‘Erdogan’, on the other hand, restricts the data with questions about President Erdogan, personally or positionally. It is essential to find out the approach of the questions, whether these distinctions in framing when addressing Turkey and President Erdogan. Data search which uses the keywords such as Davutoğlu, Çavusoğlu and Sinirlioğlu show us the relevant content on these top-level officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Keyword ‘Grand National Assembly of Turkey’ and keyword ‘Ankara’ are supposed to find parliamentary questions referring to Turkey’s capital city, bureaucracy and parliament. Keyword ‘Ottomans’ tries to find out the framing towards the motorbike clan ‘The Ottomans Germania’ in Germany. Keyword ‘Diyanet’ tries to find out the discussions on the Directorate on Religious Affairs.

3.2. Data Analysis

Five hundred eighty-four documents were downloaded from the Bundestag’s webpage. Three hundred seventy-seven files matched with the keyword ‘Turkey’, 73 with keyword were found for ‘Ankara’, 4 for the keyword ‘Binali Yildirim’, six matched with keyword ‘Çavuşoğlu’, no results were found for the keyword ‘The Parliament of Turkey’ or ‘Turkish Parliament’ or ‘The Grand National Assembly of Turkey’, six results were found for the keyword ‘Davutoglu’, 22 files were found for the keyword ‘Diyanet’, 69 results for keyword ‘Erdogan’, 11 files for the keyword ‘Hakan Fidan’, 15 files were found for the keyword ‘Osmanen’ which means ottomans in German and only one result was found for the keyword ‘Sinirlioglu’.

Having downloaded the papers, files were listed according to their parliamentary question numbers. File numbers have been given by the existing Parliamentary Question File Numbers which also represent their chronological order. Therefore, the first two digits of the file number represent the legislative period. For instance, document 1806871 was proposed during the 18th legislative period while document 1906700 was asked during the 19th legislative period. After writing down the file numbers in numerical order according to their 'Number of Parliamentary Question', the dates of their submission were added on a line with them so as to have a better overview about the chronology.

Number of PQ	Date of Question
Parliamentary Question Code "Turkey"	DD/MM/YYYY
1800326	17.01.2014
1800344	24.01.2014
1800409	30.01.2014
1800667	24.02.2014

Figure 1. List and Dates of Parliamentary Questions in Data Chart

3.3. Classifying the Parliamentary Documents

Relevant categories were listed in the form of codes of the proposed questions to a column in a page of Microsoft Excel. Accordingly, 232 files listed for category 'Turkey', 59 for 'Ankara', 58 were listed for keyword 'Erdogan', five for the keyword 'Davutoglu', one for the keyword 'Sinirlioglu', 3 for keyword 'Cavusoglu', 5 papers for keyword 'Hakan Fidan', 2 for the keyword 'Binali Yildirim', 16 for the keyword 'Diyanet' and 12 parliamentary questions for the keyword 'Osmanen'. In total, 393 files were listed as parliamentary questions which were proposed by at least one of the MPs of Turkish origin.

Findings were quantified as much as possible to support the qualitative analysis; the fraction named 'female' represents the number of female MPs who proposed the question, fraction named 'male', on the other hand, demonstrates the number of male MPs

and fraction ‘total’ demonstrates the total number of MPs for every single parliamentary question. For instance, parliamentary question 1802474 was proposed by 8 MPs, among which four MPs are male and four female. The aim of this section was to understand what kind of subjects do influence the male or female MPs. Besides, it also provides an understanding of intersectionality. In other words, how being female and being of Turkish origin might influence a member of parliament towards the country of origin.

Number of MPs		
Female	Male	Total
3	2	5
7	3	10
5	2	7
3	3	6

Figure 2. Numbers of Female and Male MPs of Every PQ in Data Chart

Following the numerical section of the gender statistics, the names of the political parties have been listed. Although the governing parties CDU, SPD and the CSU proposed some a few questions during the 18th legislative period, none of them included Turkey in their content. Additionally, no MPs of Turkish origin exist in the political parties AfD and Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP). Thus, two options remain for classifying the parliamentary questions; Die Linke and Bündniss 90 / Die Grünen. These two political parties were respectively home to 2 and 3 MPs during the 18th legislative period, and have been home to 3 and 5 MPs within the 19th legislative period. The question papers were marked by their political parties for every single parliamentary question. Demonstrating the political parties in the chart is a rather crucial issue as it provides a good overview in terms of rates, frequency and tendency to ask question according to the contents which were scrutinized in the following process.

Political Party						
CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU

Figure 3. Section of Political Party for Each PQ in Data Chart

3.4. Content Analysis

After preparing the data for analysis, a meticulous qualitative content analysis was conducted to understand the representative patterns of MPs of Turkish origin in matters concerning their country of origin. In this research, it is being questioned to what degree and how Turkey is represented in the parliamentary questions. The most important part is to assume that the paper is being read by anyone that has never been exposed to any information about Turkey as if these parliamentary questions would be the first information for this person about Turkey. What would the first impression of this person be about Turkey? What kind of an image would one have just with the parliamentary question handed in? Answering and evaluating this question is the most important part of the research, which is to decide whether parliamentary question is positively framed, negatively framed or just neutral.

Before assessing the framing of the MPs towards Turkey, it was tried to elicit whether the parliamentary question was aimed at Turkey or not. Therefore, the excel table also reveals the relevancy about Turkey. If the content was found to be aiming at Turkey, option 'Yes' was written; if not, the option 'No' was filled in. The decision about whether Turkey has been the subject matter of the questions depends on how the questions are posed or implied. The sentences must be read carefully in order to have a better perception of the main subject. In almost half of the papers, reading the headline provided a foreknowledge of the subject. For example, Sevim Dağdelen and other MPs of Die Linke proposed in January 2017 a PQ with the headline "Offensive acts against the European Human Rights

Convention by Turkey and the results of requests for legal assistance".[1] This PQ gives a clear message that the parliamentary question aims at Turkey. In addition to the headlines, in all parliamentary questions, there is an introduction which defines the issue and then goes on with the proposed questions by the Members of Parliament. On the other hand, there are documents which include Turkey in their headlines but do not directly take it as the main subject. Another case is that Turkey is just mentioned together with other countries which are far from being a subject of any paper.

Does the PQ directly aim at the Research Code
Yes / No
Yes
Yes

Figure 4. Relevancy about Turkey for Each PQ in Data Chart

The next step is the process of coding the contents. In this section, the aim is to classify the issues to which the parliamentary questions refer. Thirty-two issues which are pointed out from the documents are listed. While some of the codes stand for geographical location, others represent issues that generally occupy the German Bundestag's agenda about Turkey. Parliamentary questions have been coded according to their contents as follows.

The first group of subjects encompasses contents in the PQs concerning identity issues. Within this grouping, code number one (1) is given if the content of the parliamentary question contains issues regarding German ethnicity and/or nationality. An example of this can be any subject which includes the Neo-Nazi organisation, or Patrioten Europa's Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (PEGIDA). Code number two (2), on the other side, is given if the content in the PQ is about Turkish nationalism and/or ethnic issues. Contents concerning 'The Grey Wolves' or 'Osmanen Germania' may be one reason to code the content as number two. Issues concerning Kurdish ethnicity and nationalism are given number three (3). Some examples for this code can be PQs about

[1] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/11060, 27 January 2017.

PKK, YPG or PYD. As for PQs concerning issues about religion, code number three (3) is given. As the PQs are related to Turkey, this code is mainly given to issues about religious institutions financed by Turkey such as DITIB. However, as some terror organisations such as Hizbullah and Fethullahist Terrorist Organisation (FETO) are close to Islamic motives, the code can also be used together with code number five (5) and ten (10).

The second group of subjects encompasses contents in the PQs concerning security issues. In this context, code number five (5) is given if the content of the parliamentary question contains issues about military issues or security issues. Code number (9), (10) and (14) are closely related issues and therefore, used often together to relate the security and military concerns to more detailed issues. This code is also used to express the military arms cooperation by referring to code the number (6).

The third group of subjects comprises financial issues. Code number six (6) is given if the content in the PQs points at issues about trade and money. Banking agreements or institutions such as IMF or World Bank can be listed as reasons to use this code. Besides, contents concerning energy, whether this is fossil energy, renewable energy or nuclear energy, are coded with number eight (8). This code is mainly related to agreements about energy, trade as well as the transportation of it. Another aspect of financial subjects deals with issues about tourism and travelling, which plays an important role in the bilateral relations in terms of economy. Code number twenty-four (24) is given if the content concerns this issue.

The fourth group of subjects, which make up the largest part of the data, contain issues concerning international relations in terms of bilateral and multilateral relations. In this respect, if the content of the parliamentary question refers to issues about migration, asylum seekers or visa applications, code number seven (7) is given. Especially after the civil war broke out in Syria, contents about this issue can be found together with the content number (14), (18) and (22). If the content in the PQ points at issues concerning international organisations such as the UN and its sub institutions, code number nine (9) is given. Code number ten (10) is given if the content of the parliamentary question contains issues about terrorism. Furthermore, for environmental and nature issues, code number thirteen (13), for bilateral relations between Turkey and Germany, code number

fourteen (14), for issues about Interpol and Europol, code number fifteen (15), for issues concerning intelligence, code number sixteen (16), for issues regarding freedom of speech and press as well as human rights, code number seventeen (17), for issues regarding the civil war in Syria, code number eighteen (18) is given. Mostly, code number (7) can be closely related to this code. If the content of the parliamentary question contains any issue about Armenia or the so-called Armenian Genocide, code number nineteen (19) is given. If the content refers to issues about gender equality, inequality or gender preferences, as well as associations about lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender movements, code number twenty-five (25) is given. If the parliamentary question contains issues about childcare and children rights, code number twenty-eight (28) is given. For issues concerning insurance systems and social rights, code number twenty-nine (29), for issues concerning elections and campaigns, code number thirty (30) and code number thirty-two (32) is given if the PQ refers to court, prison or judicial process in Turkey.

The fifth group of subjects represent the PQ's location. In this context, if the content of the parliamentary question contains issues taking place in the European Union (EU), code number eleven (11) is given. Although being a sub-issue of code number (9), the EU is to be taken as a unique case. For issues taking place in the Middle East, code number twelve (12), for issues in Africa, code number twenty-one (21), for issues in the Caucasus, code number twenty-three (23), for issues in the Balkans, code number twenty-six (26) and for issues taking place in East Asia, code number thirty-one (31) is given.

The final group of subjects contains issues concerning culture. In this context, contents about education and universities are given code number twenty (20) while issues regarding integration and culture are given code number twenty-two (22), and contents about social media and internet are given code number twenty-seven (27).

CONTENT	
German Ethnicity & Nationalism	1
Turkish Ethnicity & Nationalism	2
Kurdish Ethnicity & Nationalism	3
Religion	4
Security / Military	5
Finance & Economy & Trade	6
Migration, Asylum or Visa	7

Energy & Oil / Gas / Resources / Pipelines /Nuclear Power Plants	8
International Agreements & Organisations	9
Terrorism	10
European Union	11
Middle East	12
Environment or Nature	13
Cooperation and Relations btw. Germany and Turkey (NATO included)	14
Interpol/Europol	15
Intelligence (Institutional & Individual)	16
Freedom of Speech /Art/ Press & Human Rights	17
Civil War in Syria	18
Armenia & Genocide	19
Education / Universities	20
African Continent & Countries	21
Integration & Culture	22
Caucasus & Countries	23
Tourism & Travelling	24
Gender Issues / Gender Preferences	25
Balkan Countries	26
Social Media & Internet	27
Childcare & Children Rights	28
Insurance System and Social Rights	29
Elections and Campaigns	30
East Asia	31
Court, Prison and the Judicial Process	32

While reading a parliamentary question, at least one of these mentioned issues are noted down so as to give information about what the paper is broadly about. This aims to give previous information about the paper. These numbers may vary in their combination to each other. For instance, number (7) alone would mean that the paper is about Migration, Asylum or Visa issues, whereas (7) and (9) together mean that the paper has to do with international agreements about Migration, Asylum or Visa. Moreover, (7), (14) and (18) together refers to migrants and asylum seekers which emerged from the civil war in Syria and their agenda in the Turkish-German relations. As can be seen, combined numbers and sole numbers differ in their meanings in terms of the issues and contents in the parliamentary document.

Main Content(s)
5,10,14,18
2,3,5,7,14
7,15
4,5,14
5,1

Figure 5. Content Codes of Each PQ in Data Chart

Another aspect of researching the documents is about determining the parliamentary question's goal from the MPs' point of view. It is a rather crucial task to determine whether the parliamentary question is concerned about domestic affairs or about issues taking place outside the German territory. For this research, this would mean that the issue is most likely about cases inside Turkey. To give a foreknowledge about this point, the parliamentary questions in the data chart are also indicated as either Internal, meaning that the paper concerns cases taking place within the German territory or External, meaning that the paper concerns issues taking place outside the German territory. In some cases, parliamentary questions may be concerned about issues taking place inside Germany as well as outside Germany. For such cases, the data chart is filled in as Both. Since substantial numbers of papers are concerned about Turkeys approach towards regional issues such as Syria, the Middle East, The Balkans or African countries, more detailed information about the region is given with the codes (12), (18), (21), (23), (26) and (31). These provide more detail about the realm of the paper, rather than indicating only the aspect as internal or external.

Matter Type from view of German Territory
Internal/External
Internal
External

Figure 6. Codes Representing PQ's Location in the Data Chart

The main point of this research is to find out to what extent MPs of Turkish origin represent their country of origin, Turkey. It is, therefore, an essential task to classify the framing of MPs' questions and phrases in the parliamentary questions. Thus three types of framing are used to demonstrate the approach of the document. While positive framing is coded with *pro-Turkey*, negative framing as *anti-Turkey*, *neutral* was used for neither positive nor negative framing. The definition *pro-Turkey* stands for the parliamentary questions that are thought to be supporting Turkey and drawing a positive image and framing about the country. Whereas, the term anti-Turkey defines the question contents as expostulating Turkey, criticizing the country for certain issues. Neutral, on the other hand, means that the MPs in the German Bundestag who proposed the question, do neither support nor criticize Turkey about the issue in the parliamentary question.

Framing		
Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral

Figure 7. Codes Representing the Framing of PQs in the Data Chart

This part of the research is conducted with the help of a qualitative method as the papers are evaluated according to their contents. A parliamentary question usually consists of three main sections; Headline, introduction and questions. Appointing the paper to the proper classification is to be carried out by virtue of any evidence in of these mentioned sections. Such shreds of evidence are sometimes obvious in the headlines, introductions or questions. For instance, one parliamentary question, proposed in January, 2019 by MPs of Die Linke including Sevim Dağdelen, with its headline *Die Türkei als Besatzungsmacht in Syrien* (Turkey as an occupying power in Syria) gives a preknowledge about what the framing of the paper is likely to be before starting to read the content.[2] For most cases, however, this preknowledge does not exist in the headlines,

[2] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/7368, 25 January 2019.

so, more evidence is to be found within the introduction. To indicate this incident, a parliamentary question proposed in January 2017 by a group of MPs of Die Linke including Sevim Dağdelen, can be given as a good example. Although its headline *Die Lage der Flüchtlinge in der Türkei und Nachbarländern* (The conditions of refugees in Turkey and neighbour countries) does not provide any clue, a phrase in the introduction reveals the framing explicitly;

"In this context, a multitude of questions regarding the pattern of the EU- Turkey Deal is portrayed in the eyes of the questioners. Thus, human rights organisations do always criticise the bad living conditions of refugees in Turkey (https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur44/3825/2016/en/). There are, for instance, news reports about child labour, carried out by refugee children in international textile factories (www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2016-10/kinderarbeit-syrische-fluechtlinge-tuerkei-ngo)."

In this PQ, Turkey is accused of allowing refugee children to work in factories, which is internationally seen as a crime against children rights and human rights.[3] It must be pointed out that the MPs often refer to news reports in order to criticise or state the situation. This thesis takes such reports and cites as indicators of the framing of the MPs.

3.5. Framing as a Conceptual Tool in Analyzing Parliamentary Debates

Framing is the interpretation and representation of contents. An increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it and store it in memory (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described

[3] Jelpke, Ulla and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/11089, 30 January 2017.

(Entman, 1993). Framing contents enables exposing the readers and audiences to various aspects, rates and proportions of information. The degree, frequency and aspect of a phenomenon are likely to shape the reader's idea and perception.

The decision to perceive the framing positive, negative or neutral is linked to certain issues. The character, causes, and consequences of any phenomenon become radically different as changes are made in what is prominently displayed, what is repressed and especially in how observations are classified. The social world is a kaleidoscope of potential realities, any of which can be readily evoked by altering the ways in which observations are framed and categorised (Edelman 1993, p. 232).

Positive framing arises in phrases where Turkey's image is represented affirmatively. If the tone towards Turkey is supportive, affirmative or justifiable, then positive framing may be the suitable approach of the content. Issues such as human rights, freedom of speech, press, media, social media, communication and art, gender equality and gender issues, religion and culture, childcare and children rights, environment and nature issues as well as migration and asylum due to war conditions are universal matters which substantially have the same impact to almost every individual, no matter what the nationality or cultural background is. Supporting and improving these issues and their circumstances may contribute a positive image to the actor, which means that the framing can be assessed positively.

Negative framing, on the other hand, arises in phrases where Turkey's image is represented adversely. If the tone towards Turkey is negatively framed and accusing, then negative framing can be the suitable approach of the assessment. Universal issues such as terrorism, far right-wing nationalism which ends up with conflicts, extreme and fundamental religious groups which isolate themselves from the society and support conflicts, intelligence and spy activities which interfere in other countries domestic affairs, genocide, massacre and occupation of other countries' territories, discrimination, smuggling, money laundering, drug and human trafficking and other crimes against humanity, society and environment are seen as dangerous and negative activities which must be demolished. Supporting, improving or even turning a blind eye to such acts may lead to a negatively framed image of the actor.

Neutral framing, however, is neither positively nor negatively framed. The contents of such issues contain finance, trade and economic cooperation, energy resources and transportation, international agreements and organisations, education, cultural activities, visa agreements and tourism, insurance and social welfare systems as well as some security issues with the police and military in which the actor is not aimed at, rather, just seen as a bilateral or multilateral partner of the issue. The aim of such contents is neither to blame nor to support the actor of any activity.

In this research, it is being questioned to what degree and how Turkey is represented in the parliamentary questions. The most important part is to assume that the paper is being read by anyone that is not aware of Turkey's presence, moreover, to imagine that the person has never been exposed to any information about Turkey. Suppose that one of these parliamentary questions would be the first information for this person, in which Turkey is being represented. What would the first impression of this person be about Turkey? What kind of an image would one have just with the parliamentary question handed in? Answering and evaluating these question is the most important part of the research; to decide whether a parliamentary question is positively framed, negatively framed or just neutral. Therefore, this thesis mainly consists of content analysis which focuses on universal issues such as crime, terrorism or international law which is perceived equally, no matter whether the reader is of Turkish background or not.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter evaluates the findings of this thesis, based on content analysis. It first explains how frequent Turkey has been the focus of the parliamentary questions proposed in the German Bundestag. It reveals the numbers, frequency and the change in framing towards Turkey by illustrating graphics and statistics. Following this, it continues with the results of the content analysis by representing the classified content names and their frequency as well as distribution. One of the most significant tasks of this chapter is to point out the degree to which the MPs of Turkish origin represent their country of origin, Turkey.

After evaluating the contents, the chapter goes on with assessing the findings based on political-, individual-, location-, gender- and temporal aspect, respectively. The results of this part are divided according to their approach; *positive-*, *negative-* and *neutral framing*. This chapter ends with the assessment of other keywords and the observation in general.

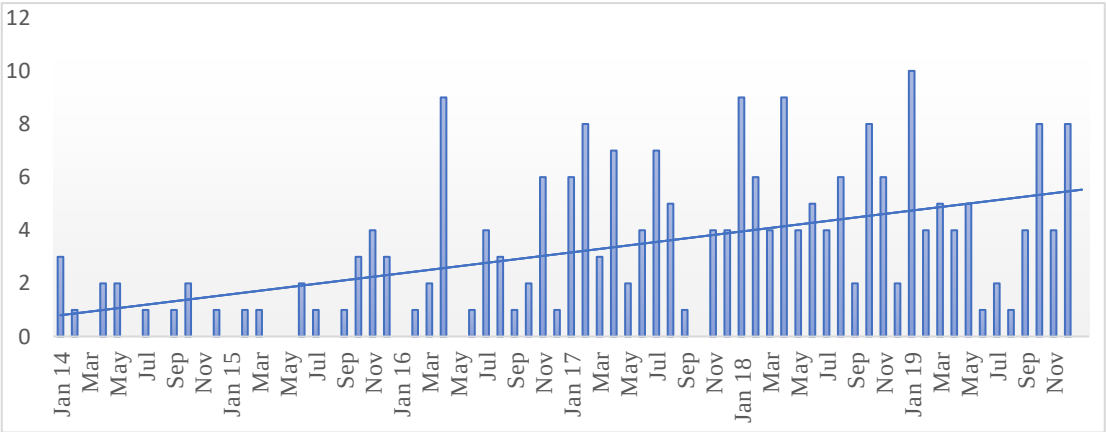
4.1. Turkey as the Agenda of the German Bundestag

Three thousand nine hundred fifty-three parliamentary questions were proposed to the government during the 18th legislative period. Die Linke alone, handed in by far the highest number of documents corresponding to 2184. This number was followed by Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen with 1723 parliamentary questions. CDU/CSU and SPD, which

governed the country during that period, proposed 43 parliamentary questions, not including any issues about Turkey. Die Linke and Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen together proposed two while MPs who did not belong to any party asked only one parliamentary question. The number of parliamentary questions referring to Turkey was 162 accounting for 4,09% of the total number. The number of questions proposed by MPs of Turkish origin during this period was 103, accounting for 2,60% of the total number of questions.

The 19th legislative period, which is ending in the year 2021, keeps 5972 questions until 31st December 2019. Despite the shorter span, there is a remarkable increase in the number of parliamentary questions. Followed by FDP with 1683, Die Linke with 1534 and B90/Die Grünen with 992 questions, AfD, with its 1762 questions, takes on the leadership. Two hundred parliamentary questions, issuing Turkey directly or indirectly, were enquired. This accounts for 3,34% of the total number. The number of documents from MPs of Turkish origin, on the other hand, is 129, accounting for 2,16% of the total number of documents. Much as there is a decrease in the percentage during the 19th legislative period, the number of questions, despite a shorter span, is much higher. Alone these figures show how much the interest in Turkey increased in the agenda of the German Bundestag.

The frequency and quantity of the questions are as vital as the framing of the MPs. The following graph displays the frequency of questions proposed by MPs of Turkish origin about their country of origin.



Graphic 1. Amount of PQ by Month and Year

It can be inferred from the graphic that the 18th legislative period was not as dynamic as the 19th legislative period in terms of issues about Turkey. One reasonable explanation for this might be the increase in the number of MPs of Turkish origin. The number of these MPs increased from 11 to 14, of which five belonging to Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen and Die Linke increased to 8 members of The German Bundestag. On the other hand, the increase seems to have taken place after the failed coup d'etat in July 2016, which will be scrutinized in terms of temporal aspects in the following chapters.

Even though there have been twice as many parliamentary questions in the 19th legislative period as there were in the 18th period, not much difference can be observed in terms of the framing of the papers. While 53 parliamentary questions were evaluated as anti-Turkey and 50 as neutral during the 18th legislative period, 65 papers were assessed as anti-Turkey and 64 as neutral during the 19th legislative period. The percentage of negative framing decreased from 51,45% to 50,38%, which is not a very remarkable change. No positive framed parliamentary questions were found within the mentioned two periods.

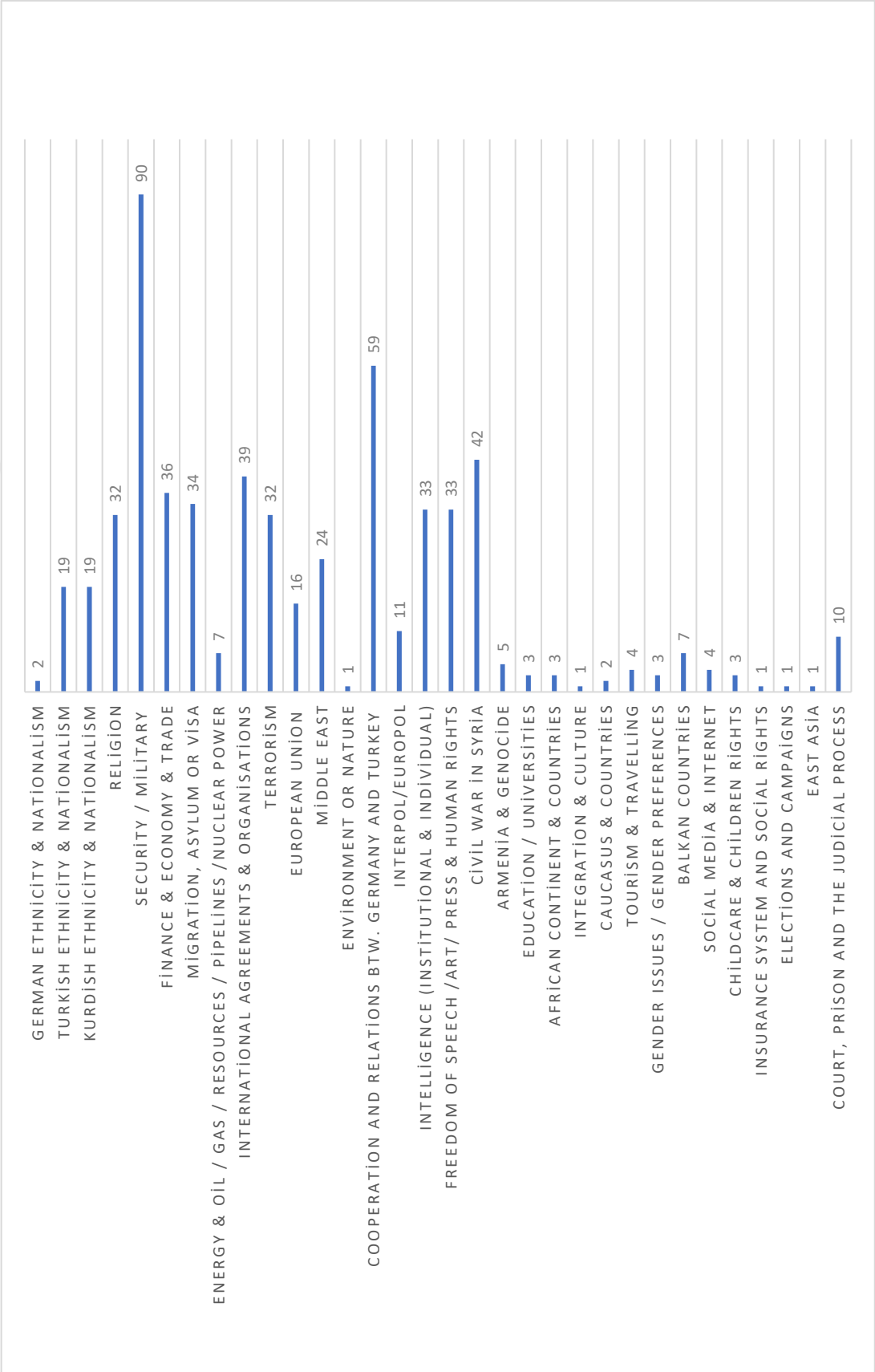
According to this distribution, it can be implied that MPs of Turkish origin use a negative framing about Turkey when they refer to Turkish and Kurdish nationalism. Indeed, parliamentary questions act as a kind of complaint when it comes to issues about nationalism, religion, security, freedom and human rights. However, they act rather impartial when contents about finance, economy, cooperation, culture, education and migration show up. To understand how the approach of the MPs towards their fatherland changes under different aspects, more details such as political, gender, or individual approach must be scrutinized.

4.2. Content of the Parliamentary Questions

Thirty-two different subjects were listed in the codebook as is mentioned in the methodology chapter. The subjects vary in their combinations which are crucial. Being

read one by one without taking the combined meanings into account, a frequency of issues can provide an overview of the contents. However, it should be remembered that the majority of the parliamentary questions were coded with more than one content.

Various issues were discussed in the parliamentary questions. Contents about German, Turkish or Kurdish ethnicity and nationalist movements arising from them; issues about religion, security, military, terrorism, finance, trade, migration, energy sources and transportation, international agreements were the most common contents. Issues referring to regions such as the EU, The Middle East, Balkan countries, African countries, Caucasus countries, East Asia were also discussed in the parliamentary questions. Moreover, issues about environment or nature, cooperation and relations between the two countries, Interpol and Europol, Intelligence, freedom of speech, art, press, human rights, the Civil War in Syria, Armenia and its claim about the so-called Armenian Genocide, education, integration, culture, tourism, gender issues, social media, Internet, childcare children rights, insurance system and social rights, elections and campaigns, court, prison and judicial process were also frequent contents of the parliamentary questions. Three subjects were not coded as they were mentioned just once or twice. These were the event of the Hotel Madimak, FETO and the Event of Dersim. One paper could not be classified. The following Graphic 2 represents the amount and distribution of the contents of the PQs.

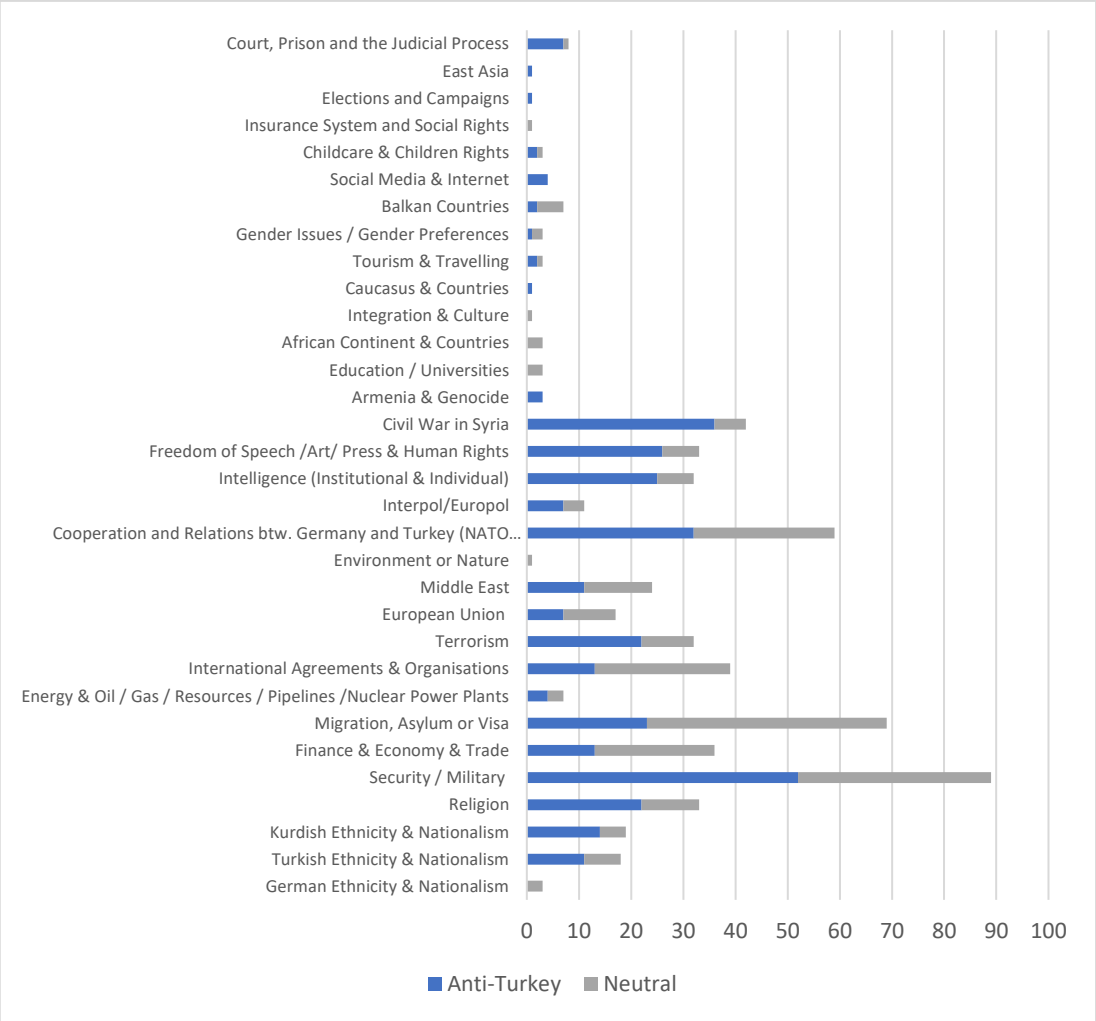


Graphic 2. Amount and Distribution of Contents of PQs

It can be inferred from the graphic that issues concerning security and military are the most mentioned issues with a rate of 15,59%, respectively followed by cooperations and relations between Turkey and Germany and the civil war in Syria. What can not be seen very frequently are issues about integration and culture, insurance systems and social rights, elections and campaigns, education and universities, children and children rights, social media and internet or issues about gender, tourism, environment and nature or Armenia and its claim about genocide. The fact that some critical contents from the Turkish point of view are proposed does contribute a lot to this thesis even though they are only a few in number compared to the most frequent ones. Especially contents such as 'Armenia and Genocide' or 'Religion' may be important perceptions of how the MPs of Turkish origin reflect their positions towards their cultural and historical background. The framing of any Member of the German Bundestag under transnational ties may be evaluated through their framing when it comes to issues concerning history, religion and culture.

Looking at the parliamentary questions from a detailed perspective in terms of location, the Middle East is the pioneer region which was connected to issues about Turkey, followed by questions taking place in the Balkan Region and not very frequently by Africa, the Caucasus and Asia. This may lead to the conclusion that MPs of Turkish origin do connect their fatherland to events taking place in territories outside Germany and Turkey.

The assessment of the parliamentary questions as pro-Turkey, anti-Turkey and neutral framing as well as compartmentalizing the issues and reassessing the relations between them may provide a deeper understanding which is adequate to perceive the framing of the MPs and observe the changes in framing when it comes to different issues. The following Graphic 3 shows how the parliamentary questions differ in their framing according to their content. It illustrates how the framing of Turkey changes when different issues are revived.



Graphic 3. Framing of PQs According to Contents

Parliamentary questions which are substantially negatively framed, also coded as anti-Turkey in the data, are mainly those concerning Turkish ethnicity and Turkish Nationalism, Kurdish ethnicity and Kurdish Nationalism, religion, security, military, terrorism, intelligence, freedom of speech, art, press, human rights, the Civil War in Syria, judicial process, the so-called Armenian Genocide, social media and internet.

As it can be seen in Graphic 3, the only three PQs with the content German Nationalism are neutrally framed, which is plausible, as Turkey is not be criticised about German Nationalism. Nevertheless, the other two contents about Nationalism reveal different framings. 14 PQs with the main content Kurdish Nationalism are evaluated as being negative framed while five as neutral. No paper with this content is positively

framed. PQs with the content Turkish Nationalism are eleven times negatively, seven times neutrally framed. Again, no paper with this content is positively framed.

PQs concerning security and military issues are mostly negatively framed. MPs of Turkish origin proposed 89 PQs with this content, of which 52 are negatively and 37 neutrally framed. Other subjects are, respectively, PQs with the content Terrorism, being 22 times negatively and ten times neutrally framed; Interpol/Europol, being seven times negatively and four times neutrally framed; intelligence, being 25 times negatively and seven times neutrally framed; contents about the Civil War in Syria, being 36 times negatively and six times neutrally framed; and Human Rights and Freedom, being 26 times negatively and seven times neutrally framed. As can be seen from these results, MPs of Turkish origin proposed a number of parliamentary questions in which Turkey is frequently negatively framed.

Parliamentary questions which are mostly neutrally framed, on the other side, are mainly those concerning finance, trade, migration, asylum, visa processes, international agreements and organisations, education and universities. Regional issues about the Balkans and African countries are also mainly evaluated as neutrally framed. Three questions about German Nationalism and ethnicity were proposed, all of which are neutrally framed.

Issues taking place in the Middle East, Africa, Caucasus, Balkans and East Asia seem to be neutrally framed in terms of their framing with an approximate rate of 58,33% among 36 locational-pointed issues. Finance, economy, trade, asylum, migration, visa as well as international agreements and organisations as well as education and universities, on the other hand, are mainly neutrally framed. Issues which make up the rest of the contents such as energy issues, EU, cooperation and relations between Germany and Turkey including NATO, integration and culture, tourism and travelling, gender issues, childcare and children rights, insurance system and elections are framed in an almost equal proportion. Energy, EU, Middle East, cooperation and relations between Germany and Turkey are almost equally evaluated in terms of negative and neutral framing.

Although a great number of parliamentary questions are evaluated as either neutrally or negatively framed, no positive framing in the parliamentary questions can be observed. However, it should be taken into account that the distinction between neutral

and negative framing as well as the proportion provide deeper understandings about the framing of the MPs of Turkish origin. As figures show, these MPs do have different framing towards different contents.

Besides “Turkey”, other keywords such as “Ankara”, Erdoğan” and “Osmanen” are also the objective of the search procedure. These additional keywords provide a more comprehensive overview. Their approach employs an understanding of how MPs of Turkish origin connect the keywords to each other.

Scrutinising PQs downloaded through keyword” Ankara”, it can be clearly observed that the government itself is mentioned. Fifty-nine parliamentary questions were proposed during the mentioned time periods. 64.40% of them are negatively framed, while 35,60% neutral. 84,75% of the 59 parliamentary questions comes from Die Linke while 15,25% by B90/ Die Grünen. Religion, German-Turkish relations and intelligence are the salient topics in the negatively framed PQs while number migration, asylum, visa issues and the Civil War in Syria are the most mentioned topics in PQs being neutral framed. It can be inferred from this distribution that the approach towards Ankara is mainly negative when issues concerning religion, bilateral relations between Turkey and Germany and intelligence arise while the approach remains mainly neutral in issues such as migration, asylum and the civil war in Syria.

Data which derives from keyword “Erdogan”, on the other side, consists of 58 parliamentary questions among which 79,30% are negatively and 20,70% neutrally framed. Mainly Die Linke with a proportion of 87,93% refers to “Erdogan” while only 12,07% of the parliamentary questions came from B90/Die Grünen. When it comes to issues concerning security, finance, trade, terrorism, intelligence and thus bilateral relations, a critical tone can be observed while not much neutral framed PQs are present.

“Diyanet”, the institution for religious affairs in Turkey, is framed 13 times negatively and three times neutrally. 12 of 16 parliamentary questions were proposed by Die Linke while four by B90/Die Grünen. Issues concerning Turkish ethnicity and Nationalism as well as religion are salient in the PQs with this keyword.

Keyword “Osmanen” is framed 11 times negatively and only once neutrally. All of the parliamentary questions which refer to this keyword have the signature of MPs of Die

Linke. Turkish ethnicity as well as security, are the salient issues in this group and thus, all negatively framed.

The current Minister of Foreign Affairs “Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu” is only mentioned three times. All of the PQs concerning “Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu” is negative. Two of them came from Die Linke while one from B90/ Die Grünen. The salient issue in negative framed papers is about security and finance. The former ministers “Feridun Sinirlioğlu” is only one time negatively framed and mentioned by Die Linke while “Ahmet Davutoğlu” with only five parliamentary questions in total, is framed 80% negative, 20% neutral. The majority of these negative framed PQs refer to issues about Turkish ethnicity, security, military and terrorism.

Keyword “Hakan Fidan” is five times negatively framed among which three came from Die Linke and two from B90/Die Grünen. Intelligence is the main issue in this group.

Keyword “Binali Yıldırım” is once negatively and once neutrally framed by the MPs of Die Linke. The PQ question points at issues about Turkish Nationalism.

It can be said that the contents of the parliamentary questions have significant effects on the approaches towards Turkey. Although transnational ties seem to influence Turkish emigrants and keep them close-knit to their fatherland, these bonds may vary according to the issue in the PQ.

4.3. Political Aspect

Looking from the political point of view, a difference between the two parties, Die Linke and Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen, can be observed explicitly. While respectively 83 and 114 parliamentary questions were proposed by Die Linke during the 18th and 19th legislative period, Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen respectively proposed just 20 and 15

parliamentary questions during the mentioned periods. The following graphic demonstrates the share of the parliamentary questions for both periods.

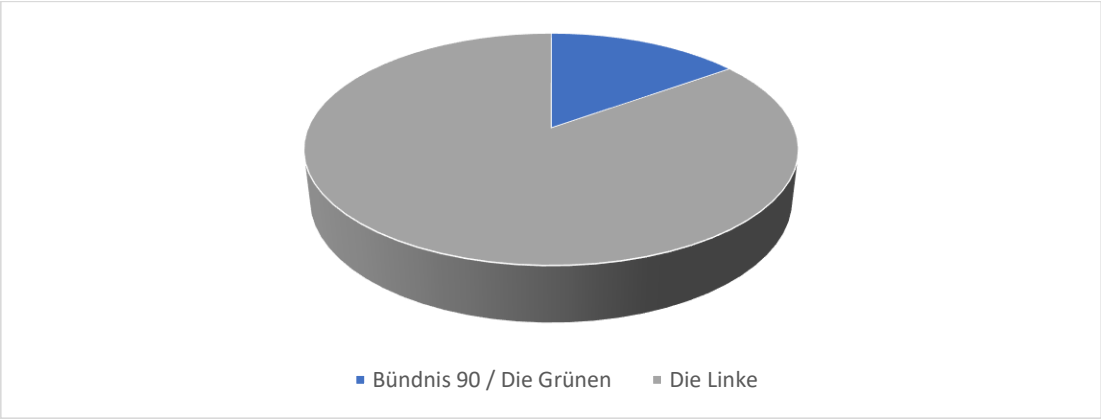


Figure 8. Share of Proposed PQ by Political Party

Die Linke proposed respectively 83 and 114 parliamentary questions during the 18th and 19th, among which 45 are negative and 38 neutral during the 18th, 62 negative and 52 neutral during the 19th legislative period. The occupation of Turkey in the agenda of Die Linke increased 174%. Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen, on the other hand, increased its interest in Turkey by 87,5% from 20 parliamentary questions to 15, among which 8 and 3 were respectively negative, 12 and another 12 were neutral during the 18th and 19th period. It should be taken into account that the percentages display the rate of annual questions as the 18th legislative period lasted four years, and the 19th legislative period has not ended yet. Thus, data were downloaded from the end of 2017 until the end of 2019, which accounts for two years.

MPs of both parties proposed no single question which is assessed in a positive context. 54,31% of parliamentary question which came from the MPs of Die Linke are assessed as negative while 35,48% parliamentary question which came from the MPs of Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen is seen as negative.

The assessment of neutral questions in terms of its aim is rather important. Among 90 parliamentary questions from Die Linke which are assessed as neutral, only 14 aimed

at Turkey which means that 84,44% of neutral assessed parliamentary questions do not directly aim at Turkey at all. It can be inferred from these findings that the framing about Turkey is actually more negative than previously counted. Now that 107 papers include negative contents about Turkey, 14 neutral and 76 neutral but not aimed at Turkey are present, it can be inferred that the total number of questions are 121 and 90 of them negatively framed. Thus, the real percentage of the negative framing increases to 74,38%.

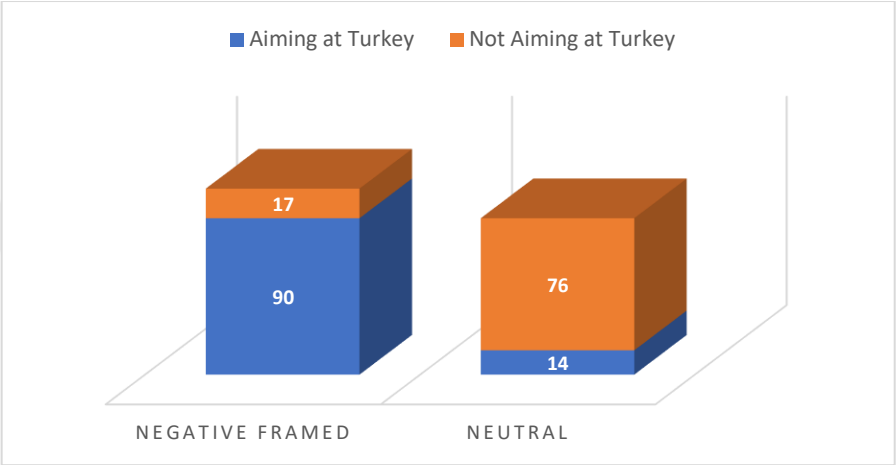


Figure 9. Amount of Neutral and Negative Framing Proposed by Die Linke

Meanwhile, Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen proposed 24 parliamentary questions in which the framing towards Turkey is assessed being neutral. However, only 5 of them aimed at Turkey. The remaining 19 questions which accounts for 79,16%, are not directly about Turkey. Ruling out the number of questions which do not take Turkey as a subject, 11 negative questions out of 16 papers that aim at Turkey accounts for 68,75% negative approach.

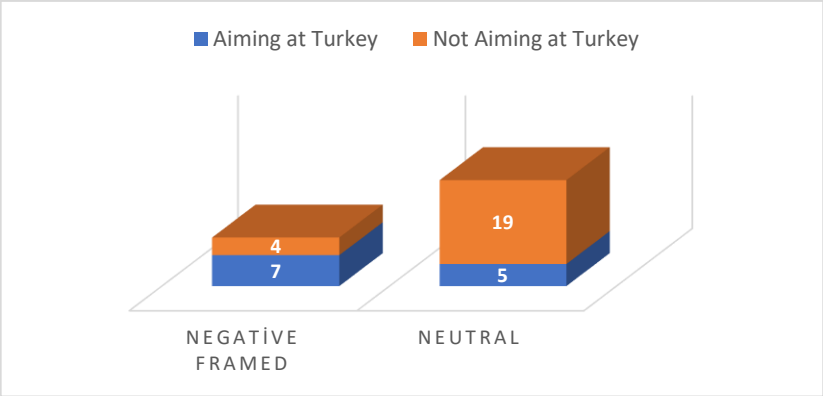


Figure 10. Neutral and Negative Framing Proposed by B90/ Die Grünen

The findings, obtained with the help of content analysis, reveal the difference in the framing and the quantity of the MPs in terms of their political parties. It should be taken into account that although Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen had 3 MPs and Die Linke 2 MPs during the 18th legislative period, the framing, as well as the number of questions of Die Linke, is much higher than Bündnis 90 / Die Grüne. The same applies to the current 19th legislative period during which Die Linke is home to 3 MPs and Bündnis 90/ Grüne to 5 MPs of Turkish origin. It can be inferred from this context that being from different political aspects may influence the framing even to the country of origin. However, looking into the individual aspect is likely to reveal more understanding of transnational ties, which will be handled in further findings.

4.4. Individual Approach

The 18th legislative period hosted 11, whereas the 19th legislative period hosts 14 MPs of Turkish origin. However, as the data does not contain any parliamentary question

from SPD and CDU/CSU, the remaining 10 MPs from Die Linke and B90/ Die Grünen can be seen as the MPs, generating the agenda about Turkey.

As it is pointed out in the previous discussions, Die Linke proposed by far the most parliamentary questions. Within Die Linke, Gökay Akbulut, proposing 63 parliamentary questions during the 19th legislative period, takes the lead with 31,5 documents annually. Sevim Dağdelen, proposing 149 parliamentary questions during the 18th and 19th legislative period is the second most questioner about Turkey with 24,83 documents annually. Helin Evrim Sommer, who, with a total number of 33 parliamentary questions during the 19th legislative period takes the third place, asking approximately 16,50 documents annually. After three members of Die Linke, Cem Özdemir, member of B90/Die Grünen takes the fourth place with 25 parliamentary questions, which accounts for 12,50 documents annually.

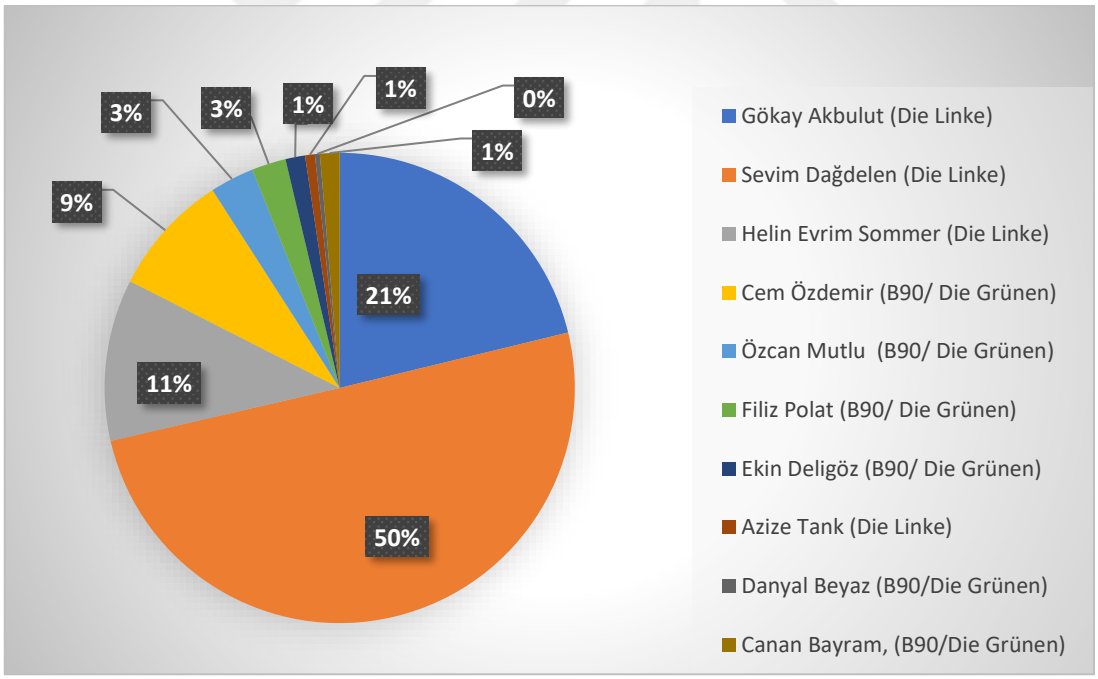


Figure 11. Share of PQ by MPs Individually

The graphic of the MPs' parliamentary questions depicts how their proportion differs in terms of their number throughout the 18th and 19th legislative period. However, as there are MPs participating in the German Bundestag for only one of these two periods, unlike those who have been on duty for the last two periods, a better perception of what their attendance truly is, is to obtain their average annual parliamentary question numbers. Because the 18th legislative period consists of four years and the 19th legislative period of two years until December 2019, the numbers of parliamentary questions, proposed by the MPs are divided by the number of years for which the MPs took part in the German Bundestag. By virtue of this calculation, an annual number of the document emerges, providing a better and clearer perception of the participation of the MPs.

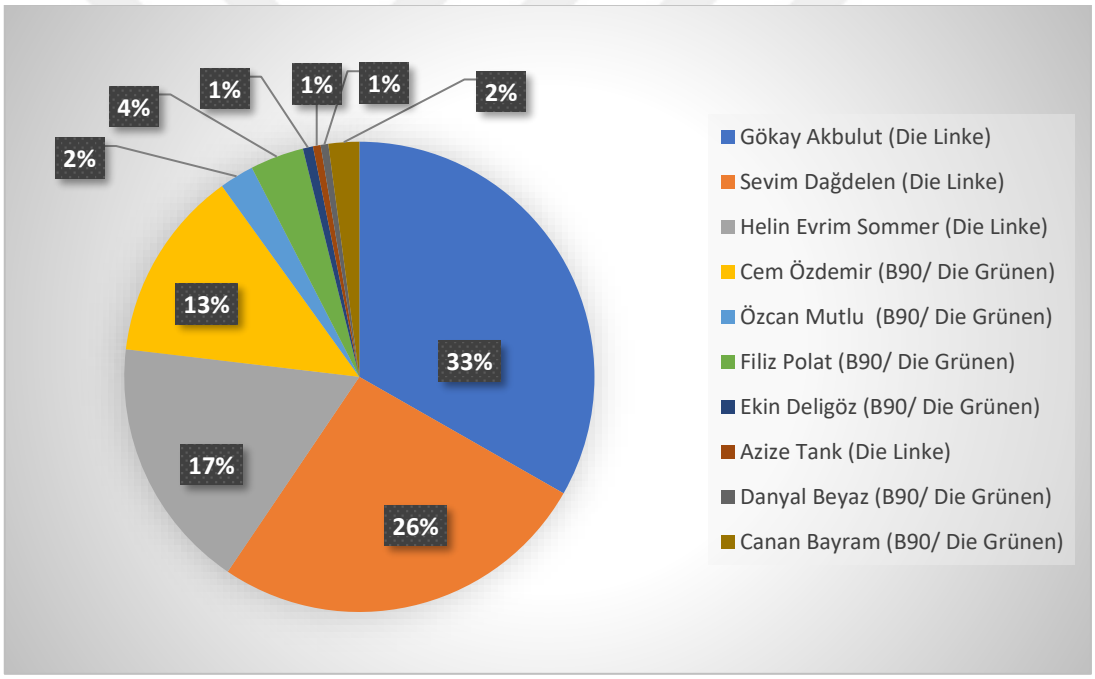
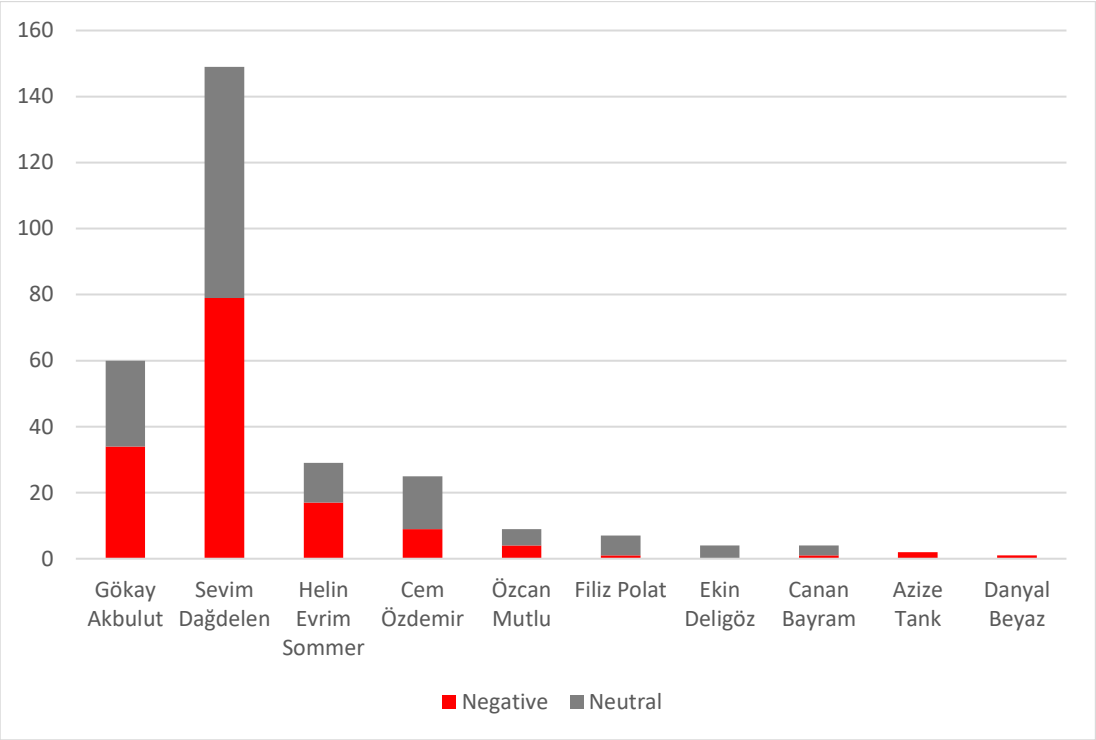


Figure 12. Annual Share of PQ by MPs

As can be observed from both the annual and total number of questions, the participation of women is far greater than their male counterparts. Furthermore, research about the contents of the papers gives more understanding of their framing about their country of origin, Turkey. The following Graphic 4 demonstrates each Member of the German Bundestag of Turkish origin by the number of their parliamentary questions.

While the red colour represents the amount of negative framed questions, the grey colour shows the proportion of neutral questions.



Graphic 4. Positive, Neutral and Negative Framing of MPs Individually

Out of the total number of parliamentary questions which refer to Turkey, 149 documents were proposed by Sevim Dağdelen, among which 79 are assigned as anti-Turkey and 70 as neutrally framed. As for Gökay Akbulut, 36 parliamentary questions out of her 60 PQs are noted as anti-Turkey while 24 are thought to be neutrally framed. 17 documents out of 29, which were proposed by Helin Evrim Sommer are assessed as negatively framed while 12 of her parliamentary questions are assessed as neutral. Nine parliamentary questions of Cem Özdemir, on the other hand, are evaluated as negative while 16 as neutral. The other assessments are as follows; out of two parliamentary questions of Azize Tank both are assessed as negative; out of nine documents of Özcan Mutlu, four are thought to be negatively framed and five neutrally. All of four parliamentary questions of Ekin Deligöz are assessed as totally neutral. Filiz Polat, six of whose parliamentary questions are assessed neutral and one negative, keeps a rate close

to Ekin Deligöz. And last but not least, the only parliamentary question of Dr Danyal Beyaz is assessed as negative.

In this context, an assessment of the framing of the MPs in terms of their approach towards Turkey can be obtained with the help of the given statistics. It is obvious that there are no parliamentary questions evaluated as positively framed. However, the framing of the existing ones is by approximately 50% negatively framed. This evaluation may provide a good understanding of the degree to which the MPs of Turkish origin represent their fatherland. But much more has been asked about the content of the questions, rather than their rates. Hence, the essential part of our study is the content analysis in terms of the locations and agenda of the questions.

4.5. The Location of the Issues

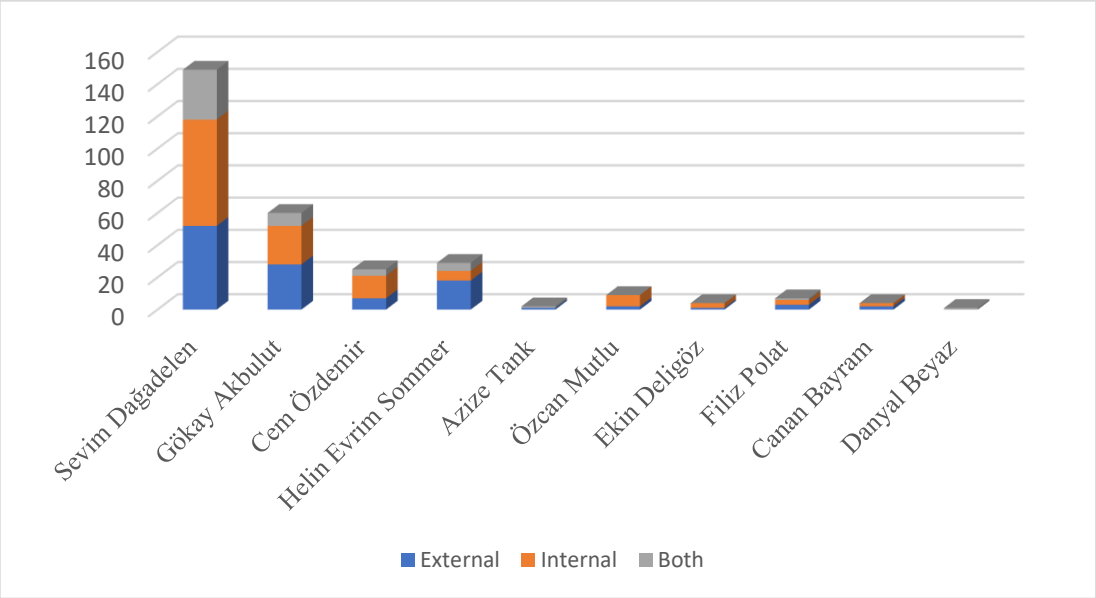
A rather important part of this thesis is to infer where the issues in the parliamentary questions take place. This approach has never been used in the literature before. Studying the parliamentary questions according to their location is crucial as it is aimed to reveal the relationship among content, framing and location. To understand the approach of the MPs from a geographical point of view, the parliamentary questions are also scrutinized in terms of their location. In this context, the documents are grouped into three divisions, namely; internal, which means that the issue is domestic from Germany's point of view, External, which refers to issues taking place in Turkey or other countries, and Both which means that the issue encompasses both German and Turkish territories. Some parliamentary questions whose location are neither Germany nor Turkey are categorized according to the issue's region. Namely the EU, Middle East, Africa, Caucasus, Balkans and East Asia. This has been explained in the codebook, which is to be found in the Appendix.

37.93% of the proposed parliamentary questions are about issues taking place outside Germany while 43.10% are mainly about issues taking place inside Germany and

18.96% about issues which encompass both countries. Furthermore, as it can be inferred from the data, many questions are categorized neither to Turkey's nor to Germany's location. Sixteen parliamentary questions are about issues concerning Turkey and the EU; 24 parliamentary questions the Middle East; 42 parliamentary questions Syria mainly due to the ongoing civil war, 3 Africa, 2 Caucasus, 7 Balkans and only one parliamentary question concerns issues about East Asia.

From the location point of view, 66,66% of all internal issued parliamentary questions are seen as neutral framed while 33,34% of them are evaluated as anti-Turkey framed. On the other hand, 30,68% of all external issued questions are assessed as neutral while 69,31% as anti-Turkey. Parliamentary questions whose location encompasses internal and external perspective have almost an equal distribution in their framing about Turkey. Again, no pro-Turkey framed questions are observed in the data.

From these figures, it can be inferred that MPs of Turkish origin asked much more neutral framed questions about internal issues while external issues were by far more anti-Turkey framed. However, it would be elucidative to handle the MPs individually and see how they proposed their parliamentary questions in terms of location. The following Graphic 5 shows the distribution of the parliamentary questions according to the MPs, individually.

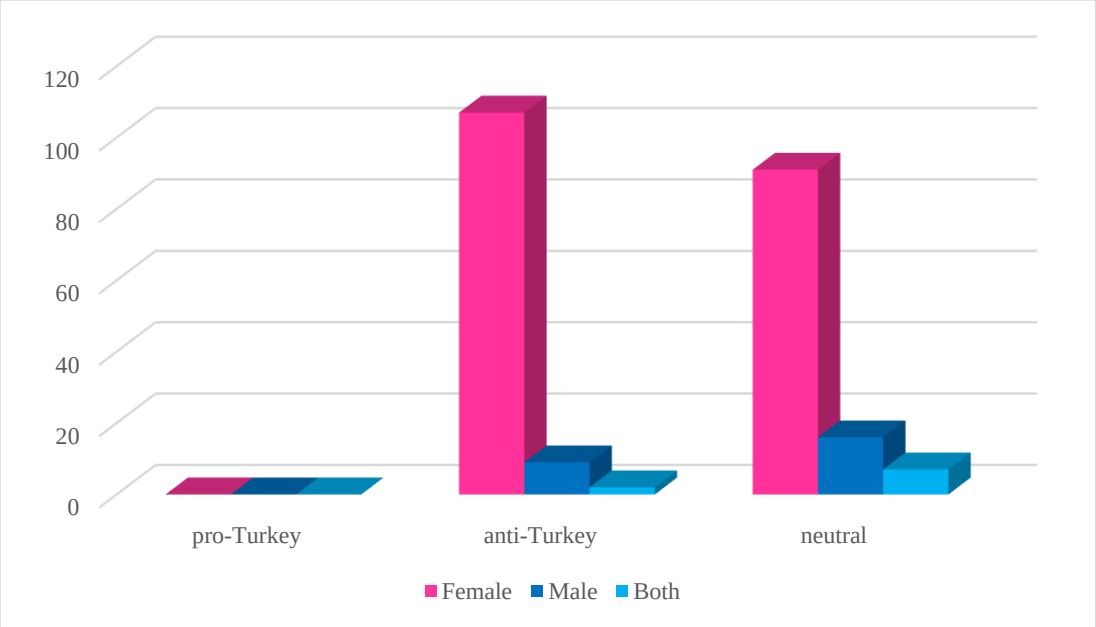


Graphic 5. Internal and External Distribution of PQs by MPs

What comes to the attention is that MPs of the political party Die Linke are far more interested in external issues than those of B90/Die Grünen. With a rate of 41,25% of external, 40% of internal and 18,75% of both side coded, the MPs of Die Linke distinguish from the MPs of B90/Die Grünen whose parliamentary questions are coded as 31.37% external, 56.86% internal and 11,76% from both sides. It can be inferred from these rates that the MPs of Die Linke are much more interested in issues taking place outside Germany and mainly in Turkey's domestic issues than the MPs of B90/Die Grünen.

4.6. Gender Aspect

Another aim of this thesis is to understand how gender roles influence the framing of the MPs. The following Graphic 6 shows the distribution of the parliamentary questions in terms of their framing according to gender.



Graphic 6. Distribution of Gender by Framing of PQs

As it can be inferred from the graph, the proportion of female MPs of Turkish origin is by far much bigger than the proportion of male MPs of Turkish origin. However, as one member of the German Bundestag, who is a female, takes the lead in asking the most questions, this distribution should also be taken into account individually so as to observe the MPs' framing on an individual basis.

The individual approach which is discussed in previous chapters shows that Sevim Dağdelen's 79 parliamentary questions are assigned as anti-Turkey while 70 as neutrally framed. Gökay Akbulut, on the other hand, proposed 36 parliamentary questions which are evaluated as anti-Turkey, while 24 of them are thought to be neutrally framed. Seventeen parliamentary questions of Helin Evrim Sommer are assessed as anti-Turkey while 12 of her parliamentary questions are assessed as neutral. Nine parliamentary questions of Cem Özdemir, on the other hand, are evaluated as negative while 16 as neutral. Azize Tank's both parliamentary questions throughout the 18th legislative period are assessed as negative. Four parliamentary questions proposed by Özcan Mutlu are evaluated to be including negative framing and five neutral. All of four parliamentary questions of Ekin Deligöz are assessed as totally neutral. Six parliamentary questions proposed by Filiz Polat are assessed as neutral while one negative. Dr Danyal Beyaz proposed just one parliamentary question which is assessed as anti-Turkey framed.

According to the given figures, it seems that female MPs do have more tendency to ask anti-Turkey framed questions while male MPs remain more neutral.

4.7. Temporal Aspect

The notion of the temporal aspect is based on the idea that a political agenda is influenced by events and changes taking place during the legislative period. It is of great importance to obtain an understanding of how and to what degree MPs of Turkish origin seem to be influenced during the 18th and 19th legislative period of the German

Bundestag. The crucial point is to indicate and sort the data which is researched from two different perspectives.

First of all, parliamentary questions are taken in a monthly period and divided according to their framing. A monthly overview graphic helps to understand the change in framing much better. Crucial dates of important political events are seen as cornerstones which stand for 30th March 2014 Local Elections in Turkey, Refugee Crisis in/after 2015, 7th June 2015 General Elections and its repeat on 1st November 2015 in Turkey, 15th July 2016 Coup d'Etat in Turkey, 16th April 2017 Constitutional Referendum in Turkey, 24th September 2017 Bundestag Election in Germany, 24th June 2018 General Parliamentary & Presidential Elections in Turkey and 31st March 2019 Local Elections in Turkey.

The reason why the failed coup d'état in Turkey is taken as a reference time point is that in one parliamentary question. MPs indicate the coup attempt as a 'milestone which changed everything' by saying:

"The coup attempt on July 15th 2016 was a milestone to intimidate the opposition and pave the way for a new rule system. It was a footing for the referendum on April 16th 2017 and eventually for a change of the system."[4]

From that point of view, it is expected to observe a change in the framing as well as in frequency and quantity of the parliamentary questions referring to Turkey, which can be observed in the following Figure 13.

[4] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/15211, 15 November 2019.

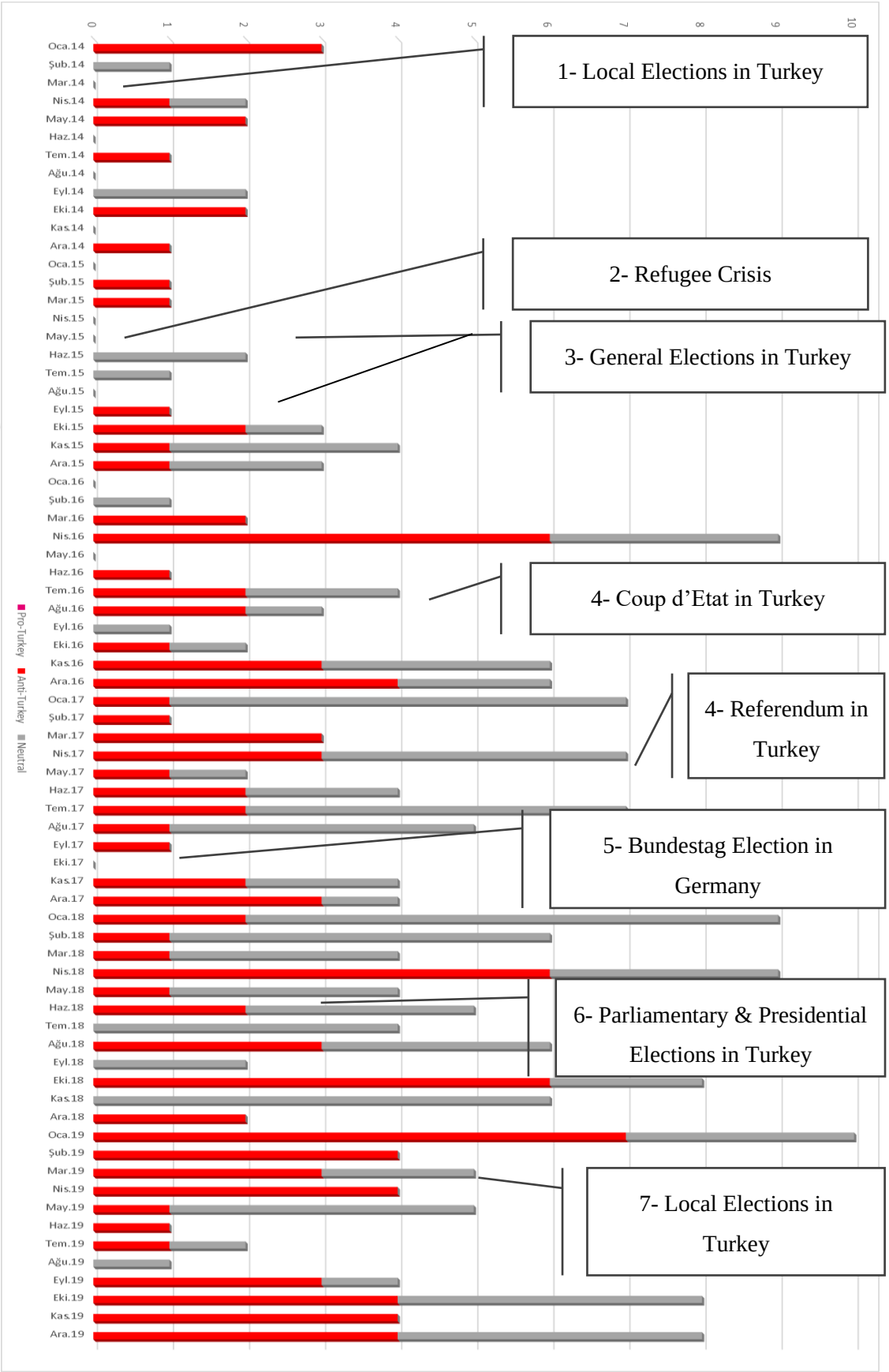
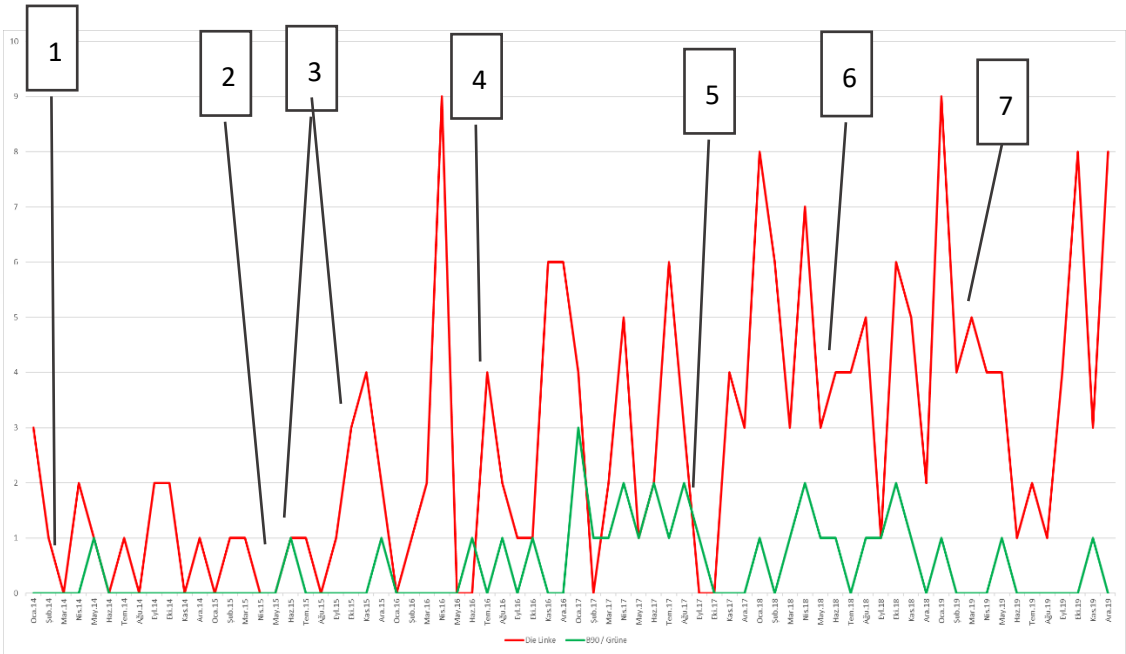


Figure 13. Frequency, Amount and Framing of PQ in Temporal Aspect

Second, parliamentary questions are taken in a monthly period and grouped according to the political party. The following graphic indicates the political parties' behaviour by referring to the number of parliamentary questions in a monthly based overview. The same cornerstones stand for important dates of important events.



Graphic 7. Frequency of PQs by Political Party in Temporal Aspect

In the content analysis chapter, it can be observed that MPs of Turkish origin posed some questions according to the agenda of Turkey and Turkish politics. Besides the content of the parliamentary questions, their quantity and frequency seem to be shaped by the agenda of Turkey as well. As both graphics above illustrate, the mentioned important events are highly likely to have impacts on the parliamentary questions. The previous 18th legislative period is more neutral and not very interested in Turkey while the 19th legislative period has more parliamentary questions in number and negative framing. However, as MPs of Turkish origin posed questions during times apart from the mentioned ones, a huge relation between the events and the framing and number can not be clearly pointed out.

4.8. Observations

The results of the content analysis, as well as numbers and graphics, show how the MPs of Turkish origin represent Turkey in their parliamentary questions under different circumstances. It can be pointed out that these MPs change their framing when different issues are discussed. One of the most interesting clues for this is the negative framing about Turkey when contents about Kurdish and Turkish Nationalism arise. Parliamentary questions which refer to German ethnicity & nationalism are all evaluated neutrally in their framing, whereas those referring to Turkish ethnicity & nationalism are evaluated as 61% anti-Turkey framed while parliamentary questions with Kurdish ethnicity & nationalism contents account for 73.68% anti-Turkey framed.

Especially Die Linke seems highly critical against nationalism and religious organisations active in Germany and in Turkey. They represent Turkish nationalism and German nationalism as a threat as they have negative meanings in Germany, most likely due to the fear of nationalism as one parliamentary question, proposed in October 2018 by Sevim Dağdelen, a female member of Die Linke, defining The Greywolves as an extreme rightwing nationalist movement.[5] These two terms seem to have strong impacts on other ethnic minorities. According to the MPs, Kurds, Alawites, Christians and other minorities in Turkey are often suppressed and ruled out from the Turkish society. However, other types of extremism, nationalism and terror are not framed very threatening. For instance, Kurdish nationalism is almost not mentioned, and moreover, Kurds in the Middle East are represented as a minority which must be protected.

Papers pointing out Turkish ethnic nationalism or Kurdish ethnic nationalism are seen nine times more than papers concerning German nationalism. Furthermore, the parliamentary questions prefer explicitly the term ‘The Workers Party PKK’ so as to represent it as a political movement which is not very tolerable for the Turkish citizens in Turkey and Germany. And no PQ contains any information about the aggression and

[5] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/5212, 23 October 2018.

terrorism that is executed by PKK. Similar to that, MPs of Turkish origin also tend to use the terms 'Armenian Genocide', a phenomenon which is not accepted by Turkey.

The share of negative frames on general issues about security and military are 59,55%. 68,75% of the content on terrorism has a negative frame on Turkey. Messages related to Interpol, Europol and other intelligence actors or activities are framed highly negatively on Turkey. The percentages of negative frames are 63,63%, 78.12% and 85,71%, respectively. As it can be seen from the figures, MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag framed their approaches negatively while asking questions about the mentioned issues and their fatherland Turkey. Contents about religion, freedom of speech, art, press and human rights, Armenia and its claim of the so-called genocide, social media and internet as well as issues about the court, prison and judicial processes in Turkey also shaped highly negatively. 76,54% of all messages on such context has an anti-Turkey frame. Kurdish ethnicity and nationalism are mostly associated with Turkish nationalism, security and military issues, freedom of speech, art, press and human rights.

As Turkey is directly or indirectly involved in the agenda of the German Bundestag, it is clear that the MPs of the opposition parties often blame the German government for turning a blind eye to the acts of Turkey.[6] In some documents, Turkey is portrayed as an occupying country in Syria. Sevim Dağdelen and other members of Die Linke, for instance, say the following in their question in January 2019: *"... Turkey has twice already intervened in Northern Syria. In August 2016, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan held the Operation Euphrates Shield and in 2018 the Operation Olive Branch in which the Turkish Army and their Islamic ally the Free Syrian Army occupied the city of Afrin midst March. Tens of thousands of settlers were dispelled, and plunderings by rebels in massive scales took place. Uneasy tranquillity rules the region since then. However, attacks occur from time to time and news about encroachments on the inhabitants are reported…"*[7] And when it comes to issues about human rights, the MPs of Turkish origin tend to ask whether Turkey fulfils the conditions of becoming a member of the EU. By doing this, even if they do not criticise Turkey and stay neutral, it can be

[6] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/8173, 15 April 2016.; Hunko, Andrej, Question Number: 18/8205, 19 April 2016.

[7] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/7368, 25 January 2019.

inferred that asking an issue to the German government blurrily reveals a critical tone about the country of origin.

Turkey's military operations in northern Syria are also the focus of the data analysed. An example for this is a PQ proposed by Helin Evrim Sommer, a female MP, and other members of Die Linke in January 2018. Sommer condemns the military operations for causing humanitarian disasters in Syria.[8] The operations of the Turkish army in the region, according to the MPs, catalyzed the depletion of minorities such as Yezidis, Assyrians, Kurds and other communities by the ISIS.

German MPs of Turkish origin are also highly critical against practices by the Turkish state after the military coup attempt. Özdemir, for instance, heavily criticises Turkey for the maltreatment and torture with the following words: *"Approximately 1500 organisations and foundations were closed during the two-year-long period under a state of emergency. Even after the repeal of the emergency state, peaceful protests are oppressed, and activists are being attacked and marginalised through a presidential decree. Whoever states any critical expression about the government must consider an arrest by the police."*.[9]

MPs of Turkish origin are critical about Turkey's utilization of the legal right to set an all-points bulletin through Interpol by virtue of the existing judicial and security cooperation. Together with a group of other members of Die Linke, Sevim Dağdelen proposed the following in a question posted in January 2014: *"A growing misuse of Interpol as a means of the political pursuit of opponents in exile and refugees, by a range of member states, is complained by the human rights organisation Fair Trials International. They explicitly state that members such as Turkey, Russia and Iran are counted in this group… "*[10]

The MPs are also critical about being influenced politically by Turkey as it can be inferred in a few PQ proposed by Sevim Dağdelen and other MPs of Die Linke in various

[8] Sommer, Helin Evrim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/1579, 04 April 2018.
[9] Özdemir, Cem and Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, Question Number: 19/14895, 7 November 2019.
[10] Jelpke, Ulla and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/409, 30 January 2014.

times, in which the influence of Turkey in Germany is questioned and criticised.[11] Not only political and human rights aspects are adressed and criticised, but also agreements on military trade cooperation such as the Rheinmetall or other German arms production seems to discomfort the MPs of Turkish origin. The issues are actually quite salient subjects in the agendas of MPs of Turkish origin in Bundestag as the issue is raised in twenty-two different PQs.

Issues on education and visa seem to have higher participation by MPs of Turkish origin as it can be observed in one parliamentary question proposed by four MPs of Turkish origin and other B90/Die Grünen deputies. While Turkey is referred in a neutral tone in the PQ, it is also significant that the issue has one of the highest numbers of MPs of Turkish origin among all other PQs. Visa distribution and residency permission for researchers or students from other countries are issued while Turkey is only mentioned for having a appointment system through phone but not any online system for those interested.[12]

Previous studies claim that there is a relation between political ideology and content (Wüst 2016: 417). According to the results of this thesis, a relation between political ideology and content is observable. For instance, parliamentary questions about Kurdish ethnicity and nationalism came predominantly from Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut and Helin Evrim Sommer who are members of Die Linke. Their tone remains critical and negative towards political movements such as The Greywolves which is believed to have a close connection to MHP, the political partner of AKP. In one of the PQs, it is stated that the Greywolves represent strong racism against those who are not Turkish-sunnite. They also add that Kurds, Alevites, Armenians, Greeks and Jews are counted as some of their enemies.[13]

In one PQ, it is asked whether Turkey, described as an international ally against ISIS, could encroach the given data in their fight against the Kurds. The tone against Turkey remains again very critical when it comes to issues about Kurds, although that

[11] Dağdelen, Sevim und Die Linke, Question Number: 18/9504, 30 August 2016.; Dağdelen, Sevim und Die Linke, Question Number: 19/67, 14 November 2017.; Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 19/7869, 19 February 2019.

[12] Gehring, Kai and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Question Number: 19/4172, 6 September 2018.

[13] Jelpke, Ulla and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/344, 24 January 2014.

question was mainly related to ISIS.[14] Although contents about terrorism and the Civil War in Syria often came from Die Linke, the proportion of the B90 / Die Grünen in terms of neutral approach is higher.

It has been stated in the literature that political representation is shaped and influenced by the gender of the MPs (Castiglione, 2012; Celis et al., 2014; Phillips, 2012). Although not much difference is observed when looking into the gender distribution, the rate of male MPs in neutrally framed parliamentary questions is slightly more than negatively framed questions. Especially Cem Özdemir from B90/ Die Grünen seems more visible in neutrally framed questions. Nevertheless, the number of female MPs in general aspect outweighs the number of male MPs in any case. Therefore, it can be inferred from the results that female MPs have addressed issues related to Turkey significantly more than their male counterparts as it is the case in other relevant academic studies in the relevant literature.

Data analysis for this research shows that MPs of Turkish origin rely on conventional media as well as new media and mainly refer to their contents in order to point at issues. By doing this, MPs do have the chance to indirectly criticise or even blame Turkey or the Turkish government. However, MPs may sometimes not rely on authenticated pictures or news present on social media. One instance is a picture which claimed to be representing Bilal Erdoğan, son of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, standing together with Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) members.[15] In fact, the men were Turkish citizens who had nothing to do with ISIS. Alone this example shows how unreliable sources may be preferred by the MPs of Turkish origin.

As it is discussed in the literature, politicians of a certain minority group do not always act in favour of their constituency (Aydemir and Vliegenthart, 2015; Durose et al., 2013; Garrett, 2017; Murray, 2016). It can be inferred from the results that this literature also applies to their country of origin. Our study shows that Turkey is never positively framed. No parliamentary question proposed by the MPs of Turkish origin contains any positive tone towards Turkey. Yet, a distribution of neutral and negative

[14] Brugger, Agnieszka and Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, Question Number: 18/8790, 2 June 2016.
[15] Dağdelen, Sevim and Die Linke, Question Number: 18/7037, 10 December 2015.

framing still shows how the framing changes according to the content of the parliamentary questions.

5. CONCLUSION

As the world is converting into a realm where many cultures, nations and religions live together and react immediately to each other, ignoring the impacts of transnational, ethnic, cultural or religious bonds is unimaginable. Especially in Germany, which is the field of this inquiry, politics under transnational ties is becoming more and more visible and important.

Parliaments of West European countries have frequently been studied with the help of elements such as gender, ideology, migration and religion. However, the German Bundestag and its MPs of Turkish origin have not much been the focus of research. This thesis aims to shed light on politics under transnational ties from the perspective of MPs of Turkish origin. It has the distinctive position of being based on real, dynamic and tangible documents. As the research benefits from the parliamentary questions, which were proposed by the MPs themselves, one can perceive from the contents and data results to what extent the members of the German Bundestag of Turkish origin do represent their country of origin and country of citizenship.

The research comes to the conclusion that the MPs of Turkish origin do not provide a positive approach towards their country of origin Turkey. Their tones are evaluated to be mainly negatively framed. It is obvious that many MPs of Turkish origin refrain from referring to Turkey. Those who mention Turkey in their parliamentary works take a critical approach against their counrty of origin and put forward negative framings.

The tone of MPs of Turkish origin seems to be shaped by the political parties to which they belong. Besides, they seem to follow almost every single agenda about Turkey and relate these subjects to the relations between their government and the government of Turkey. It is obvious that some critical events and issues influence the contents of the parliamentary questions as well as the frequency of proposing them. The difference in framing and interest in Turkey seems to be in relation to gender. As many scholars

previously proposed, being a woman does make a difference. Likewise, this inquiry shows that female MPs of Turkish origin proposed by far more question than male MPs of Turkish origin. In addition to that, it also shows that no positive approach to Turkey can be observed.

It seems that transnational ties make MPs refer to their country of origin as they might feel responsible and connected to their constituency and country of origin. Nonetheless, this research shows that transnational ties alone do not make the MPs frame their country of origin in a positive way. It can be said that there are stronger factors such as political parties that shape the contents of the questions and the framing of the MPs. Political parties may act as filters, not only before the election procedure but also during the legislative period. They seem to be the pioneer among all other elements which are taken into account. The ideology of any political party is likely to shape and manipulate the agenda as well as the framing of the MPs about any issue. Thus, a change in framing or a positive image about Turkey in the parliamentary questions should not be expected as long as political parties which are led by politicians who ideologically think and act in accordance with their country of origin take part in the German Bundestag.

This thesis focuses on Turkish-German relations from the eyes of the MPs of Turkish origin in the German Bundestag. However, the work can be applied to most countries which are ruled by democratic, parliamentarian systems. It is of great importance to study parliamentarian outputs to understand what and how the governments work since parliaments are the hearts of democracies. The first perceivable reaction to any subject can be observed in the parliament. Nevertheless, further studies about this research can be conducted by scrutinizing social media, press or even the change in framing before and after the elections to obtain more details about the behaviours of the MPs of Turkish origin.

Looking into parliamentary questions in order to understand the framing of MPs of Turkish origin towards their fatherland Turkey may provide a plausible understanding and explanation. However, as this study is limited to written parliamentary questions, it offers just one approach and framing of the Members of the German Bundestag. In fact, more ways to examine the framing of MPs are present. Sources such as verbal

parliamentary questions and one-minute speeches may be other sources of data for future research.

As parliamentary questions about Turkey were only proposed by two opponent parties, critics about Turkey related to their own government can be observed. Parliamentary questions are by nature critical. Indeed, looking from the perspective of MPs of Turkish origin, being a member of the opposition party might have an impact on framing their questions more critically. MPs of Turkish origin may have the responsibility of being bound to two nations which may have an impact on their political agenda preferences.

The MPs of Turkish origin in this thesis are defined in a homogenous context in terms of their Turkish identity. However, further studies can be done with the help of heterogenous identity definition as different ethnic and religious backgrounds are present in Turkey, which could also be taken into account in further studies about politics under transnational ties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abney, G. F. and Hutcheson, J. D. (1981). Race, Representation and Trust: Changes in Attitudes after the Election of a Black Mayor. *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 45(1), 91-101.

Ali, R. and O' Cinneide, C. (2002) *Our House? Race and Representation in British Politics,* London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Amnesty International. (2016). *Turkey: No Safe Refuge: Asylum-Seekers and Refugess Denied Effective Protection in Turkey.* https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur44/3825/2016/en/. *(Accessed on 15.09.2020, 08:36)*

Aydemir Çavuş, N. (2015). *Migrant Representation within British and Dutch Political Systems,* İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, Ankara

Aydemir, N., and Vliegenthart, R. (2015). 'Minority Representatives' in the Netherlands: Supporting, Silencing or Suppressing?. Parliamentary Affairs, 69(1), 73–92. doi: 10.1093/pa/gsv009

Banducci, S. A., Donovan, T. and Karp, J.A. (2004). Minority Representation, Empowerment and Participation. *The Journal of Politics,* 66(2), 534–556.

Barreto, M. A. (2007). ¡Si Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters. *American Political Science Review,* 101(3), 425–441.

Barreto, M. A., Villareal, M. and Woods, N.D. (2005). Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Voter Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles. *Journal of Urban Affairs,* 27(1), 71–91.

Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wüst, A.M. (2011). *Ethnic Diversity, Political Participation and Representation. A Theoretical Framework.* New York: Routledge, 1–21.

Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wüst, A.M. (2011). The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge

Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wüst, A.M. (2015). *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies.* Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group

Bobo, L. and Gilliam, F.D. (1990). Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment. The American Political Science Review, 84 (2): 377-93.

Brugger, A., Lindner, T., Wagner, D., Özdemir, C., Roth, C., Trittin, J., … Von Notz, K. und der Fraktion Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen. (2016). *Stand der Auseinandersetzung mit der Terrororganisation ISIS unter Beteiligung der Bundeswehr*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/8790. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/087/1808790.pdf (Accessed on: 31.01.2020, 14:50)

Bundestag, (2019). https://www.bundestag.de/webarchiv (Accessed on: 20.07.2019, 10:26)

Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, (2018). *Türkeistämmige Personen in Deutschland*. https://www.bamf.de/ (Accessed on: 10.11.2020, 16:20)

Castiglione, D. (2012). "A New Agenda for Democratic Representation?" *Politics & Gender* 8(4): 518.

Catling, S. (January 17, 2005). Let's Not Do The Time Warp Again. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com

Celis, K. et al. (2014). "Constituting Women's Interest through Representative Claims." *Politics & Gender* 10: 149.

Ceyhan, S., (2018). Why Not Ask the Representatives? Parliamentary Candidates' Attitudes Towards Immigrant Representation in Germany, *Representation*, 54:2, 103-127, doi: 10.1080/00344893.2018.1489889

Claro Da Fonseca, S. (2011). New Citizens- New Candidates? Candidate selection and the mobilization of immigrant voters in German election. In The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and

Parliaments in Liberal Democracies, edited by Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld and Andreas M. Wüst. (pp. 109–127). London: Routledge

Dağdelen, S., Gehrcke, W., Groth, A., Haensel, H., Höger, I., Hunko, A., Movassat, N., Vogler, K. und der Fraktion Die Linke (2015). *Luftraumverletzungen der türkischen Luftwaffe und die vermutete Unterstützung des IS durch die Türkei.* Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/7037. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/070/1807037.pdf (Accessed on: 29.01.2020, 10:15)

Dağdelen, S., Gehrcke, W., Groth, A., Haensel, H., Hunko A., Movassat, N., Ulrich, A. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2016). *Die Türkei im Spannungsfeld der EU-Politik gegenüber Aserbaidschan und Armenien*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/08173. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/081/1808173.pdf (Accessed on: 30.01.2020, 14:42)

Dağdelen, S., Haensel, H., Buchholz, C., Hunko, A., Jelpke, U., Nastic, Z., Neu, A.S. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2019). *Die polizeilich-justizielle Zusammenarbeit mit der Türkei.* Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/15211. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/152/1915211.pdf (Accessed on 16.02.2020, 18:56)

Dağdelen, S., Haensel, H., Hahn, A., Hunko, A., Jelpke, U., Pflüger, T., Vogler, K. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2017). *Mutmaßliche Einflussnahme der Türkei in Deutschland.* Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/00067. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/000/1900067.pdf (Accessed on: 14.12.2020, 16:05)

Dağdelen, S., Haensel, H., Hunko, A., Jelpke, U., Nastic, Z., Neu, A.S., Renner, M. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2018). *Die „Grauen Wölfe" in Deutschland und der türkische Präsident Erdoğan*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/05212. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/052/1905212.pdf (Accessed on: 10.02.2020, 09:01)

Dağdelen, S., Haensel, H., Hunko, A., Nastic, Z., Neu, A.S., Schreiber, E.M., Vogler, K. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2019). *Die Türkei als Besatzungsmacht in Syrien.* Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/07368. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/073/1907368.pdf (Accessed on: 12.02.2020, 22:04)

De La Garza, R. O. (2013). Transnational Politics. In Oxford Bibliographies Online Datasets. Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/obo/9780199913701-0009

Deschouwer, K. and Depauw, S. eds. (2014). *Representing the People: A Survey among Members of Statewide and Sub-State Parliaments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DİTİB Almanya'da imam yetiştirmeye başladı. (09 Jan 2020). *Deutsche Welle Türkçe.* https://www.dw.com/tr. (Accessed on: 21.12.2020, 15:47)

Dovi, S. (2015). Hanna Pitkin, The Concept of Representation. *The Oxford Handbook Of Classics In Contemporary Political Theory.* doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198717133.013.24

Durose, C., Richardson, L., Combs, R., Eason, C. and Gains, F. (2013). 'Acceptable Difference': Diversity, Representation and Pathways to UK Politics, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66(2), 246–267, doi:10.1093/pa/gss085

Dyke, A. H. and Readings, G. (2010). *Skin Deep Democracy*, London: Quilliam.

Edelman, M. J. (1993). Contestable categories and public opinion. *Political Communication*, 10(3), 231-242.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

EuroStat. (2020). *Migration and migrant population statistics.* https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics. (26.11.2020)

Fiske, S. T., and Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Foner, N., Rath, J., Duyvendak, J.W. and Van Reekum, R. eds. (2014). *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape.* New York: New York University.

Freidenvall, L., Intersectionality and candidate selection in Sweden. *Politics*. 2016; 36(4): 355-363. doi:10.1177/0263395715621931

Garrett, A. (2017). An easy concession or meaningful representation? Minority women in French politics. *Fr Polit 15*, 166–186. doi:10.1057/s41253-017-0027-8

Gay, C. (2001). The effect of black congressional representation on political participation. *American Political Science Review*, 95(3), 589–602.

Gay, C. (2002). Spirals of trust? The effect of descriptive representation on the relationship between citizens and their government. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(4), 717–732.

Gehring, K., Nouripour, O., Polat, F, Bayram, C., Deligöz, E., Özdemir, C., … Trittin, J. und der Fraktion Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. (2018). *Wartezeiten bei der Vergabe von Visa für Studien- und Forschungsaufenthalte in Deutschland.* Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/04172. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/041/1904172.pdf (Accessed on: 10.02.2020, 23:59)

Gilliam, F. D. (1996). Exploring minority empowerment: symbolic politics, governing coalitions and traces of political style in Los Angeles. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40 (1), 56–81.

Griffin, J. D. and Keane, M. (2006). Descriptive representation and the composition of African American turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50 (4), 998–1012.

Hanewinkel, V., "Migrationspolitik – Oktober 2019", (Online), https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/flucht/monatsrueckblick/300238/migrationspolitik-oktober-2019, (Access Date: 15.12.2020, 16:52)

Heath, A. and Cheung, S. (eds) (2007). *Unequal Chances*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hochschild, J. and Mollenkopf, J. H. (2009). *"Modeling Immigrant Political Incorporation." In Bringing Outsiders in. Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation, edited by J. L. Hochschild, and J. H. Mollenkopf*, 15–30. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hunko, A., Dağdelen, S., Gehrcke, W., Van Aken, J., Buchholz, C., Groth, A., … Vogler, K. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2016). *EU-Türkei-Abkommen zur Migrationsbekämpfung*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/08205.

https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/082/1808205.pdf (Accessed on: 30.01.2020, 15:05)

Jansen, F. (June 7, 2016). Erdogans Lobby in Deutschland. *Der Tagesspiegel*. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/themen/agenda/einfluss-der-tuerkei-erdogans-lobby-in-deutschland/13695612.html

Jelpke, U., Groth, A., Hunko, A. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2014). *Bund-Länder-Arbeitsgruppe zur Gülen-Bewegung*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/01428. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/014/1801428.pdf (Accessed on: 02.11.2019, 17:38)

Jelpke, U., Dağdelen, S., Groth, A., Haensel, H., Hunko, A., Liebich, S., …Wawzyniak, H. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2014). *Graue Wölfe und Ülkücü-Szene in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 18/00344. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/003/1800344.pdf (Accessed on: 25.01.2020, 16:58)

Jelpke, U., Hahn, A., Akbulut, G., Brandt, M., Buchholz, C., Mohamed Ali, A., … Straetmanns, F. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2019). *Broschüre des Bundesamtes für Verfassungsschutz zur Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans PKK*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/08760. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/087/1908760.pdf (Accessed on: 13.02.2020, 14:08)

Johansson, J. (1999). *Hur blir man riksdagsledamot*. Stockholm: Gidlunds.

Jun, U. (2003). Great Britain: From the Prevalence of the Amateur to the Dominance of the Professional Politician. In Zeiss, J. (ed.) *The Political Class in Advanced Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kimmerle, E. (September 28, 2017). Die AfD ist vielfältiger als die Union. *TAZ*. https://taz.de

King, A. (1981). The Rise of the Career Politician in Britain—And its Consequences, *British Journal of Political Science*, 11(3), 249–285.

Kittilson, M. C. and Tate, K., (2005). Political arties, minorities, and elected office. Comparing opportunities for inclusion in the United States and Britain. In The Politics of Democratic Inclusion, edited by Christina Wolbrecht and Rodney E. Hero. (pp.163–185). Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Küçükhüseyin, S. (2002). Türkische politische Organisationen in Deutschland. *Zukunftsforum Politik,* Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V., Nr. 45

Lawrence, B. and Gilliam, F.D. (1990). Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment. *American Political Science Review,* 84(2): 377–393.

Loncar, J. (2016). "Electoral Accountability and Substantive Representation of National Minorities: The Case of Serbia." *East European Politics & Societies and Cultures* 30 (4): 703–724.

Lovenduski, J. (2012). Feminising British Politics. *The Political Quarterly*, 83(4), 697-702.

Lublin, D., (1997). *The Paradox of Representation. Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mansbridge, J. (1999). Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women?. *The Journal of Politics*, 61, 628–657.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2020). *Commercial and Economic Relations between Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany.* http://www.mfa.gov.tr (03.10.2020, 15:46)

Murray, R. (2010). Second among unequals? A study of whether France's ''quota women'' are up to the job. *Politics and Gender.* 6(01): 93–118.

Norris, P. and Lovenduski, J. (1995) *Political Recruitment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Özdemir, C., Roth, C., Bause, M., Brantner, F., ….. Bayaz, D., Polat, F. und der Fraktion Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. (2019). *Türkeipolitik der Bundesregierung*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/14895. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/148/1914895.pdf (Accessed on: 16.02.2020, 13:02)

Özsoy, S. (2014). Almanya'daki Türk Medyası ve Kamusal Bir Alman Kurumu: Deutsche Welle. *Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi İletişim Araştırmaları Dergisi,* 4 (1) , 2-21 . (Retrieved from https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/e-kiad/issue/49298/629845)

Phillips, A., (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Phillips, A. (2012). "Representation and Inclusion." *Politics & Gender* 8: 512–518.

Pieper, O. (May 19, 2018). Wie stark ist die AKP in Deutschland?. *Deutsche Welle.* https://www.dw.com/de/wie-stark-ist-die-akp-in-deutschland/a-43836489

Pitkin, H., (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pitkin, H. (1968). *"Commentary: The Paradox of Representation." In Nomos X Representation, edited by J. Roland Pennock and John Chapman, 38-42.* New York: Atherton Press.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E. and Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promises of an Emergent Social Field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2), 217-237. doi: 10.1080/014198799329468

Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu. (2007). *Almanya'da Yaşayan Türklerin Televizyon İzleme Eğilimleri, Kamuoyu Araştırması*. Ankara

Riddell, P. (1993). *Honest Opportunism: The Rise of the Career Politician*, London: Hamish Hamilton.

Rush, M. (1994). Career Patterns in British Politics: First Choose Your Party…, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 47(4), 566–582.

Saggar, S., (1998). *Race and British Electoral Politics*. London, Bristol: UCL Press.

Saggar, S., (2000). Race and Representation: Electoral Politics and Ethnic Pluralism in Britain. New York: Manchester University Press.

Searing, D. (1994) *Westminster's World*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Smith, M. P. and Guarnizo, L.E., (1998). *Transnationalism from Below. Comparative Urban and Community Research*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Sommer, H.E., Buchholz, C., Leutert, M., Liebich, S., Pflüger, T., Schreiber, E.V.M., Vogler, K. und der Fraktion Die Linke. (2018). *Aktueller Stand sowie Perspektiven der humanitären Hilfe und Entwicklungspolitik in Syrien*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache: 19/00510. https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/005/1900510.pdf (Accessed on: 06.02.2020, 16:52)

Statistisches Bundesamt. (2020). *Population with a migrant background up 2.1% in 2019: lowest increase since 2011*. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2020/07/PE20_279_12511.html. (03.11.2020, 17:23)

Tate, K., (2003). *Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and Their Representatives in the U.S. Congress.* (2.nd. Ed). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index. (2019). *World Democracy Report*. https://www.eiu.com (21.01.2021, 18:05)

UN. (2019) *The number of international migrants reaches 272 million, continuing an upward trend in all world regions, says UN.* https://www.un.org (14.03.2020, 09:57)

Vliegenthart, R., and Roggeband, C. (2007). Framing Immigration and Integration. *International Communication Gazette*, 69(3), 295-319. doi:10.1177/1748048507076582

World Bank, (2019). *World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files.* https://data.worldbank.org/ (10.11.2020, 16:01)

Wüst, A. M. (2011). Migrants as parliamentary actors in Germany. In The political representation of immigrants and minorities: Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies, edited by Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld and Andreas M. Wüst. (pp.250–265). New York: Routledge

Wüst, A. M. (2016). Incorporation beyond cleavages? Parties, candidates and Germany's immigrant origin electorate. *German Politics,* 25(3), 414–432.

Yalaz, E. (2015). Immigrant Political Activism: Political Opportunities, Group Resources, and Inter-Ethnic Context. *TSI Working Paper, IBEI (INSTITUT BARCELONA D´ESTUDIS INTERNACIONALS)*

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2016). How do political parties deal with the "diversity gap"? Democratic deficits and party strategies, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(5), 766-786. doi:10.1080/01419870.2016.1259486

Zingher, J. N. and Farrer, B. (2016). The electoral effects of the descriptive representation of ethnic minority groups in Australia and the UK. *Party Politics*, 22(6), 691–704.

Zuber, C. I. (2015). "Reserved Seats, Political Parties, and Minority Representation." *Ethnopolitics* 14 (4): 390–403.

APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS ON PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS

This codebook has been prepared in order to give the instructions and explanations of the coding procedure.

The data of this research is based on parliamentary questions which have been downloaded from the website of the German Bundestag.

The parliamentary questions contain information about the date, the names of the MPs, the party to which the MPs belong, the legislative period during which the questions were proposed, a headline about the issue, an introduction and the questions which were proposed to the government.

Please write the number of the parliamentary question in the first column as it is shown in the chart.

Number of PQ
Parliamentary Questions "Turkey"
1800230
1800326

Please write the date when the parliamentary question was proposed as it is shown in the chart.

Date of Question
DD/MM/YYYY
20.12.2013
17.01.2014
24.01.2014

Please choose *Yes* if you evaluate the parliamentary question as aimed at Turkey.

Please choose *No* if you evaluate the parliamentary question as not aimed at Turkey.

Does the PQ directly aim at the Research Code
Yes / No

Please choose a content or multiple contents which match best with the main issue of the parliamentary question. As it might be possible to observe multiple contents in one document, numbers represent the issue to refrain from confusion. The types of the content are shown in the following chart. In some Parliamentary Question, no issue number matches with the topic. For those samples, the keyword has directly been written into the data chart.

Content	
German Ethnicity & Nationalism	1
Turkish Ethnicity & Nationalism	2
Kurdish Ethnicity & Nationalism	3
Religion	4

Security / Military	5
Finance & Economy & Trade	6
Migration, Asylum or Visa	7
Energy & Oil / Gas / Resources / Pipelines /Nuclear Power Plants	8
International Agreements & Organisations	9
Terrorism	10
European Union	11
Middle East	12
Environment or Nature	13
Cooperation and Relations btw. Germany and Turkey (NATO included)	14
Interpol/Europol	15
Intelligence (Institutional & Individual)	16
Freedom of Speech /Art/ Press & Human Rights	17
Civil War in Syria	18
Armenia & Genocide	19
Education / Universities	20
African Continent & Countries	21
Integration & Culture	22
Caucasus & Countries	23
Tourism & Travelling	24
Gender Issues / Gender Preferences	25
Balkan Countries	26
Social Media & Internet	27
Childcare & Children Rights	28
Insurance System and Social Rights	29
Elections and Campaigns	30
East Asia	31
Court, Prison and the Judicial Process	32

Please code *Internal* if you evaluate that the issue of the parliamentary question takes aim at a domestic level from the view of Germany.

Please code *External* if you evaluate that the issue of the parliamentary question takes aim at international level from the view of Germany.

Please code *Both* if you evaluate that the issue of the parliamentary question aims at both levels, internal and external from the view of Germany.

Matter Type from view of Germany
Internal/External
Internal
External

Please code Pro-Turkey if you evaluate the framing of the MP towards Turkey affirmative.

Please code Anti-Turkey if you evaluate the framing of the MP towards Turkey negative.

Please code Neutral if you evaluate the framing of the MP towards Turkey whether negative nor positive.

Please code Both if you evaluate the parliamentary questions as positive and negative.

Approach		
Pro-Turkey	***Anti-Turkey***	***Neutral***
Framing Turkey in a positive context	Framing Turkey in a negative context as a threat against German interest.	Framing Turkey in a neutral context neither positively nor negatively, solely as a subject of any bilateral or international matter.

Please choose the political party from which the parliamentary question has come by colouring the boxes.

Political Party						
CDU	***SPD***	***AfD***	***FDP***	***Die Linke***	***B 90/ Die Grünen***	***CSU***

Please write the number of female MPs and male MPs separately and the total number of the MPs who proposed the question. (Every parliamentary question must be signed by the chairman of the party, however, this research does not mark the chairmen of the parties.)

Number of MPs		
Female	*Male*	*Total*
3	**3**	**6**

Please code whether the parliamentary question includes MPs of migrant origin. In order to define the MP from the migrant origin, the researcher looks into the surnames of the MPs. MPs of other European countries are not counted as migrants in order to avoid confusion. MPs with surnames from other continents are counted as immigrants.

Including MP of Migrant Origin (non-European)	
Yes	*No*

Please write the names of the MPs as it is shown in the chart.

Names of MPs
Ulla Jelpke, Wolfgang Gehrcke, Sevim Dağdelen, Annette Groth, Andrej Hunko

APPENDIX B

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘TURKEY’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1800326	17.01.2014	Yes	5,10,14,18	Both											3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1800344	**24.01.2014**	**Yes**	**2,3,5,7,14**	**Internal**											**7**	**3**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1800409	30.01.2014	Yes	7,15	Internal											5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1800667	**24.02.2014**	**Yes**	**4,5,14**	**Internal**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1801151	8.04.2014	No	5,1	Internal											6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1801159	**11.04.2014**	**Yes**	**10,12,18**	**External**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1801561	27.05.2014	Yes	3,5,16,17	External											4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1801578	**28.05.2014**	**No**	**7,9,10,17,18**	**External**											**6**	**8**	**14**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1802133	16.07.2014	Yes	9,10,12,18	External											3	4	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1802467	2.09.2014	**Yes**	2,3,5,9,10,14,16,17	Internal											5	4	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1802474	**2.09.2014**	Yes	**5,9,14,16**	**Internal**											**4**	**4**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1802801	9.10.2014	**Yes**	5,10,12,14,16,18	External											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1802974	**22.10.2014**	Yes	**3,4,5,7,10,12,18**	**Both**											**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1803533	9.12.2014	**Yes**	11,14,19	External											5	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1803970	**5.02.2015**	Yes	**14,19**	**External**											**3**	**4**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1804320	13.03.2015	**Yes**	5,10,12,14,18	External											6	8	14	Die Linke	Azize Tank
1805222	**15.06.2015**	No	**2,4,5,10**	**Internal**											**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1805335	23.06.2015	**No**	6,2	Internal											6	8	14	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1805690	**29.07.2015**	No	**7,9,14,18**	**Internal**											**8**	**5**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1806154	24.09.2015	**Yes**	2,3,5	Internal											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dagdelen
1806268	**5.10.2015**	Yes	**2,3,4,5,10,12,17,18**	**External**											**7**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**
1806269	5.10.2015	**Yes**	17	External											3	3	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1806476	**21.10.2015**	Yes	**5,7,9,12,14**	**External**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1806827	23.11.2015	**No**	5,12,18	Both											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1806868	**30.11.2015**	**No**	**7,9,11,12,20**	**Internal**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1806871	30.11.2015	No	7,9,11,21	Both											4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1807037	**10.12.2015**	**Yes**	**5,8,10,12,14,18**	**External**											**5**	**3**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1807056	7.12.2015	Yes	7,9	Internal											10	6	16	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1807107	**26.11.2015**	**Yes**	**7,9**	**Both**											**16**	**10**	**26**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen, Azize Tank**
1807119	16.12.2015	No	7	Internal											8	5	13	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1807596	**16.02.2016**	**No**	**2,5**	**Internal**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1807861	7.03.2016	Yes	5,7,9,14	External											8	7	15	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1807933	**16.03.2016**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**											**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808038	5.04.2016	No	7,9	Internal											6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808057	**7.04.2016**	**Yes**	**3,14,16,17**	**External**											**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808173	15.04.2016	Yes	8,9,23	Both											3	4	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808205	**19.04.2016**	**Yes**	**7,9,11,14,18**	**External**											7	7	**14**	Die Linke	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808226	15.04.2016	Yes	5,6,7,9,12,14,18	Both											6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808263	**26.04.2016**	**Yes**	**10,17,24,**	**External**											**8**	**8**	**16**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808328	27.04.2016	Yes	7,9,11,14,17	Both											8	7	15	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808344	**28.04.2016**	**Yes**	**7,11,14,18**	**External**											**6**	**5**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808372	29.04.2016	No	14,17	Internal											7	8	15	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808790	**2.06.2016**	**No**	**3,5,9,10,12,18**	**Internal**											**9**	**9**	**18**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1809146	5.07.2016	No	7	Internal											6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809172	**13.07.2016**	**Yes**	**3,7,11,17**	**External**											**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1809233	14.07.2016	No	2,5,16	Internal											4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809274	**14.07.2016**	**No**	**3,4,14**	**Internal**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1809318	1.08.2016	Yes	17,2	External											4	4	8	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Özcan Mutlu
1809412	**15.08.2016**	**No**	**5,17**	**Internal**											**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1809504	30.08.2016	No	4,5	Internal											4	5	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809613	**8.09.2016**	**No**	**10,14**	**Internal**											**8**	**6**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810093	19.10.2016	Yes	17,25	External											4	4	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810147	**19.10.2016**	**Yes**	**8,9,12,13,14**	**Internal**											**12**	**15**	**27**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1810226	8.11.2016	Yes	5,10,12,14,18	Both											3	4	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810302	**9.11.2016**	**No**	**5,10,12,16,18**	**External**											**9**	**4**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810394	22.11.2016	No	7,11,14	Internal											8	3	11	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810461	**25.11.2016**	**Yes**	**6,11**	**External**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810558	30.11.2016	Yes	5,14,17	External											4	4	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810564	**30.11.2016**	**Yes**	**14,16**	**Both**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810576	2.12.2016	Yes	7,9,14	External											5	6	11	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen

1810930	**17.01.2017**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810986	23.01.2017	Yes	5,7,14	Both										4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811046	**26.01.2017**	**No**	**3,16**	**Internal**										**7**	**7**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811060	27.01.2017	Yes	14,15,16,17	Internal										6	2	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811067	**31.01.2017**	**No**	**6,9**	**Both**										**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811083	1.02.2017	No	7	Internal										9	3	12	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811089	**30.01.2017**	**Yes**	**7,14,18**	**External**										**7**	**6**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811108	3.02.2017	No	7,14	Internal										5	3	8	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1811197	**10.02.2017**	**No**	**7,12,18**	**Both**										**4**	**4**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811224	13.02.2017	No	7,9,21	External										5	6	11	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811322	**15.02.2017**	**Yes**	**5,10,14**	**Both**										**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811346	16.02.2017	No	9,14,20	Internal										11	4	15	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1811353	**17.02.2017**	**No**	**5,6,14**	**Internal**										**13**	**11**	**24**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1811356	16.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal										4	4	8	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1811571	**10.03.2017**	**Yes**	**4,16**	**Internal**										**5**	**1**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811798	22.03.2017	No	5,6,14	Both										3	1	4	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811916	**29.03.2017**	**Yes**	**5,6,14**	**Both**										**8**	**8**	**16**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1811941	4.04.2017	No	5,26	External										4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811962	**6.04.2017**	**No**	**4,5,10,26**	**External**										**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811985	10.04.2017	No	7	Internal										6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811986	**4.04.2017**	**No**	**5,27**	**Internal**										**6**	**4**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1812015	10.04.2017	Yes	4,5,16	Internal										5	4	9	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1812201	**27.04.2017**	**Yes**	**7,9,14**	**External**										**7**	**4**	**11**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1812237	26.04.2017	Yes	2,5	Internal										4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1812436	**17.05.2017**	**No**	**9**	**Internal**										**5**	**4**	**9**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1812525	23.05.2017	No	4,5,10,12,18	External										4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1812740	**14.06.2017**	**No**	**5,6,14**	**Internal**										**8**	**10**	**18**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir, Ekin Deligöz**
1812741	14.06.2017	No	4,2	Internal										3	3	6	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1812758	**16.06.2017**	**No**	**6,12**	**External**										**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813074	29.06.2017	Yes	5,6,12,14	Both										4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813128	**11.07.2017**	**No**	**5,12**	**External**										**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813132	17.07.2017	No	9	Internal										8	5	13	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1813134	**12.07.2017**	**Yes**	**2,4,5,**	**Both**										**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813146	18.07.2017	No	9,17	Internal										8	5	13	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813188	**20.07.2017**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813189	20.07.2017	No	7	Internal										6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813191	**20.07.2017**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813324	9.08.2017	No	7,20,22	Internal										8	4	12	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813454	**25.08.2017**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**										**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813460	28.08.2017	Yes	14,15,16	Internal										7	4	11	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1813465	**29.08.2017**	**Yes**	**4,16**	**Internal**										**2**	**4**	**6**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1813485	31.08.2017	Yes	15,16	Internal										5	3	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813546	**5.09.2017**	**No**	**5,14,17**	**Internal**										**11**	**10**	**21**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
19th Legislative Period																		
1900043	**3.11.2017**	**Yes**	**5,6,**	**Both**										**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1900067	14.11.2017	Yes	5,27	Internal										4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900109	**23.11.2017**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**2**	**2**	**4**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1900114	21.11.2017	No	No Classification	Internal										6	4	10	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900173	**4.12.2017**	**Yes**	**7,18**	**External**										**8**	**4**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1900265	12.12.2017	No	4,10,26	External										6	1	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900277	**12.12.2017**	**Yes**	**7,28**	**External**										**11**	**5**	**16**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1900303	20.12.2017	No	7,11	Both										x	x	x	x	*no names given
1900424	**12.01.2018**	**No**	**14,29**	**Internal**										**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim DağdelenHelin Evrim**
1900427	12.01.2018	No	5,6,14	Internal										7	3	10	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900432	**12.01.2018**	**No**	**5,24**	**Both**										**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1900510	16.01.2018	Yes	5,7,18	External										4	3	7	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1900516	**16.01.2018**	**Yes**	**5,6,18**	**External**										**7**	**4**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut**
1900624	25.01.2018	No	7,9	External										10	6	16	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1900635	**25.01.2018**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**8**	**3**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen**
1900643	30.01.2018	No	5,6	Internal										11	7	18	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900685	**31.01.2018**	**No**	**5,6**	**Both**										**9**	**12**	**21**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1900706	2.02.2018	No	9	External										4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900844	**15.02.2018**	**No**	**8,11**	**Both**										**5**	**5**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1900911	21.02.2018	Yes	5,10,14,18	External										9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1900928	**21.02.2018**	**Yes**	**14,15**	**Both**										**6**	**4**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1900998	23.02.2018	No	7	Internal										9	3	12	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1901050	**28.02.2018**	**No**	**6,9**	**Both**										**4**	**5**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1901160	12.03.2018	Yes	5,9,14,18	External										8	2	10	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1901266	**15.03.2018**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**										**5**	**11**	**16**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1901362	15.03.2018	No	7	Internal										7	2	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1901364	**19.03.2018**	**No**	**3,1**	**Internal**										**11**	**7**	**18**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1901495	3.04.2018	Yes	2,5,6,16	Internal										6	10	16	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1901515	**4.04.2018**	**No**	**2,6**	**Both**										**8**	**2**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1901521	4.04.2018	Yes	4,16	Internal										7	1	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1901579	**4.04.2018**	**Yes**	**3,5,18**	**External**										**9**	**4**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer, Gökay Akbulut**
1901651	16.04.2018	Yes	3,5,18	External										11	6	17	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1901673	**17.04.2018**	**No**	**4,5,16,26**	**External**										**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1901807	24.04.2018	Yes	9,17	External										7	3	10	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1901913	**27.04.2018**	**Yes**	**9,11,14**	**Both**										**14**	**14**	**28**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1901942	30.04.2018	Yes	5,18	External										9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1901969	**3.05.2018**	**No**	**1,10,**	**Internal**										**7**	**3**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1902186	17.05.2018	No	7	Internal										8	3	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1902355	**28.05.2018**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**										**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1902364	29.05.2018	No	7	Internal										11	10	21	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Ekin Deligöz
1902599	**7.06.2018**	**Yes**	**4,5,10**	**Both**										**8**	**7**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1902904	21.06.2018	Yes	10,17	External										7	4	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1902921	**21.06.2018**	**No**	**5,6**	**Both**										**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1902962	26.06.2018	No	5,6	Both										5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1903061	**28.06.2018**	**No**	**17,25**	**External**										**20**	**12**	**32**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Filiz Polat, Cem Özdemir**
1903447	18.07.2018	Yes	3,12,14	External										3	3	6	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1903451	**19.07.2018**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**										**8**	**3**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen**
1903457	19.07.2018	No	4,5,10,12	Both										9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1903617	**30.07.2018**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**										**6**	**5**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1903691	3.08.2018	Yes	30	Both										8	6	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1903724	**7.08.2018**	**No**	**7,17**	**Internal**										**9**	**10**	**19**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Filiz Polat, Cem Özdemir**
1903886	20.08.2018	No	7	Internal										8	3	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1903926	**22.08.2018**	**Yes**	**14,15,16**	**Internal**										**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1903928	22.08.2018	Yes	14,17	Both										4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1903973	**24.08.2018**	**No**	**7,18**	**External**										**3**	**4**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen,**
1904172	6.09.2018	No	7,2	Internal										21	11	32	B90 Die Grünen	Filiz Polat, Canan Bayram, Ekin Deligöz, Cem Özdemir
1904509	**25.09.2018**	**No**	**5,6,9,14**	**Both**										**5**	**1**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1905151	18.10.2018	Yes	16,27	Internal										8	5	13	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen

1905190	**22.10.2018**	**No**	**9**	**Internal**											**10**	**1**	**11**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Canan Bayram, Filiz Polat**
1905201	22.10.2018	Yes	14,16,17	Both											10	6	16	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1905212	**23.10.2018**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**											**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1905251	25.10.2018	No	5,9	Internal											9	6	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1905320	**29.10.2018**	**No**	**7,9,26**	**External**											**12**	**6**	**18**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1905321	29.10.2018	Yes	2,5,16	Internal											10	6	16	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1905381	**30.10.2018**	**Yes**	**14,17**	**External**											**9**	**9**	**18**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir, Canan Bayram, Filiz Polat**
1905437	1.11.2018	No	5,12,17	External											6	2	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1905562	**8.11.2018**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**											**4**	**5**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1905661	9.11.2018	No	7	Internal											8	3	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1905668	**9.11.2018**	**No**	**5,8,9**	**External**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1905669	9.11.2018	No	5,6,12	External											13	16	29	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir,Canan Bayram, Ekin Deligöz
1905939	**21.11.2018**	**No**	**4,5,6,26**	**External**											**5**	**1**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1906653	20.12.2018	Yes	4,10,16,18	External											9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1906700	**21.12.2018**	**Yes**	**5,7,10,18**	**External**											**9**	**15**	**24**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1906747	2.01.2019	Yes	5,6,18	Internal											5	4	9	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1906817	**4.01.2019**	**Yes**	**5,18**	**External**											**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1907124	17.01.2019	No	10,18,31	External											3	1	4	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1907137	**17.01.2019**	**No**	**5,6**	**Both**											**7**	**3**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907198	21.01.2019	Yes	7	External											13	6	19	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1907244	**22.01.2019**	**Yes**	**5,6,17**	**Both**											**5**	**1**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907251	22.01.2019	No	7,28	External											14	9	23	B90 Die Grünen	Filiz Polat, Cem Özdemir
1907336	**24.01.2019**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**											**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1907338	24.01.2019	No	7	Internal											8	3	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1907368	**25.01.2019**	**Yes**	**5,18**	**External**											**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907729	13.02.2019	Yes	3,17,28,32	External											13	6	19	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1907855	**18.02.2019**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**											**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907869	19.02.2019	Yes	2,4,16	Internal											3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1908059	**28.02.2019**	**Yes**	**15,16**	**Both**											**2**	**3**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1908151	6.03.2019	No	4,10,18	Internal											10	5	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1908153	**6.03.2019**	**No**	**5,10,11**	**External**											**6**	**2**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1908760	27.03.2019	No	3	External											7	7	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1908761	**27.03.2019**	**No**	**4,7 (Madmak)**	**Internal**											**9**	**3**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1908775	28.03.2019	Yes	18	External											5	3	8	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1908859	**1.04.2019**	**Yes**	**4,16,32 (FETÖ)**	**External**											**7**	**5**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1908944	3.04.2019	Yes	Dersim Event	External											8	7	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1908950	**3.04.2019**	**Yes**	**19**	**External**											**8**	**5**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1909149	8.04.2019	Yes	7,17	Internal											12	6	18	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1909852	**3.05.2019**	**No**	**6,11,21**	**External**											**6**	**9**	**15**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1909911	7.05.2019	No	7	Internal											8	3	11	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1910308	**17.05.2019**	**No**	**7,25**	**External**											**12**	**4**	**16**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1910360	21.05.2019	Yes	3,17	Internal											8	4	12	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1910498	**28.05.2019**	**No**	**10,32**	**External**											**8**	**5**	**13**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1911075	25.06.2019	No	5,7	External											12	7	19	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1911303	**1.07.2019**	**Yes**	**3,5,Dersim Event**	**External**											**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1911746	18.07.2019	No	5,6	Internal											5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1912457	**16.08.2019**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**											**8**	**3**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen**
1913248	16.09.2019	Yes	4,9	External											10	5	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1913424	**8.10.2019**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**											**5**	**3**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1913459	23.09.2019	Yes	6,11	Both											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1913472	**24.09.2019**	**No**	**4,10,11,15,26**	**External**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1913625	26.09.2019	No	5,8	External											3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1913686	**1.10.2019**	**No**	**4**	**Internal**											**7**	**3**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut,**
1913707	2.10.2019	No	7	Internal											5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1913889	**11.10.2019**	**No**	**4,5,18**	**External**											**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1913970	14.10.2019	Yes	7,9,11	External											11	4	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen,Helin Evrim Sommer
1913971	**14.10.2019**	**Yes**	**SETA**	**Internal**											**8**	**4**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut,**
1914162	17.10.2019	Yes	15	Both											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1914406	**24.10.2019**	**Yes**	**7,18**	**External**											**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1914895*	7.11.2019	Yes	5,6,7,8,14,17,32	B											12	13	25	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Dr. Danyal Bayaz, Filiz Polat
1915211	**15.11.2019**	**Yes**	**7,14,15,16,32 Fetö**	**External**											**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1915315	20.11.2019	Yes	5,18	External											12	7	19	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1915339	**21.11.2019**	**Yes**	**4,18,27**	**Internal**											**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen**
1915681	4.12.2019	Yes	14,15	External											4	4	8	Die Linke	Helin Evrim Sommer
1915693	**5.12.2019**	**Yes**	**5,24,32**	**Internal**											**9**	**6**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1915745	10.12.2019	No	7	Internal											7	3	10	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen
1915849	**11.12.2019**	**No**	**4 Fetö**	**Both**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut,**
1915916	12.12.2019	Yes	7,14,16,32	Both											6	4	10	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1916076	**18.12.2019**	**Yes**	**16,32**	**Both**											**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen,**
1916080	18.12.2019	Yes	5,14,18	External											3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1916101	**18.12.2019**	**No**	**6,14**	**Both**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘ANKARA’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1800326	17.01.2014	Yes	5,10,14,18	Both		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1800667	**24.02.2014**	**Yes**	**4,5,14**	**Internal**			■					■			**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1800965	**31.03.2014**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■					■			**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1801548	**22.05.2014**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■						■		**5**	**5**	**10**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1802467	2.09.2014	Yes	2,3,5,9,10,14,16,17	Internal			■					■			5	4	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1802974	**22.10.2014**	**Yes**	**3,4,5,7,10,12,18**	**Both**		■						■			**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1804320	13.03.2015	Yes	5,10,12,14,18	External		■						■			6	8	14	Die Linke	Azize Tanık
1804429	**19.03.2015**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■					■			**9**	**3**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1805690	29.07.2015	No	7,9,14,18	Internal			■					■			8	5	13	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1806268	**5.10.2015**	**Yes**	**2,3,4,5,10,12,17,18**	**External**		■						■			**7**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1806269	5.10.2015	Yes	17	External		■						■			3	3	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1806476	**21.10.2015**	**Yes**	**5,7,9,12,14**	**External**			■					■			**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1806827	23.11.2015	No	5,12,18	Both			■					■			4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1807933	**16.03.2016**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**		■						■			**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808057	7.04.2016	Yes	3,14,16,17	External		■						■			6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808226	**15.04.2016**	**Yes**	**5,6,7,9,12,14,18**	**Both**		■						■			**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808372	29.04.2016	No	14,17	Internal			■					■			7	8	15	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808806	**6.06.2016**	**Yes**	**7,18**	**External**			■					■			**6**	**2**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808859	14.06.2016	No	19,21	External		■						■			6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808984	**22.06.2016**	**No**	**7,18**	**External**			■						■		**8**	**7**	**15**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1809274	14.07.2016	No	3,4,14	Internal		■						■			4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809285	**21.07.2016**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■					■			**9**	**3**	**12**	**Die Linke**	Sevim Dağdelen
1810558	30.11.2016	Yes	5,14,17	External		■						■			4	4	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810564	**30.11.2016**	**Yes**	**14,16**	**Both**		■						■			**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	Sevim Dağdelen
1811060	27.01.2017	Yes	14,15,16,17	Internal		■						■			6	2	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811083	**1.02.2017**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■					■			**9**	**3**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811089	30.01.2017	Yes	7,14,18	External		■						■			7	6	13	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811322	**15.02.2017**	**Yes**	**5,10,14**	**Both**		■						■			**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811356	16.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal		■							■		4	4	8	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1811571	**10.03.2017**	**Yes**	**4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**5**	**1**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811916	29.03.2017	Yes	5,6,14	Both		■							■		8	8	16	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1812237	**26.04.2017**	**Yes**	**2,5**	**Internal**		■						■			**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1812741	14.06.2017	No	4,2	Internal		■							■		3	3	6	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1813074	**29.06.2017**	**Yes**	**5,6,12,14**	**Both**			■					■			**4**	**1**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813134	12.07.2017	Yes	2,4,5,	Both		■						■			4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813460	**28.08.2017**	**Yes**	**14,15,16**	**Internal**			■						■		**7**	**4**	**11**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
19th Legislative Period																			
1900510	**16.01.2018**	**Yes**	**5,7,18**	**External**		■						■			**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1901362	15.03.2018	No	7	Internal			■					■			7	2	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1901495	**3.04.2018**	**Yes**	**2,5,6,16**	**Internal**		■							■		**6**	**10**	**16**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1901521	4.04.2018	Yes	4,16	Internal		■						■			7	1	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1902355	**28.05.2018**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**		■						■			**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1902364	29.05.2018	No	7	Internal			■						■		11	10	21	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1905212	**23.10.2018**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1906698	21.12.2018	No	7	Internal			■						■		11	9	20	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Filiz Polat
1906700	**21.12.2018**	**Yes**	**5,7,10,18**	**External**		■						■			**9**	**15**	**24**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1907244	22.01.2019	Yes	5,6,17	Both		■						■			5	1	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1907855	**18.02.2019**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**3**	**2**	**5**	**AfD**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907869	19.02.2019	Yes	2,4,16	Internal		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1908944	**3.04.2019**	**Yes**	**Dersim Event**	**External**		■						■			**8**	**7**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1911303	1.07.2019	Yes	3,5,Dersim Event	External		■						■			9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1913686	**1.10.2019**	**No**	**4**	**Internal**			■					■			**7**	**3**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1913707	2.10.2019	No	7	Internal			■					■			5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1913971	**14.10.2019**	**Yes**	**SETA**	**Internal**		■						■			**8**	**4**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1914406	**24.10.2019**	**Yes**	**7,18**	**External**		■						■			**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1915849	11.12.2019	No	4 Fetö	Both			■					■			5	4	9	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1915916	**12.12.2019**	**Yes**	**7,14,16,32**	**Both**		■						■			**6**	**4**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1916076	18.12.2019	Yes	16,32	Both		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1916080	**18.12.2019**	**Yes**	**5,14,18**	**External**		■						■			**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘ERDOGAN’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1800191	**13.12.2013**	**Yes**	**9,16**	**External**		■						■			**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1800667	24.02.2014	Yes	4,5,14	Internal			■					■			3	3	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1801159	**11.04.2014**	**Yes**	**10,12,18**	**External**		■						■			**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1801561	27.05.2014	Yes	3,5,16,17	External		■						■			4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1802801	**9.10.2014**	**Yes**	**5,10,12,14,16,18**	**External**		■						■			**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1803533	9.12.2014	Yes	11,14,19	External		■						■			5	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim DağdeleN
1804320	**13.03.2015**	**Yes**	**5,10,12,14,18**	**External**		■						■			**6**	**8**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Azize Tank**
1806268	5.10.2015	Yes	2,3,4,5,10,12,17,18	External		■						■			7	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1806269	**5.10.2015**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**		■						■			**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1807037	10.12.2015	Yes	5,8,10,12,14,18	External		■						■			5	3	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808057	**7.04.2016**	**Yes**	**3,14,16,17**	**External**		■						■			**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808226	15.04.2016	Yes	5,6,7,9,12,14,18	Both		■						■			6	3	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1808372	**29.04.2016**	**No**	**14,17**	**Internal**			■					■			**7**	**8**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1809274	14.07.2016	No	3,4,14	Internal		■						■			4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809420	**17.08.2016**	**No**	**7**	**Internal**			■						■		**7**	**5**	**12**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1809504	30.08.2016	No	4,5	Internal			■					■			4	5	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809613	**8.09.2016**	**No**	**10,14**	**Internal**			■					■			**8**	**6**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1810461	25.11.2016	Yes	6,11	External		■						■			4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810986	**23.01.2017**	**Yes**	**5,7,14**	**Both**		■						■			**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811060	27.01.2017	Yes	14,15,16,17	Internal		■						■			6	2	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1811322	**15.02.2017**	**Yes**	**5,10,14**	**Both**		■						■			**3**	**5**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen,**
1811356	16.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal		■							■		4	4	8	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1811798	**22.03.2017**	**No**	**5,6,14**	**Both**		■						■			**3**	**1**	**4**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811916	29.03.2017	Yes	5,6,14	Both		■							■		8	8	16	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1812436	**17.05.2017**	**No**	**9**	**Internal**			■						■		**5**	**4**	**9**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1812758	16.06.2017	No	6,12	External		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813074	**29.06.2017**	**Yes**	**5,6,12,14**	**Both**		■						■			**4**	**1**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1813485	31.08.2017	Yes	15,16	Internal		■						■			5	3	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
19th Legislative Period																			
1900067	14.11.2017	Yes	5,27	Internal		■						■			4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900277	**12.12.2017**	**Yes**	**7,28**	**External**		■						■			**11**	**5**	**16**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1900516	16.01.2018	Yes	5,6,18	External		■						■			7	4	11	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1900911	**21.02.2018**	**Yes**	**5,10,14,18**	**External**		■						■			**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1901160	12.03.2018	Yes	5,9,14,18	External		■						■			8	2	10	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1901515	**4.04.2018**	**No**	**2,6**	**Both**			■					■			**8**	**2**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1901521	4.04.2018	Yes	4,16	Internal		■						■			7	1	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1901651	**16.04.2018**	**Yes**	**3,5,18**	**External**		■						■			**11**	**6**	**17**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1901942	30.04.2018	Yes	5,18	External		■						■			9	5	14	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1902599	**7.06.2018**	**Yes**	**4,5,10**	**Both**		■						■			**8**	**7**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1905201	22.10.2018	Yes	14,16,17	Both		■						■			10	6	16	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1905212	**23.10.2018**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1905381	30.10.2018	Yes	14,17	External		■							■		9	9	18	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Canan Bayram
1905739	**12.11.2018**	**No**	**9,12,17**	**External**			■						■		**9**	**10**	**19**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir, Canan Bayram**
1906700	21.12.2018	Yes	5,7,10,18	External		■						■			9	15	24	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1906747	**2.01.2019**	**Yes**	**5,6,18**	**Internal**		■						■			**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Helin Evrim Sommer**
1907198	21.01.2019	Yes	7	External		■						■			13	6	19	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1907729	**13.02.2019**	**Yes**	**3,17,28,32**	**External**		■						■			**13**	**6**	**19**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1907855	18.02.2019	Yes	2,4,16	Internal		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1907869	**19.02.2019**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**3**	**2**	**5**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1908944	3.04.2019	Yes	Dersim Event	External		■						■			8	7	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1913424	**8.10.2019**	**No**	**5,6**	**Internal**			■					■			**5**	**3**	**8**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1913686	1.10.2019	No	4	Internal			■					■			7	3	10	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1913970	14.10.2019	Yes	7,9,11	External			■					■			11	4	15	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer
1913971	**14.10.2019**	**Yes**	**SETA**	**Internal**		■						■			**8**	**4**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1914406	**24.10.2019**	**Yes**	**7,18**	**External**		■						■			**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen, Helin Evrim Sommer**
1914895*	7.11.2019	Yes	5,6,7,8,14,17,32	Both		■							■		12	13	25	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Dr. Danyal Bayaz, Filiz Polat
1915211	**15.11.2019**	**Yes**	**7,14,15,16,32 Fetö**	**External**		■						■			**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen,**
1915916	12.12.2019	Yes	7,14,16,32	Both		■						■			6	4	10	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut, Helin Evrim Sommer
1916080	18.12.2019	Yes	5,14,18	External		■						■			3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘ÇAVUŞOĞLU’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1900516	**16.01.2018**	**Yes**	**5,6,18**	**External**		■						■			**7**	**4**	**11**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut**
1905212	**23.10.2018**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**		■						■			**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1914895*	7.11.2019	Yes	5,6,7,8,14,17,32	B		■							■		12	13	25	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Dr. Danyal Bayaz, Filiz Polat

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘SİNİRLİOĞLU’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1801159	**11.04.2014**	**Yes**	**10,12,18**	**External**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘HAKAN FİDAN’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1801561	27.05.2014	Yes	3,5,16,17	External											4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1810564	**30.11.2016**	**Yes**	**14,16**	**Both**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1811356	16.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal											4	4	8	B90 Die Grünen	Özcan Mutlu
1914895*	7.11.2019	Yes	5,6,7,8,14,17,32	B											12	13	25	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir, Dr. Danyal Bayaz, Filiz Polat

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘BİNALİ YILDIRIM’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1812237	26.04.2017	Yes	2,5	Internal											4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen,
1901515	**4.04.2018**	**No**	**2,6**	**Both**											**8**	**2**	**10**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘DİYANET’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1809233	14.07.2016	No	2,5,16	Internal											4	1	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1809274	**14.07.2016**	**No**	**3,4,14**	**Internal**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1809504	30.08.2016	No	4,5	Internal											4	5	9	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen,
1811356	**16.02.2017**	**Yes**	**4,16**	**Internal**											**4**	**4**	**8**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1811571	17.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal											5	1	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1812015	**18.02.2017**	**Yes**	**4,5,16**	**Internal**											**5**	**4**	**9**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Cem Özdemir**
1812237	19.02.2017	Yes	2,5	Internal											4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1812741	**20.02.2017**	**No**	**4,2**	**Internal**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**B90 Die Grünen**	**Özcan Mutlu**
1813465	21.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal											2	4	6	B90 Die Grünen	Cem Özdemir
1900911	**22.02.2017**	**Yes**	**5,10,14,18**	**External**											**9**	**5**	**14**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1901521	23.02.2017	Yes	4,16	Internal											7	1	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen, Gökay Akbulut
1902355	**24.02.2017**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1905212	25.02.2017	Yes	2,4,16	Internal											5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1907855	**26.02.2017**	**Yes**	**2,4,16**	**Internal**											**3**	**2**	**5**	**AfD**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1907869	27.02.2017	Yes	2,4,16	Internal											3	2	5	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1915339	**28.02.2017**	**Yes**	**4,18,27**	**Internal**											**10**	**5**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dağdelen**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘OSMANEN’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1806154	24.09.2015	**Yes**	2,3,5	Internal											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dagdelen
1807596	**16.02.2016**	**No**	**2,5**	**Internal**											**4**	**2**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**
1810564	**30.11.2016**	**Yes**	**14,16**	**Both**											**3**	**3**	**6**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**
1812237	26.04.2017	Yes	2,5	Internal											4	2	6	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1813134	**12.07.2017**	**Yes**	**2,4,5,**	**Both**											**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**
1813485	31.08.2017	Yes	15,16	Internal											5	3	8	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1900067	**14.11.2017**	**Yes**	**5,27**	**Internal**											**4**	**3**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**
1902599	**7.06.2018**	**Yes**	**4,5,10**	**Both**											**8**	**7**	**15**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**
1905212	23.10.2018	Yes	2,4,16	Internal											5	2	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dagdelen
1905321	**29.10.2018**	**Yes**	**2,5,16**	**Internal**											**10**	**6**	**16**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut, Sevim Dagdelen**
1913971	14.10.2019	Yes	SETA	Internal											8	4	12	Die Linke	Gökay Akbulut
1915211	**15.11.2019**	**Yes**	**7,14,15,16,32 Fetö**	**External**											**5**	**2**	**7**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dagdelen**

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PQs WITH KEYWORD ‘DAVUTOĞLU’

Number of PQ	Date of Question	Relevant to Keyword	Content Code(s)	Internal/External from the Perspective of Germany	Framing			Political Party							Number of MPs			Party Name	Names of MPs of Turkish Origin
					Pro-Turkey	Anti-Turkey	Neutral	CDU	SPD	AfD	FDP	Die Linke	B 90/ Die Grünen	CSU	Female	Male	Total		
1802801	9.10.2014	Yes	5,10,12,14,16,18	External											4	3	7	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1807933	**16.03.2016**	**Yes**	**17**	**External**											**6**	**3**	**9**	**Die Linke**	**Sevim Dağdelen**
1808372	29.04.2016	No	14,17	Internal											7	8	15	Die Linke	Sevim Dağdelen
1913971	**14.10.2019**	**Yes**	**SETA**	**Internal**											**8**	**4**	**12**	**Die Linke**	**Gökay Akbulut**

APPENDIX C

CONTENT ANALYSIS EXAMPLES ON NEGATIVE FRAMING

Parliamentary Question 1812237

nachrichten/nachrichten/nachrichten/21743430_Osmanen-Germania-Erdoğans-Rockertruppe-in-Deutschland.html).

Nach Aussagen von Ermittlern sind die Osmanen Germania türkisch-nationalistisch ausgerichtet und unterhalten enge Kontakte zur AKP-Regierung von Recep Tayyip Erdoğan und auch zum Geheimdienst MIT. Einige Fachleute sprechen von

Drucksache 18/12237 – 2 – Deutscher Bundestag – 18. Wahlperiode

„Erdoğans Schlägertruppe in Deutschland" (www.nw.de/nachrichten/nachrichten/nachrichten/21743430_Osmanen-Germania-Erdogans-Rockertruppe-in-Deutschland.html). Diese Nähe zeigte sich am 15. Juli 2016: Als am Abend des Putschversu-

Parliamentary Question 1810558

Deutscher Bundestag **Drucksache 18/10558**

18. Wahlperiode 30.11.2016

Kleine Anfrage

der Abgeordneten Sevim Dağdelen, Wolfgang Gehrcke, Jan van Aken, Annette Groth, Heike Hänsel, Andrej Hunko, Niema Movassat, Kathrin Vogler und der Fraktion DIE LINKE.

Die Situation in der Türkei und die fortgesetzte Kooperation der Bundesregierung mit der Türkei

Das Urteil ist vernichtend, die Folgen aber sind völlig unklar. Noch niemals zuvor hat die Brüsseler Europäische Kommission die politischen Entwicklungen in der Türkei so klar benannt und so offen kritisiert wie im neuen Fortschrittsbericht 2016, der am 9. November 2016 vorgelegt wurde. Die Kommissionsbehörde zählt gravierende Defizite in den Bereichen Meinungsfreiheit, Korruptionsbekämpfung und Rechtsstaatlichkeit auf. Indirekt wirft Brüssel der türkischen Justiz sogar Folter vor (www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article159353304/Das-Urteil-der-EU-ueber-Erdogans-Tuerkei-ist-vernichtend.html). Es bestehe begründeter Verdacht auf Folter und Misshandlungen politischer Häftlinge. Amnesty International hat Berichte vorliegen, die belegen, dass die türkische Polizei in Ankara und Istanbul Gefangene beleidigt und bedroht und ihnen Essen, Wasser sowie medizinische Versorgung verweigere. Außerdem zwinge sie Gefangene dazu, bis zu

APPENDIX D

CONTENT ANALYSIS EXAMPLES ON NEUTRAL FRAMING

Parliamentary Question 1900624

Kleine Anfrage

der Abgeordneten Ulla Jelpke, Dr. André Hahn, Heike Hänsel, Gökay Akbulut, Michel Brandt, Christine Buchholz, Andrej Hunko, Amira Mohamed Ali, Niema Movassat, Zaklin Nastic, Petra Pau, Tobias Pflüger, Martina Renner, Eva-Maria Elisabeth Schreiber, Kersten Steinke, Friedrich Straetmanns und der Fraktion DIE LINKE.

Fragen zur Tätigkeit des EU-Asylbüros und zur aktuellen Situation in den sogenannten Hotspots in Griechenland und Italien

Die Arbeit von insbesondere nach Griechenland und Italien entsandten Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Europäischen Unterstützungsbüros für Asylfragen (EASO) war bereits mehrfach Thema parlamentarischer Anfragen (vgl. z. B. die Bundestagsdrucksachen 18/9283 und 18/10691).

Es gibt aufgrund aktueller Entwicklungen weiteren Klärungsbedarf. Insbesondere überprüft inzwischen auch der Europäische Bürgerbeauftragte das Vorgehen von EASO in den sogenannten Hotspots in Griechenland (www.ecchr.eu/de/voelkerstraftaten-und-rechtliche-verantwortung/migration-und-flucht/hotspots-griechenland.html). Damit reagiert der Ombudsmann auf eine Beschwerde des European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights e. V. (ECCHR) und von „Brot für die Welt – Evangelisches Werk für Diakonie und Entwicklung e. V." über Missstände bei den Asyl-Zulässigkeitsentscheidungen im Rahmen des EU-Türkei-Abkommens. Entscheidungen der griechischen Behörden beruhten zum Teil ausschließlich auf Einschätzungen von EASO, was vom EU-Recht nicht gedeckt sei. Zudem würden Interviewstandards für faire Anhörungen missachtet, die Einschätzung der Frage, ob die Türkei als sicherer Drittstaat gelten könne,

Parliamentary Question 1908760

Broschüre des Bundesamtes für Verfassungsschutz zur Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans PKK

Das Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz hat im Februar 2019 die Broschüre „Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK)“ veröffentlicht, die nach Angaben der Behörde die Ideologie und Ziele der PKK sowie den historischen Hintergrund des „Kurdenkonflikts“ sowie die Aktivitäten der PKK in Deutschland und Europa beleuchtet (www.verfassungsschutz.de/de/oeffentlichkeitsarbeit/publikationen/pb-auslaenderextremismus/broschuere-2019-02-arbeiterpartei-kurdistans-pkk). Dieser Absicht wird die Broschüre nach Ansicht der Fragestellerinnen und Fragesteller nicht gerecht, vielmehr finden sich im Inhalt verkürzte Darstellungen und Falschinformationen. Schon das Bild auf der Titelseite der Broschüre zeigt mehrere über einer Menschenmenge geschwenkte Fahnen. Groß im Vordergrund wird eine rot-weiß-grüne Fahne mit dem Emblem einer gelben Sonne gezeigt. Diese von vielen Kurdinnen und Kurden als Nationalfahne angesehene Fahne wird unter anderem von der Regionalregierung der Region Kurdistan-Irak verwendet, nicht aber nach Kenntnis der Fragestellerinnen und Fragesteller von der PKK (www.laenderservice.de/flaggen/naher_osten/kurdistan.aspx). Mit keinem Wort geht die Broschüre auf die Zerstörung ganzer Stadtviertel in mehrheitlich von Kurdinnen und Kurden bewohnten Städten wie Cizre, Nusaybin und Diyarbakir-Sur durch die türkische Armee, die Vertreibung hunderttausender Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner und die Ersetzung von rund 100 gewählten kurdischen Bürgermeisterinnen und Bürgermeistern durch staatliche Zwangsverwalter seit Abbruch der Friedensverhandlungen zwischen der PKK und dem türkischen Staat im Jahre 2015 ein (www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-03/un-bericht-tuerkei-pkk-verfolgung-menschenrechtsverletzung; www1.wdr.de/nachrichten/tuerkei-unzensiert/errungenschaften-der-kurden-ekinci-de-100.html). So entsteht nach Ansicht der Fragestellerinnen und Fragesteller der Eindruck, die PKK sei einseitig verantwortlich für die Gewalteskalation in der Südosttürkei.

Nach Kenntnis der Fragestellerinnen und Fragesteller hat die PKK ihre Programmatik und Zielsetzung in den letzten 20 Jahren erheblich gewandelt. Während dem Ziel eines unabhängigen Nationalstaates in den Gefängnisschriften des PKK-