

## **Abstract**

The Turkish and Russian diasporas residing in the West have both been the subject of suspicions and fears, been framed as extremists or as foreign agents. Such accusations are vastly overstated but are rooted in elements of truth. The purpose of the present research is to analyse Russian and Turkish diasporas in Germany, establish to what extent, how and why they are the targets of instrumentalisation by Russian and Turkish governments, and compare the Russian and Turkish cases in terms of nature, scope, and outcome. Using the principal-agent model for theorizing the delegation of authority, government-diaspora relations are examined in terms of diaspora policies, laws and institutions; political activities, attitudes and extremism; criminal networks, intelligence activities and extraterritorial repression.

The analysis showed significant differences between the two cases. Turkey has established a great network of loyal institutions and movements in the diaspora, which socializes diaspora members into nationalist Turkish pro-AKP ideology and instrumentalises them into protesting, lobbying, voting, or into repressing political opponents. Russia has a weaker network and exerts less influence on its diaspora, but has still achieved success in instrumentalising diaspora communities for the sake of undermining Western institutions, primarily through disinformation, as well as for the purpose of advancing state interests by illicit means.