GERMAN TURKS IN BERLIN: MIGRATION AND THEIR QUEST FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the dynamics of German Turks' practices and life-styles and their relationship with Turkey in the context of the restrictions and possibilities brought into their lives by their particular type of dislocation. Turkish migrants' encounters, "culture" and life-styles are explored in the context of their complex social space, rather than within a framework encapsulated in a reified ethnicity and/or an immutable "Turkish culture".

Chapter I discusses concepts of ethnicity, culture and identity and presents a critical account of the literature on German Turks in this respect. Chapter II focuses on the ambiguities and insecurities of German Turks' legal, political and social status in both Turkey and Germany, and traces the consequences of these conditions on Turkish migrants' complex sense of place. The discussion of German Turks' "myths of return" in the context of their liminality and the impact these have on their self-image and their visions about their lives constitute the focus of chapters III and IV respectively. Chapter V explores the changing nature of Turkish migrants' interpersonal relationships. Chapter VI concentrates on the anomalies of the social space occupied by German Turks in German society and discusses their life-styles, practices and emergent cultural forms in the context of social mobility.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine les dynamiques du mode de vie et des pratiques des Turcs allemands et leur relation avec la Turquie dans le contexte des restrictions et des possibilités introduites dans leur vie par le déracinement qui les caractérise. Les intéractions des immigrants turcs, leur culture et leur mode de vie sont étudiés dans le contexte de leur espace social complexe, plutôt que dans le cadre d'une ethnicité réifiée et/ou d'une culture turque immuable.

Le chapitre I discute les concepts d'éthnicité, de culture et d'identité des Turcs allemands et présente un compte rendu critique de la litérature à ce sujet. Le chapitre II présente les ambiguités et les insecurités des Turcs allemands dans les domaines légal, politique et social aussi bien en Turquie qu'en Allemagne, et demontre les conséquences de ces conditions sur la conception d'appartenance que les immigrants turcs ont développé. La discussion du "mythe du retour" des Turcs allemands dans le contexte de leur liminalité et son impact sur l'image qu'ils ont d'eux-mêmes et de leur vie forment l'objet des chapitres III et IV. Le chapitre V explore la nature changeante des relations interpersonelles des immigrants Turcs. Le chapitre VI se concentre sur les anomalies de l'espace social occupé par les Turcs allemands dans la société allemande et discute de leur mode de vie, de leurs pratiques et des formes culturelles qui émergent dans un contexte de mobilité sociale.

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INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to explore the dynamics of practices, life-styles, and cultural formations of the Turkish minority in Berlin. The literature on Turkish migrants in Germany focuses mainly on German Turks' encounters, cultural practices, and forms within a framework encapsulated in a reified ethnicity and/or a mystified "Turkish culture".

An exclusive focus on German Turks as a culturally bounded ethnic group with a set of inalienable "authentic" cultural traits and a fixed identity makes their emergent cultural practices and new positions of identity invisible. Likewise, the dynamics which these practices and forms share with other contemporary cultural formations elude the lens of analysis.

Instead, I propose to investigate German Turks' encounters, life-styles and issues of belonging in Berlin within a broader framework in which migration is approached primarily as a phenomenon of displacement, giving rise to a new and complex sense of place and forging new positions of identification.

Turkish migrants experienced dislocation within the guest-worker system in Germany. The anomalies and inconsistencies this system introduced into Turkish migrants' social, legal, and political status in both German and Turkish society, are much emphasized in the literature. However, this type of displacement and the sense of place it arouses are not approached in terms of the social and cultural possibilities they open up for the migrants to articulate new self-images and utopias. This study proposes to investigate the dynamics of German Turks' practices, cultural forms, and relationship with Turkey in the context of the restrictions and

possibilities this particular type of displacement has introduced into their lives.

A brief account of Turks' migration to Germany

Like other North-European countries, the German economy emerged from the Second World War with a considerable labor deficiency. Post-war reconstruction and growth produced a greatly increased demand for labor. In order to solve its labor shortages, Germany, like other Western industrial countries, started recruiting foreign labor through bilateral agreements under the guest-worker system. The first bilateral agreements were signed with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960). The construction of the Wall (1961) deprived Germany of a major source of labor and aggravated West Germany's labor shortage further. In order to compensate for this labor deficit as quickly and cheaply as possible, Germany continued to organize labor recruitment through a series of bilateral agreements with different countries: Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).

Guest-worker programs were designed to solve immediate labor shortages in Western industrial countries by importing workers on temporary, short-term residence and work permits (Rist 1978; Castles et al. 1984:12). The system was designed so as to regulate the flow of labor entirely in accordance with capital's labor requirements and was designed to be temporary. As the system denies civil and political rights to the recruits, its intention is to provide a flexible, disposable, mobile and compliant labor force which can be sent home in the event of recession, or when unemployment rises (Gorz 1970; Castles and Kosack 1975:374-407; Paine 1974:37-52; Abadan 1976:1-3 Castles et al. 1984:94; Miles 1986:63;).

Turkey signed similar bilateral agreements with

Austria (1964), the Netherlands (1964), Belgium (1964) and France (1965), but the largest migrant flow of labor from Turkey was to Germany. The Turkish population in the FRG was 6,500 in 1961 but reached over 600,000 in 1973, this representing 80% of Turkish migrant workers in Western Europe (Paine 1974:58,122).

In the early phase of labor migration, recruited Turkish migrants were mainly men in the age bracket of 20-39, equipped with a basic level of education, relatively skilled (in comparison to the average working population in Turkey), and from the economically more developed regions of the country (Abadan-Unat 1975; Keyder and Aksu-Koc 1988:20). During this phase, the proportion of urban migrants was higher than that of rural migrants (only 17.2% were from villages) and 78% of labor migrants consisted of skilled industrial workers, civil servants, shopkeepers and the self-employed (Abadan 1964). In the second half of the 1960s emigration covered rural areas too, and the proportion of Turkish migrants from central and south-east Anatolia rose (Gökdere 1978:178), as did the percentage of unskilled workers with a minimum level of education. These migrants were able to bypass the recruitment center as their hiring by their German employers took place through their relatives or friends who had already migrated. One-third of the legal Turkish migrants who came to Germany between 1967-1971 arrived through this channel.

In contrast to the early 1960s, the proportion of female recruitment increased significantly between 1965 and 1968 as there was an increased demand for this group (who received lower wages) in certain industrial sectors (Keyder 1988). Berlin was relatively late in importing Turkish workers, but the textile and electronics industry in Berlin demanded cheap female labor, so in 1964 the first Turkish women arrived in Berlin as foreign labor.

The composition of the Turkish migrant population in Berlin has all the characteristics of Turkish recruitment in late 1960s, the ratio of Turkish migrants from the eastern provinces and from economically less-developed regions of Turkey being high. By 1973 the number of Turkish migrants in Berlin reached 79,468 (Statistiches Landesamt).

Following the oil crisis and the consequent economic stagnation, the German government, like the other European governments of migration countries officially banned the entry of non-EEC workers to Germany in November 1973. Certain incentives were introduced for foreign workers to return home. Indeed, foreign employment decreased from 2.6 million in 1973 to 1.9 million in 1976. However, although the number of foreign workers decreased in the post-recruitment period, the foreign population in Germany has continued to grow because of the implementation in 1974 of the policy allowing migrant families to be brought to Germany, the consequent natural growth among foreign residents (Castles et al. 1984:100; Pennix 1984; Miles 1986:64). The number of Turkish migrants increased from 910,500 in 1973 to 1,268,300 in 1979 in the FRG as a whole (Statistisches Bundesamt) and from 79,468 in 1973 to 100,217 in 1979 in Berlin (Statistiches Landesamt). The ratio of workers among foreign residents has continually decreased with this development. In 1992, only one-third of the five million foreigners in Germany were workers, the remaining two-thirds being family dependents.

The increase in the foreign population of the FRG since the beginning of the 1970s is partly to be accounted for by an increase in the number of political refugees into the country. Since 1974, the composition of the Turkish migrant population has changed, becoming a more general population migration rather than mainly labor migration (Keyder and Aksu-Koc 1988:25).

Today 1.8 million Turks live in Germany, and Berlin with over 150,000 Turkish residents has the largest Turkish population of any German city. Eighty percent of its Turkish residents have been living there for at least 10 years (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1991:9).

The Constitution of the FRG does not allow dual citizenship, and most Turks, despite up to 30 years stay in Germany, do not wish to give up their Turkish citizenship. Although the 1991 Foreigners' Law facilitated the acquisition of German citizenship, the annual rate of naturalization (2.1 % in 1991) remains low among Turkish migrants (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1993).[1] Unless migrants are allowed dual citizenship, the naturalization rates for Turks will probably not change significantly in the near future. Thus, despite the permanent character that their stay has acquired, Turks will remain a "foreign population" in Germany, a status which invokes restrictions on their civil and political rights.[2]

Today, German Turks are internally stratified, so that they are represented in almost all strata of German society, and they are fully integrated into the German economy. The 35,000 Turkish businesses run by Turks have an investment figure of 7.2 billion German Marks. Their turnover per annum is around 25 billion German Marks. The estimated value of Turkish migrants' consumption in Germany is 10 billion German marks (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1992:2).

Since the early 1970s, the Turks' presence in Germany has been central to the "foreigners' problem" debate in the FRG, in which their presence has been problematized around their culture, code of conduct and capacity and desire to integrate into German society. Different segments of German society have been involved in these

debates at differing levels ranging from anti-Turkish jokes to "scientific" explanations of the impossibility of Turks' integration into German society, and to discussions of multiculturalism.[3] The relationship between ethnicity and culture, cultural integrity and the issues of identity and belongingness form the core of these debates.

Anti-foreigner sentiments in German society gained momentum after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and subsequent German reunification. Increasing hostility directed particularly against Turks, manifested in violent and deadly attacks upon them, have brought the issues mentioned above concerning Turks' presence, culture, belongingness and future prospects to the forefront of discussions.

Overview of chapters

The mainstream problematization of German Turks' cultural practices and identities is grounded in an essentialist view of culture. They also share the enlightenment notion of the subject in which identity is regarded as being fixed, centered and closed. Quite apart from the theoretical problems involved in such attempts to fix Turkish migrants' practices and identity in a reified ethnic culture, they sever studies of Turkish migrants from more generalized frameworks which could definitely broaden our perspectives. For instance, the much debated issue of the fragmented or double cultural identity of German Turks, or their mixing of incongruent cultural codes and styles take different meanings within the framework of post-modernity discussions, which are preoccupied with the fragmentation and multiplication of styles and codes.

Likewise, the discussion of German Turks' hybrid cultural formations and the increasing syncretism dominating their life styles take on a different character

within the perspective of an interconnected world in which the boundaries between "cultures" are fluid, and cultural identities are necessarily affected and displaced by processes of large-scale interconnectedness. The cultural practices of German Turks, like any other "culture" in today's world, are the product of several interlocking histories and cultural traditions, mediated and transplanted by the media and the host society. The traces of different cultural traditions and languages are visible in these new forms, created by the fusion of these distinct traditions, but the emergent forms are reducible to none of them. Hence they can neither be explained in relation to a fixed, unitary, and bounded traditional Turkish culture, nor within an acculturation framework. In fact, migration is one of those processes that aggravate the flow of images and cultural forms bringing about results in surprising combinations and crossovers of codes and discourses. The emergent cultural forms and practices of German Turks need to be understood first as products of such processes.

Chapter one presents a brief and critical account of the approaches to German Turks' practices and culture in the literature on migration and lays out the main premises and guiding ideas of a new approach.

The experience of migration dislocates people's sense of place and transforms the spaces of identity, resulting in a new sense of "home". The characteristics of Turkish migrants' displacement within the guest-worker system and the resulting ambiguities and insecurities in their legal, political and social status in both their home and host country, as well as the physical proximity of their country of origin to the country of migration transform and broaden Turkish migrants' sense of home. Chapter two explores the impact of this situation of being simultaneously insiders and outsiders in both societies on

German Turks' sense of place and their resulting sentiments.

Chapter three discusses the much-debated issue of Turkish migrants' "myth of return" and suggests separating its investigation from the question of German Turks' future place of residence. Based on the premise that German Turks are permanently settled in German society, this chapter concentrates on this "myth" as being symptomatic of the liminal qualities of Turkish migrants' settlement in Germany.

Chapter four explores the impact of German Turks' particular kind of displacement on their self-image and their visions about their own qualities and lives.

Chapter five focuses on the changing nature and transformation of German Turks' interpersonal relationships in the context provided in chapter four.

Chapter six concentrates on the anomalies of the social space occupied by German Turks in German society and proposes to discuss their life-styles, practices and emergent cultural forms in the context of social mobility rather than in ethnic and cultural terms. This emphasis introduces a new dimension into discussions on the presence of Turkey in German Turks' lives and on their relationship with Turkey.

By invoking the dynamics set free by Turkish migrants' particular type of displacement in articulating new self-images and utopias in a society in which their full social mobility is largely hindered, this dissertation introduces a new perspective into discussions of German Turks' encounters, cultural formations, and life-styles in the FRG.

Research strategies

Data for this study originated primarily from fieldwork conducted in Berlin between May 1987 and December 1988. In the initial months of my fieldwork, I stayed with a Turkish worker family in Kreuzberg, the area most densely populated by Turks in Berlin. [4]
Simultaneously, I worked in a Turkish shop in the same area. After establishing firm contacts among German Turks, data collection continued on the basis of daily visits to the houses and shops of Turkish migrants in different parts of Berlin. Visits were also paid to Turkish associations, mosques and Turkish television stations.

The documents in the Türkei-Archiv in Berlin (which has since 1989 transferred to Duisburg) and the Berliner Institut für vergleichende Sozialforschung, as well as works on Turkish migrants in Berlin libraries were examined and consulted during this period. As I continued to live in Berlin after 1989, data collection continued through selective visits to Turkish homes and shops and through interviews.

Altogether thirthy three interviews were conducted. From these fourteen was with Turkish women and nineteen were with men. Only three of the interviews took place between 1987 and 1988. The rest were made with German Turks and (primarily Turkish) retailers in 1990 (twenty five) and in 1991 (three). Among these, ten were with Turkish businessmen in Berlin. In three of the interviews, the retailers' wives who ran the shops together with their husbands were present and intervened occasionally during the interviews.

All the interviews were conducted in Turkish which is my native language. These interviews form only a part of my data source. Other than field notes, an extensive use of textual and visual material (ranging from shop signs,

handouts, advertisements, announcements to newspapers) were made. Apart from the shopkeepers, no Turkish migrants were interviewed until a long-established relationship with him or her was in being.

During the whole period of data collection and writing, extensive use has been made of Turkish media (Germany editions of Turkish newspapers, mainly Hürriyet and Milliyet, Turkish TV and radio broadcasting). For Turkish newspapers, the SFB Archiv (Sender Freies Berlin) was used. The material used in the manuscript originating from Turkish media dates from after 1989. Where news and reports from Turkish newspapers make the same point, the most recent one has been preferred.

The conversations cited in the manuscript originated either in interviews or field notes (in Turkish) taken during or right after the conversations.

Berlin was selected for the fieldwork because it has the largest Turkish population of any European city. Moreover, with its wide range of Turkish shops, cultural, religious, and political associations, and youth organizations and sports clubs, it has played an important role in shaping the Turkish minority in Germany. Although fieldwork was restricted to Berlin, material from the Turkish media on German Turks in the FRG in general which are in line with data on Berlin have been used in order to draw attention to similar general developments in Germany. However, this study does not aim to generalize its argument to all German Turks in the FRG. The impact of the size of the Turkish population, the differences between city and small-town contexts, and the presence of other ethnic minorities on German Turks' life-styles, desires, self image and practices are acknowledged.

The universe of this study is not exclusively confined to first-generation German Turks, data on second-generation Turks also being utilized. However, the concentration is primarily on the practices, relations and concerns which are dominant in the lives of first-generation Turkish migrants. Although the second generation is gradually gaining a hand in the organization of German Turks' lives and is in the process of negotiating its own desires, self-image, and life-styles with the first generation, it is the latter who shape the Turkish minority in the FRG. The former has been socialized into the milieu dominated by the latter. Ideals, self-images and what it means to be second-generation German Turks are shaped in this milieu, although in opposition to it. It is thus an important parameter of the practices, ideals and cultural forms of the second generation.

The phrases "German Turks" and "Turkish migrants" are used interchangeably in the text. The latter is used not to emphasize any kind of temporariness of Turks' presence in Germany, but to draw attention to the fact that these are primarily displaced people. Further, migrants from Turkey are referred to as "Turks" or as being "Turkish" without making any distinction in terms of their ethnic origin. This is not meant to deny such differences among the migrants from Turkey. It is recognized that between 300,000 and 500,000 (Sen 1993:32) of them are of Kurdish origin, and their relations to Turkey, their self-image and prospects in the context of rising Kurdish nationalism and the harsh social, economic and political conditions they confront in Turkey differ from those of non-Kurdish migrants from Turkey. However, this research is not designed to follow up the differences resulting from different ethnic origins among migrants from Turkey. Informants from Turkish migrants were selected without regard to their Kurdish or Turkish origins, but none of

those cited in the text happened to identify themselves as Kurdish.

NOTES

1. For 1992, it is estimated to be 4.6% (Die Ausländerbeauftragte 1993:4). Access to German citizenship is not automatic. Migrants desiring German nationality have to wait ten years before they can apply for it.

2. Turks who are not naturalized have either a limited (Aufenthaltserlaubnis) or unlimited residence permit (unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis) which does not automatically grant the holder a work permit. Foreigners have to wait for five years before applying for the latter and even then, it is not automatically granted. 38.8% of Turks have the former type of residence permit while 44.8% have the latter type (Sen 1993:22). Given the fact that 64% of Turks have been living in the FRG for at least ten years, these figures are striking. For a "right of residence" (Aufenthaltsberechtigung), the waiting period before applying is eight years. Only those who have this type of permit do not need an additional work permit and have for instance the right to own a business in Germany. However, eight years of residence by no means implies automatic access to this type of permit which is in fact the most difficult to acquire. Children born in Germany of foreign parents are not automatically naturalized and after the age of sixteen are required to have a valid residence permit. Nineteen- or twenty-year old Turks who are born in Germany but still have not been granted "residence right" are not rare in Germany.

3. One example is the "Heidelberger Manifesto" signed by fifteen university professors (see Castles 1984:45, also the editorial of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in December 2, 1982, in Castles 1984:204-205).

4. All the names in this work have been changed. The names used are pseudonyms.

CHAPTER I - THE CONCEPTS OF ETHNICITY AND CULTURE, AND STUDIES OF TURKISH MIGRANTS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY[1]

Early in the morning, the subway connecting Kreuzberg to Siemensstadt, where the Siemens factories are located, is crowded with workers, who are mostly but not exclusively Turkish. I am sitting next to a Turkish man in his late forties and cannot help staring at the book in Arabic script he is reading. My eyes travel back and forth between his trainers and his woolen cap, of the type which peasants wear in Turkey. Somehow I am surprised to discover that this man, dressed in jeans and a suit jacket, is reading the Koran in this overcrowded subway. Then I notice the young German man with a Palestinian scarf sitting across from us. He is also dressed in jeans and trainers (Nike), only his are a better quality than the Turk's. He is reading a paperback, which I notice is in English. I am surprised to find myself surprised at the sight of the Turk. Then I remember the calendar on the living-room wall of the Turkish family I have been staying with in Kreuzberg. The Santa Claus miniature attached to that calendar (Saatli Maarif Takvimi), which is well known for the exact information it contains on namaz (prayer) times had surprised me in a similar fashion.

In Kreuzberg, at a well known youth center, some Turkish teenagers, boys and girls together, are having a dance, the event is called "From halay to hiphop".[2] The audience is mainly made up of Turks with ages ranging from 6-7 to 20 years old, but there are also some German teenagers among them. The dancers start with traditional folk dances in traditional costumes from various parts of Turkey and then abruptly move to break-dancing while taking off their costumes. The whole event travels back

and forth between break-dance, Turkish folk dance and various combinations of them. The accompanying music is a cross between Turkish folk songs in Turkish, arranged for synthesizer and electric guitar instead of the saz, (a traditional Turkish music instrument), and English pop music sung in English played with the saz, or with all these instruments together. The event proves to be a big success.

The Berlin supplement of a popular Turkish newspaper reports that Easter has become "the circumcision season" among German Turks (Hürriyet April 14, 1993). Two photos on its first page are striking. One of them shows a boy about to be circumcised in a traditional circumcision costume seated on a black horse in front of a subway station in the center of Kreuzberg. He is holding the hand of a Turkish man dressed entirely in white, who with his other hand is waving a large Turkish flag In the corner of the photo, the davul zurna (drum and horn) the traditional Turkish instruments used in ceremonies, are visible (see Appendix 1a). The second photo shows the interior of a hall where the circumcision ceremony is taking place. This time, the boy to be circumcised and some other children in festive clothes are dancing together with a figure dressed up as Santa Claus. Their out-stretched arms and movements indicate that they are dancing a Turkish dance (see Appendix 1b).

The circumcision of boys is an Islamic requirement, and therefore circumcision ceremonies have definite Islamic connotations. The Santa Claus performing a Turkish dance at a circumcision ceremony during Easter - a Christian holiday - the boy on a black horse at a central subway station in Berlin, and the huge Turkish flag all seem to belong to their "own" times, "own" traditions and "own" places.

These are not unusual scenes in areas with large Turkish community in Berlin, such as Kreuzberg, Wedding or Neukölln. For those who are familiar with the common use, place, set-up and symbolic connotations of objects and practices in Turkey and in Germany, however, these juxtapositions and mixtures are nearly surreal. Objects and practices that are thought of as being affiliated with different cultural traditions and groups of people are juxtaposed with each other resulting in crossovers which carry traces of the different cultural traditions, histories and languages that have shaped them. In the face of such hybrid forms and mixing of styles, one is left with a sense of estrangement, a feeling that everything and everyone is "out of place" (Clifford 1988a:6).

However, it must be noted that the intermingling of different cultural traditions and mixing of styles are not unique to Turkish migrants in Germany. Such phenomena are observable among different migrant populations in different parts of the world (see Gilroy 1987; Rosaldo 1989; Hall 1991a, 1991b).[3] It is the flow of goods, capital, information, images, etc., that trigger these processes of hybridization, this mixing of cultural codes and discourses. Migration, which is defined by displacement, flow of labour and culture, is one of the main factors bringing about such syncretisms, crossovers, and juxtapositions.

Syncretism and the practice of drawing on different cultural traditions simultaneously, which are strikingly present in the lives and encounters of Turkish migrants, have not been sufficiently explored in studies of Turkish migrants in Germany.[4] In the first period of migration, such kind of syncretisms and juxtapositions were not of interest to students of Turkish guest workers in Germany. The studies done during this period are mainly concerned with economics and statistics, and the "culture", dreams,

desires and the self-definitions of Turkish workers are hardly dealt with at all. The reason behind this neglect is twofold. First, in the beginning, Turkish workers were demographically more homogenous, consisting basically of single males or females staying in Wohnheims (dormitory-like hostels) and were not very visible in the host society.[5] Second, workers in this initial period were regarded as part of a temporary labour force only, and they themselves saw their situation as such. There was therefore no interest in exploring their lives and encounters further. Their presence in Germany was analyzed only from the perspective of their impact as a labour force on the German and Turkish economies (on the latter by means of their remittances) (Pennix et al. 1976; Yenisey 1976; Castles and Kosack 1976; also Keyder and Aksu-Koc 1988).

Interest in Turkish migrants' culture gained momentum with their increasing visibility in German society as a "problem". After the ban on non-EEC workers' entering Germany in 1973, migrants already living in Germany were granted the right to bring their spouses and children into the country. This substantially changed the demographic composition of the migrant population. Not only did Turkish migrants become more visible within the society, but the increasing presence of non-working dependents, women and children necessitated the provision of some basic social services, such as education and housing. After these family reunions, a new period started in the lives of Turkish migrants in Germany. Now, not contemplating their return for at least four to five years, they started to organize their lives in Germany more effectively.

Studies of this period are concerned more with the analysis of the reorganization of family and parent-child relationships, with gender roles in migrant families, and

with the educational problems of migrant children (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970; Kudat 1975; Kiray 1976; Abadan-Unat 1982; Nauck 1987; Nauck 1988).[6] The processes of change taking place in migrants' lives are analyzed by concentrating on concepts of "integration", "assimilation" or "acculturation" and by using various indicators of "assimilation" (Esser 1980; Esser 1981; Esser 1982a; Nauck 1989). The basic focus of these more or less social-work oriented approaches is the process of Turkish migrants' integration into German society. Thus, the religion and "culture" of Turkish migrants only became topics of interest from the perspective of these frameworks (see Elsas 1980; Thomä-Vanske 1981). Through Turks' increasing visibility, and their "failure" or so-called refusal to "integrate" and "adapt", their "culture" was invoked as the key to bringing about their assimilation and acculturation. Concern with the migrants' culture increased, but it was confined to a consideration of the problems of integration. "Cultural conflict", its consequences for migrants' integration into German society, and the dynamics of this phenomenon are the most prominent areas of interest in these studies.

Of course, this concern with Turkish migrants' culture, - in which their culture is seen as an active component shaping and organizing their encounters and lives - was a positive step. But, with this new emphasis, problems originating with a particular formulation of the concept of culture in respect of Turkish migrants became more apparent.[7]

Researchers working on Turkish migrants' culture in Germany note emergent hybrids and syncretisms, but are disturbed by these "cultural impurities" (to use Clifford's term (1988b:131)). The common reaction is either to label this hybrid culture degenerate (Abadan-Unat 1976), one in which the authenticity of "Turkish

Culture" is being endangered, and to call for precautions against this process of "cultural decay", or to diagnose the situation as one of a fragmented cultural world leading to a crisis of identity (Fekete 1982; Mushabe 1985; Straube 1987). In the latter view, for instance, the objects which Turkish migrants make use of in their daily lives are divided into different groups and are diagnosed as assertions of their diverse and conflicting identities. For example, the whiskey drunk at Turkish weddings is argued to belong to German society and to their identity as migrants in Germany, while the sunflower seeds nibbled with the whiskey belong to Turkey and to their Turkish identity.

The concepts of culture and identity adopted in these approaches prevent us from studying hybridity as a product of several interlocking histories and cultures which produces new positions of identification that do not necessarily lead to crises of identity. Instead of exploring the dynamics behind such cultures of hybridity and their impact on forging new identities, these cultural forms are diagnosed as the major source of Turkish migrants' problems in Germany in the studies mentioned above.

These studies share two particular assumptions about culture, ethnicity and identity which hinder our understanding of the phenomenon in all its complexity.[8] The first is the holistic notion of culture, according to which cultures are assumed to be integrated wholes characterized by uniform rules, i.e. cultures are structured systems. There is a similar holistic assumption about identity. Identity is regarded as continuous, unified and centered. Second assumption is the conceptualization of the link between ethnicity and culture as intrinsic, i.e., the assumption that each ethnic group has its own discrete culture. I will discuss

these in turn.

The Holistic View of Culture

According to Rousseau (1990:47), "anthropology has hypostasized culture into an all-encompassing organized whole", i.e., culture is seen as an assembly of traits and practices that are arranged in a given way and necessarily make sense when taken as a whole. In this view of "culture as an integrated whole", a deep logic is seen as linking the traits. Any disturbance in this unity is expected to result in crisis, breakdown or degeneration. These approaches suffer from what Worsley identifies as a culturalist or structuralist mystification (1981:112). Numerous studies in the literature on labor migration implicitly assume that there is a deep cultural logic unifying everything in migrants' culture.

Like the view in psychology in which the self is assumed to be unified and centered and any kind of fragmentation or coexistence of unrelated roles, beliefs and actions within the individual are diagnosed as symptoms of crisis, in the holistic view of culture, heterogeneity is seen as a manifestation of crisis of identity within the group in question. In studies of migrants' culture, we see these assumptions being crystallized most clearly under the themes of identity crisis, loss of identity, the state of being between two cultures, the fragmentation of identity, degenerate culture. "Mornings Germany, evenings Turkey", "torn between two cultures", not knowing which culture they belong to (Schrader, Nikles and Griese 1976; Malewska-Peyre 1980; Kühlmann and Mayer 1983; Abadan-Unat 1985; Mahrländer 1986;)[9]: these are favorite descriptions of this identity "problem" for those working with this paradigm.

The fact that Turkish migrants - especially second-

generation Turks - assume different identities at different times and that they simply do not have identities that are unified around a coherent self is diagnosed as a problem in the literature on migration. This diagnosis is founded on a notion of the subject which is assumed to be unchanging and identical with itself throughout the individual's existence. In this view, identity is not seen as a process but as being something fixed and essential.

All things that are regarded as belonging to a culture are seen as being necessarily linked to one other. Traits that fall outside this assumed deep cultural logic, all the impurities and contradictions, are accepted as being a source of crisis. Because of the assumption that the cultural universe must be unified and centered, the co-existence of traits that are conventionally thought to belong to different cultural traditions and the fragmentation of cultural codes is thought to signal the degeneration of the culture in question. Obviously there is no place for syncretism in this view. The multiplicity of styles and mixing of activities from German and Turkish cultural universes are seen to result in the development of a double cultural identity.[10]

In short, the majority of studies on Turkish migrants and their pessimistic predictions concerning the identity and culture of migrants are grounded in the assumption that cultures are discrete and necessarily unified systems and that each individual should belong to just one system. Thus, the actions of individuals are necessarily integrated, and they have a stable and unchanging sense of their place in the order of things.

Ethnicity and Culture

In studies on Turks and on Turkish culture in the FRG, the link between ethnicity and culture is conceptualized as intrinsic. This approach rests on the assumption that each ethnic group has its own culture and this culture is applicable to each member of the group. Those who operate within this framework have to settle two major problems: the delineation of the ethnic unit and the delineation of the culture that corresponds to it. These form the major focus of anthropological studies of ethnicity and culture (see Cohen 1978).

Those who advocate the possibility of delineating the ethnic unit by means of objective criteria seek to provide an objective definition of ethnic groups. However, they locate the source of unity in different places. For Narroll (1964) the unit of cross-cultural comparison that shares fundamental cultural values is the "cultunit". The unity of the cultunit is grounded in a distinct common language and in belonging to the same state or the same contact group (ibid.286). Southall (1976) puts the emphasis on the differential ecological and demographic pressures that lead to socio-linguistic differentiation, and he identifies the ethnic community on the basis of the speech community. Abruzzi (1982), on the other hand, rejects the identification of ethnic groups on the basis of language community and the cultural unit, and assumes the primacy of ethnic populations. These, in his view, can be identified on the basis of shared historical identity, a high incidence of endogamy, and common behavioral characteristics.

All these approaches, despite the different criteria they propose for the objective definition of ethnic units, work with the assumption that ethnic entities are natural social units that share a common culture and have stable identities. The basic concern of these approaches is thus

to establish the criteria by means of which we can draw the real boundaries of ethnic units.

The objectivist position is difficult to sustain. First, identifying unambiguous ethnic groupings and boundaries proves to be an impossible task in practice. There are problems involved in using criteria such as language or mutual intelligibility in locating ethnic boundaries (see Bentley 1983:2). Second, theoretically these views encounter the problem of essentialism.

The major challenge to these approaches comes from those who refuse to see ethnic groups as pre-given social units. Barth (1969), the prominent figure of the instrumental or situational approach to ethnicity, identifies self-ascription and ascriptions by others that develop in interaction as the crucial feature of ethnicity. In his view, it is the ethnic boundary, not the cultural features that it encloses that defines the group. A common culture is the outcome of ethnic group organization rather than its main defining characteristic (ibid.10-13). The emphasis on the relational and self-ascriptive quality of ethnicity shifts the focus on to how ethnic boundaries and identities are manipulated in response to changing political, ecological and demographic circumstances.

Despite some weaknesses, Barth's problematization of ethnic units and identities has constituted a major step forward in studies of ethnicity.[11] His relational and contextual approach to ethnicity led to studies of ethnogenesis - the process of group formation and group emergence - and of changes in group definitions and in the meaning of ethnic belonging in social contexts. Barth's approach cleared the way for developed situationalist and culturalist approaches to ethnicity.

Working from within the perspective that ethnicity is a self-perceived subjective phenomenon, those who advocate a situationalist and/or culturalist approach to ethnicity reject the idea that ethnic groups are objective, culturally bounded entities in which people possess cultural traits that are an inalienable part of their identity (Nagata 1974; Keyes 1979; Lehmann 1979; Drummond 1981b). Once ethnicity is seen as a conceptual tool with which people organize intergroup relations (Lehmann 1979:23), the analysis of the cultural definition of ethnic belonging and its contextual variation become the main focus (Lehmann 1979; Nagata 1974; Drummond 1980:373; Drummond 1981a:13). In these approaches, the relationship between cultural traits and an ethnic category, i.e. ethnicity, is not stable (Drummond 1980:360; Galaty 1983). The situational selection of ethnic identity and plural identities become the major topics of interest.[12]

The problematization of the ethnicity and ethnic identity of Turkish migrants in Germany on the lines mentioned above is rare and relatively new. Mandel (1988, 1989) focusses on boundary-setting mechanisms and on the manipulation of identities within the "Turkish" population in Berlin in relation to social categories such as Sunni, Alawi and Kurd. Similarly members of the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung (BIVS), working from within a Barthian approach to ethnicity, emphasize the shifting boundaries between ethnic groups and changing ethnic identities in regard to Turkish and Kurdish migrants to Germany (See Blaschke 1983; Blaschke and Ammann 1988; Schwarz 1987; Schwarz 1992).

Most studies on Turkish migrants in Germany follow the stream of thought of community studies, that is, they are based on the idea that the "community" in question is the representative of a culture or an ethnic group (Rousseau 1990:52). For this reason, apart from the

exceptions mentioned above, the problem of establishing the boundaries of an ethnic group does not present itself in these studies, whose major objective is to "discover" the essential elements and therefore the boundaries of the corresponding "culture" of Turkish migrants as an ethnic group.

This attempt takes the form of deciphering the "traditional culture" of Turkey. Here the greatest attention is paid to capturing this "traditional culture" in its purest form, because it usually serves as a yardstick in evaluating the extent of changes, cultural heterogeneity, fragmentation and consequently identity crisis resulting from the experience of migration. For this reason, in determining the content of the "traditional culture", the emphasis is almost always placed on the norms and values that predominate in rural areas of Turkey.[13] In these attempts, Islam, especially in relation to Turkish migrant women, comes to the fore as the core of this "traditional culture" (see Baumgartener-Karabak and Landesberger 1978; Rosen 1986).

Ironically, this concern to compare Turkish migrants' culture with their "traditional culture" in Turkey leads to an ahistorical conceptualization. The basic continuity that is assumed to be present in cultural traits and their organization shapes the portrayal of Turkish migrants' experiences in the literature in a particular way. The practices the migrants have brought with them are not seen as a cultural repertoire or "a store of knowledge" (Rousseau 1990:47), by means of which they come up with new and interesting solutions to the problems that they confront in the FRG. Hence, things that were present in migrants' previous lives which assumed a different meaning and function in Germany do not receive the attention they deserve, other than as being proof of the persistence of their "traditional" culture. From this point of view, the

cultural forms that are being shaped in Germany among Turks are, to use a term of Rosaldo, "analytically empty transitional zones" (1989:208), because they are "culturally invisible" (ibid.209).

Ironically, multiculturalism is promoted as an alternative policy to the rigidity of state policies on migrants and thus finds support among more progressive circles in the FRG. However, it also rests on the assumption that cultures are internally consistent, unified and structured wholes attached to ethnic groups.[14] It is simply a version of the plural-societies approach.

Like plural-society theories, the multiculturalist approach also advocates the co-existence of different cultures within the confines of ethnic groups. Here, the term multicultural society is used to refer to a multiethnic society in which each ethnic group has its "own" culture. Thus, as with the plural-societies view, the emphasis is on the insularity of different sections of the ethnic mosaic and on institutionalized cultural separateness. Drummond (1978:40) rightly emphasizes that, according to the plural-societies framework, "[p]lural societies are supposed to have resulted from the incomplete conjunction of diverse peoples" (ibid.40). The premise behind this argument is that separate peoples originated in cultures that were integrated stable wholes (Hannerz 1989c). Hence multicultural perspectives share the premises mentioned above about culture and ethnicity.

Creolization and Bricolage

Frameworks based on a creole metaphor of culture are particularly suitable in exploring the syncretism and processes of hybridization resulting from the experience of migration. The major criticism to the assumptions mentioned above about culture, identity and the intrinsic link between ethnicity and culture come from those who use

a metaphor of creolization in their analysis.

The Creole Metaphor of Culture

> ...[T]he concept of creolization, itself a metaphor derived from linguistics has been developed...principally to eliminate the idea of cultures as discrete, bounded and mutually incommensurable, and to fasten instead the view of a cultural continuum linking peoples and regions to each other and to a metropolitan and/or neo-colonial influence, so undermining sharp us/them distinctions. (Parkin 1993:84)

Drummond argues that structuralist linguistics, which emphasizes uniformity and invariant relationships, is not a valid model for cultural analysis (Drummond 1980:352-53). Instead, in Rousseau's words he takes a "model from creole linguistics which abandons the view that languages are discrete systems with discrete setof rules" (Rousseau 1990:47) and argues that creole linguistics, rather than structural linguistics, provide an appropriate metaphor of culture.

Fabian (1978) uses a processual version of the metaphor and differentiates a "pidgin" and "creolized" phase in culture contact. In this cumulative process, elements from different cultural traditions are fully synthesized, yet the contradictions and differences are not eroded. According to him culture refers to a never-ending process by which people work at and work out their problems dialectically (ibid.330).

Drummond, following Bickerton's view that pidgin does not necessarily precede creole, subscribes to a non-processual approach to cultural creolization. According to this approach, diversity, divisiveness and internal

heterogeneity are fundamental to creole languages, because "creole contains not one grammar, as Chomskyian linguists claim, but several that are interrelated" (Bickerton 1975, cited in Drummond 1978:35). This grammatical variation in creole, according to Bickerton, necessitates the notion of a continuum in any analysis (ibid.35). With conflicting grammars at its extremities, the creole continuum is a grammatical continuum, an intersystem which is interrelated with a set of transformations.

In a similar fashion, Drummond argues that "cultures are internally as varied and changeful as creole languages" (Drummond 1980:371), and he formulates the concept of a cultural continuum after Bickerton's notion of a creole continuum. This refers to a system of differences with distinct cultural images being only at the two poles (ibid.361). In studying cultures, he proposes a creole metaphor which places the main emphasis on internal variation and diachrony or change within the cultural system rather than on uniform rules or invariant properties.[15] Cultures encompass an internal heterogenity comparable with creole languages.

The point that needs stressing here is that these processes are not confined to creole cultures. All societies and languages, including contemporary Western ones are formed by processes of creolization (Drummond 1980:368,372), a notion that is therefore appropriate for the analysis of all cultures.

In the analysis of cultural heterogenity, intensive culture contact, and relations between ethnicity and culture, the creolization view of culture has the advantage of avoiding the pitfalls of the approaches to culture mentioned above. However, there are two problems in this approach. First, despite its vigorous criticisms of the convention that cultures are internally organized

units, the notion of intersystem prevents us from carrying this critique to its limits. Rousseau's criticism (1990:47) is relevant on this point:

> While it [Drummond's approach] recognizes the absence of clear boundaries between cultures, and the fact that each creole must be understood in a wider context of related cultural sets, the creole metaphor still assumes that if we select a small enough unit, it will be internally organized in the same way that each creole subset is internally structured.[16]

Second, in this approach the link between processes of creolization and other social dynamics in the society is generally missing.

Globalization and Creolization

Hannerz (1987) takes up the creole metaphor of culture and develops it further within the framework of globalization. He explores cultural heterogenity and interconnectedness in relation to macroprocesses which in McGraw's words "cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in new space time combinations making the world in reality and experience more interconnected" (Hall 1992:299).

Hannerz points out that the twentieth century has been a unique period in world cultural history. Increased mobility of people and goods, the growth of various Third World diasporas in Europe and America, the proliferation of transnational linkages and the development of media and communication methods that allow the rapid long distance flow of information and images, have all given rise to a different dimension of exchange and interaction on world scale (1989a:2; 1989b:201). Within this large range of interconnectedness, cultures and cultural processes become

increasingly deterritorialized and interrelated (Hannerz 1989a:7). One of the results of these processes of continuous interaction and exchange is the formation of "transnational cultures" without a clear anchorage in any one territory (Hannerz 1987; 1989a). These cultures are the products of all sorts of diverse cultural flows which develop between center and periphery.

The conditions of the twentieth century, argues Hannerz, urges us to reconsider our assumptions about culture. It is no longer possible to maintain a cultural-mosaic view of the world with distinct, well-bounded cultures (Hannerz 1989a:1). We need a new level of conceptualization and new intellectual tools to grasp the nature of the organization and processes of contemporary complex cultures (Hannerz 1987:550). He too finds a creole metaphor useful in describing the increase in cultural interrelatedness and cultural crossovers (1989a:13-14).

The creolization framework that Hannerz develops in order to explore the consequences of globalization on cultural identities is particularly relevant in studying the dynamics of migrant cultures. Migration, which is characterized by flow and movement, is itself one of those processes which accelerates the flows and linkages between different cultural traditions which produce crossovers, cultural mixtures and new positions of identification. It is also a process which widens the field of identities.

Framing migration within the context of globalization broadens our perspective that issues about migrants' cultures and identities, which have usually been diagnosed as a problem within a narrow perspective on migration and culture contact, take on a different character. Striking examples are the discussions of migrants' identities that are marked by fragmentation and plurality, and of cultural authenticity and degeneration. The exploration of these

issues in the context of globalization sets discussions of migrant cultures and identities free from the constraints of dichotomies between the traditional and the modern as well as those of a mystified ethnic-cultural framework.

The notion of cultural creolization is useful in investigating the processes of cultural syncretism and hybridization in relation to the experience of migration. However, before employing this notion of creolization in the analysis of cultural process and change, it is important to take note of its restrictions.

Despite its important contribution to the analysis of the organization of contemporary cultures, Hannerz's critique of conventional assumptions about culture does not go far enough. He sees these assumptions as unattainable because of the particular conditions the twentieth century has given rise to.

> The twentieth century has been a unique period in world cultural history. Humankind has finally bid farewell to that world which could with some credibility be seen as a cultural mosaic, of separate pieces with hard, well-defined edges. (Hannerz 1989a:1, my emphasis)

His critique of the conventions about culture is time-bound and is not a general critique.[17] This limitation is highly problematic.

Culture as collage

A creole metaphor is useful in exploring migrant cultures, but we should be wary of making any assumptions about the systemic nature of cultures. Any analogy with language implies such a systemic character.

> ... cultures, by contrast with languages are not systems, but assemblages of practices associated with specific populations...or parts there of in given situations. Within what we call culture, there are systems, e.g. the economy, language, animal taxonomies, technological specializations, ritual and belief systems, but these systems are not related to each other in a necessary way....Nor should we assume that each individual belongs to one culture. Individuals engage in activities which are unrelated or even contradictory, and one cannot expect to find integration at that level. (Rousseau 1990:47)

Taking these points into consideration,

> it may be useful to think of cultures as assemblages of traits, as long as we do not assume that these traits all need to be arranged in a given way or that they must make sense with each other. Many traits are packaged together, new ones are borrowed, others abandoned, some traits become popular and spread over a wide area, while others remain localized. Cultures are not objects to be discovered, but a concept which is methodologically useful in some circumstances. Culture is not a system, but a fairly random assemblage of elements. (ibid.48)

Approaching culture, cultural heterogeneity, syncretism and cultural change from this point of view also enables us to analyse the dynamics of culture in relation to the other forces active in the society. The inclusion and popularity of certain combinations of traits, their particular form or exclusion can only be made meaningful when these are considered in relation to these people's other practices and to the power structure of the society in question.

Thus, in order to avoid any kind of assumption about the systemic nature of cultures, I find a bricolage metaphor of culture more suitable in exploring the processes of hybridization and fragmentation of cultural codes in the context of migration. Turkish migrants in the FRG can be seen as bricoleurs (Lévi-Strauss 1966:17) who work with heterogeneous and limited means, making do with whatever is at hand. Like a bricoleur, they build new arrangements out of the debris of what was once a social discourse (ibid.) And they do this with a

> set of tools that bears no relation to the current project or indeed to any particular project, but it is the contingent result of all occasions that have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain the remains of previous constructions and destructions. (ibid.)

The culture of Turkish migrants can be seen as a bricolage in which elements from different cultural traditions, sources and social discourses are continuously intermingled with and juxtaposed to each other.[18]

It seems appropriate to treat Turkish migrants' previous lives and cultural baggage as a repertoire, "a store of knowledge" - which is not necessarily integrated - with the help of which new experiences are made meaningful and the new problems encountered in Germany dealt with. In the meantime, their set of tools grows together with their migration experience. New means that again bear no relation to current projects - that is, means that are decontextualized, but this time from the structures in which they are embedded in in German society- are adopted and made use of in coming to terms with their problems, desires and utopias in the FRG. The conceptualization of Turkish migrants' culture in the FRG by means of a metaphor of bricolage enables us to

encompass the cultural heterogeneity and syncretism and the dynamics behind them as well as the hybrid and multiple identities the experience of migration gives rise to. At the same time, we avoid the pitfalls mentioned above connected with the creole metaphor of culture. In this way, it is theoretically possible to account for the creative and hybrid aspect of migrants' practices rather than seeing them as symptoms of a long list of problems and crises.

However, the debris of our past experiences are not immediately usable, since they are already embedded in structures in which they have meanings. These limit their immediate use in producing new arrangements. The ability to take what seems fitting and to leave out the rest is the outcome of a particular set of conditions. To be able to take elements and structures out of their context and create new arrangements with ones from different sources, certain conditions need to be fulfilled. Moreover, these juxtapositions and bricolage are not random, nor do they represent a chaotic jumble of signs. In their hybridity, they still tell a story. They have an organizing principle or principles. The objective is then first to identify the conditions that enable this drastic uprooting of elements and practices from very different sources, and second to explain the organizing principle(s) of their recombination and resetting in the light of German Turks' self-images, sense of place in the society, desires and dispositions, which structure and orient their experience and encounters in the FRG.

NOTES

1. This study deals with Turkish workers living in the Federal Republic of Germany (hereafter FRG) and West Berlin. The number of Turks living in the former German Democratic republic, whether before or after reunification, is not significant and they are therefore not included in this study.

2. It is notable that all the announcements of this event including these in Turkish newspapers, were in English.

3. In fact, the practice of mixing discourses, codes and styles without any single articulating principle is by no means confined to migrant groups, but is emphasized as a major characteristic of post-modernity. Here, only the former are the subject of investigation.

4. For an exception, see Yalcin-Heckmann (forthcoming).

5. Wohnheims are dormitory-like hostels controlled by companies and used to lodge their workers.

6. These references are only to the main works among the many studies of these topics.

7. In fact, this focus on Turkish migrants' culture at the expense of all other dynamics acting on migrants lead some researchers to take a position against using anthropological analyses of the dynamics of these groups (see Meillassoux 1980, Berger 1987). However, I do not think the problem lies with the use of an anthropological perspective per se or that the class analysis that Meillassoux proposes would solve the theoretical problems involved in the studies of migrants (see Caglar 1990).

8. Of course, not all the studies of Turkish migrants share this view of culture explicitly, but almost all conceptualize these syncretisms as undesirable developments. Bröskamp's study (1988), which is an exception, approaches the issue from a completely different point of view, from within the theoretical framework of Bourdieu, and he avoids the pitfalls mentioned above. Wolbert (1984) and Mihciyazgan (1986) also manage to remain outside the view criticized here.

9. These titles allude to the fragmentation of the cultural codes and identities of second- and third-generation migrants.

10. Straube demonstrates this double cultural identity with an example: "Teenagers both visit their relatives and work on their trousseau at the same time. Meantime, they listen to the same music - namely German and English pop music - and read German youth journals like German teenagers" (1988:145). It is noteworthy that this problem of syncretism arises only when particular groups of people are in question. A Turkish girl listening to the same music as does a German youth becomes a sign of double cultural identity, while a German teenager listening to English pop music does not pose any such problem. Straube's study, despite the richness of its ethnographic data, approaches the issue through the lens of an "identity" framework in which identity is stable, centered and coherent.

11. Drummond (1981a:12) points out that the emphasis on boundaries in Barth's approach is at the cost of the content. Nagata (1974) criticizes the idea that boundaries are stable and continuous. Rousseau (1978:65), on the other hand, argues against Barth's contention that ethnicity classifies people in terms of their basic and most general identity, as determined by their origin and background.

12. Although the situational perspective allows one to study ethnicity within a historical perspective and in relation to the other structures in the society, in practice the processes of the construction of ethnic categories and belonging and the continuous shift of identity are mostly studied without linking them in a systemic way to other social dynamics in the society. This link between ethnicity and the other structures in the society is especially lacking in the 'culturalist' approach. On the other hand, Marxist approaches, which systematically link classes and the division of labour to ethnicity, rarely avoid the pitfalls of reductionism (see Leys 1975). For the conceptualization of the relations between ethnicity, class and ideology without a resort to class reductionism but at the same time leaving space for the incorporation of the issues raised by the 'culturalist' perspective, see Kahn (1981), Rousseau (1979); Rousseau (1980); Cohen (1981), Katz (1980).

13. Kleff's (1984) study is an exception. He traces the changes taking place within Turkish migrant populations, starting from their migration first from rural areas to Turkish cities and then to Germany. Although he explains Turkish migrants' codes of interaction in Germany by comparing them with their traditional codes of interaction, his study avoids the pitfalls of the approaches criticized.

14. These assumptions are apparent in almost all the reports and proposals of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs of the Senate of Berlin, Senate Department of Health and Social Affairs (Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats beim Senator für Gesundheit und Soziales).

15. Drummond treats ethnicity as a cultural system (1980:368) and applies this notion of a cultural continuum to the variation and transformation of ethnic categories and boundaries in Guyana, thus providing a cultural analysis of ethnic categories.

16. For a critique of Drummond's structuralist notion of creolization, see Parkin (1993:84).

17. I also see some methodological problems with his network analysis and his conceptualization of the nature and direction of cultural flows. For a general discussion of the latter in the globalization framework, see Featherstone (1990), Hall (1991) and Abu-Lughod (1991).

18. All cultures, not only migrant cultures, have a bricolage quality. But in the latter, the juxtapositions of elements and practices from different sources are more drastic than those in relatively more established cultures.

CHAPTER II - GURBET AND THE TURKISH ENCLAVES IN BERLIN

This chapter first explores Turkish migrants' perceptions of their relationship with German society in general; secondly, contrasts this with their sentiments towards a Turkish enclave in Berlin; thirdly, investigates their feelings further within the context of expressions of discontent about their lives in Germany; and fourthly, examines the place and significance of German Turks' annual visits to Turkey (izin) in their lives.

Gurbet and the gurbetci

Turks living in Germany are very frequently referred to as gurbetcis, especially in the Turkish media, where this is the most frequent term used for them.[1] Any random selection of Turkish newspapers, published in Europe illustrates this: they typically contain at least one or two news items about Turks' lives in Europe, in which they are addressed as gurbetcis.[2] It is also part of the basic vocabulary of Turkish television broadcast in Germany, and has already found its way into the book titles on German Turks.[3]

Significantly, this is not simply a term by which others refer to German Turks, but it is their designation for themselves too. The names they choose for their shops illustrate this: Gurbet Firini (Gurbet Bakery), Gurbet Bakkali (Gurbet general store), Gurbet Manavi (Gurbet grocery), Gurbet konserleri (Gurbet concerts), Gurbet Kervani (Gurbet caravan) Gurbet Gücü (Gurbet Force) for a Turkish soccer team. In the European edition of Hürriyet, a prominent Turkish newspaper, the section on German Turks is called Gurbet Carki (the Gurbet Wheel). German Turks also use this designation in formulating demands to the Turkish authorities.[4]

Gurbetçi refers to someone who is in gurbet. The term gurbet is rich in its connotations and very useful in delineating an important parameter of German Turks' self-image. Gurbet is an Arabic word derived from garaba "to go away, depart, be absent, to go to a foreign country, emigrate; to be far away from one's homeland; to live as a foreigner in a country" (Wehr 1979: 782-83). Gurbet itself means "absence from the homeland; separation from one's native country; banishment, exile, life or place away from home" (ibid.83). Redhouse gives the meaning of gurbet as "any country or town in which one is a stranger" (1890: 1340).

There are two phenomena essential to the meaning of gurbet: homeland (or better, being away from one's homeland), and being a stranger. This form of relationship to the homeland in gurbet is apparent in the opposition between gurbet and memleket (the homeland) in Turkish, especially in German Turks' daily conversation.

Being away from one's homeland and being a stranger in one's place of residence are precisely the main themes of songs composed and sung by Turkish migrants in Germany, especially in the 1970s. Separation and the resulting homesickness are the basic motifs of these Gurbetlieder (gurbet songs) which Anhegger considers to be very similar to the songs of seasonal workers in Istanbul during the Ottoman Empire (Anhegger 1982:11,23). It is important to note that gurbet does not necessarily refer to a foreign country. One can be perfectly in gurbet in one's own country.[5] What requires close examination is therefore what makes one's place of residence a gurbet.

I. M. Graverus, in her detailed analysis of Heimatphänomen (1972 and 1979), examines the basic needs which a Heimat fulfills. It should be seen not as the place of one's birth or one's continuous residence, as was

the case until the twentieth century (1972:383), but as the place where one's needs for security and identity are fulfilled (1979:23). For a new understanding of homeland, she advocates the idea of Lebensraum as providing identification (ibid.23). Feeling oneself secure, having confidence in one's behavior, certainty, assurance and trust (Verhaltenssicherheit), and finding recognition, these are the factors that transform a social environment into one's own world (Eigenwelt), and thus one's Heimat (1972:382).

Moreover, Heimat is a "symbolically laden field of reference", referring to a bundle of symbols, things, goods and codes of interaction. It is the place where the question of belonging is not an issue, but is something tacitly taken for granted (1979:32), where the person is socially acknowledged, trusted, assured security and assistance and is protected against anonymity and foreignness.

The crucial thing here is that this symbolically laden field of reference should (or should be thought to) satisfy certain needs such as bestowing ideals, material security and socially and culturally acknowledged social positions (Graverus 1972:382). This cultural aspect is important, because for cultural beings, i.e. for humans,

> [s]pace for identity can only be a culturally segmented space - a space which has a cultural order in which one experiences the people and things around one and interacts and communicates with them in a particular way. In the Heimat the cultural identity is objectified in symbols that represent world orientation and behavioral patterns at the same time. Even if this space allows for cultural deviations it must be recognized and acknowledged by the individual who in turn will be recognized and acknowledged by

> the others. Otherwise, he is a stranger in this environment: he does not recognize the symbols which provide identification. (Graverus 1979:57, my translation)

Once the cultural codes of interaction in one's environment cease to be self-evident, a feeling of estrangement results. This situation also applies to the absence from one's immediate social environment of the group with which one identifies oneself. Here, the symbols and cultural codes of interaction become strange and odd. At this point, it is worth emphasizing that the word garib, derived, like gurbet, from the root garaba means "strange, foreign, alien, extraneous...odd, queer, quaint, unusual", but also "those living abroad, those away from home" (Wehr 1979:783).

Thus the mere fact of being abroad does not automatically transform a place into a gurbet. A place of residence changes from being "home" to being in gurbet, when the needs mentioned above are not fulfilled.

If the term gurbetci, whether used as a term of address or self-address, dominates German Turks' discourse, then we need to clarify what makes Germany gurbet for Turks who have been living there over thirty years. What does life in Germany lack, preventing it from becoming a homeland (in the above-mentioned sense) for Turkish migrants? Keeping in mind that a feeling of security, trust, behavioral confidence, certainty, assurance and finding social recognition are the dominant needs that the notion of Heimat fulfills, life in Germany has to be evaluated in these terms.

First of all, life in Germany has objectively failed and still fails to provide Turkish migrants with the required sense of security, assurance and recognition. Not

only are many aspects of Turks' lives governed by sanctions and regulations that mark them out as foreigners, that is, as people who are not the "natural" members of the society they live in, they are also marked negatively. The rising xenophobia and violent attacks against foreigners, and particularly Turks, sharpen Turkish migrants' insecurity and their awareness of not being welcome in German society.[6]

Although Turks have been living in Germany for almost thirty years and have become an indispensable part of the labour force, this is not recognized by the society at large legally, politically or culturally. Legally their stay is dependent on the fulfillment of certain requirements, such as having valid work and residence permits (Arbeitserlaubnis, Aufenthaltserlaubnis or Aufenthaltsberechtigung). Turks were brought to Germany for a particular purpose and expected to fulfill it. Although their status as guest workers had gone through some transformation and become an integral part of German labor force, they are still accorded a legal, political and cultural status different from that of the Germans. This means that their stay in Germany is not automatically guaranteed nor is it completely dependent on their own will. The mere fact that their presence in the society is still, perhaps more than ever a subject of debate is itself a sign of their ambivalent position in Germany.

Some Turks lack certain civil rights, such as the right to vote in local elections. Although some states have adopted bills allowing them to vote in local elections (Berlin, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein), the federal Constitutional Court rejected local voting rights for foreigners in 1990. Moreover, in Berlin, for example, they are not allowed to take up residence anywhere they wish, for example not in Kreuzberg, Wedding or Tiergarten. Thus, simply by being foreigners, their mobility is

limited.[7] In several aspects of their lives, unlike German citizens they are subject to the Ausländergesetz (foreigners' law). Being foreigners, many aspects of their social, political and cultural life are rendered uncertain. Their children are subject to certain regulations with regard to education, such as quotas. The official policy in most states is that foreigners in the classroom should not exceed 20% of any school class (in Berlin the quota is 50%).[8]

In addition to this institutional discrimination, German Turks are socially and culturally marked out by the society at large on the basis of dress, family relationships and gender roles, and they are singled out as a problem within the general framework of the "foreigners problem". A striking example is the use of headscarves which have already become indexical in debates concerning Turks' integration into German society. Turks are not welcome by the public at large. The acceleration of xenophobic attacks against foreigners, especially refugees, and the general reaction of the public to these attacks show this very clearly. Although all foreigners in Germany are the subject of anti-foreigner rhetoric, the main target of these hostile sentiments are refugees from Africa, Asia and non-EEC countries generally. Turks, despite their long-term and institutionalized presence in German society, which differentiates them from most of the refugee groups, are still one of the main targets of anti-foreign discourse and attacks. The arson attacks in Mölln (1992) and Solingen (1993) left three and five Turks dead respectively. Such hostility is a part of German Turks' everyday experience and mocks their dignity as human beings. Thus, the conditions by means of which a place becomes a homeland - security, social acknowledgement and behavioral confidence - are severely lacking in Turks' lives in Germany.

These objective conditions, reinforced by the description of Turkish migrants in Turkish media and in official Turkish discourse as gurbetcis, contribute to Turkish migrants' designation of Germany as gurbet, not as the homeland. This failure finds different forms of expression in various domains of migrants' lives, a subject to which I will return later. Behind this designation lies the failure of daily life (in general) in Germany to provide Turkish migrants with the social acknowledgement, recognition, acceptance and security for a place to become home.[9]

Ghetto Formation and Ethnic Colony

People who are socially and culturally excluded, i.e., treated as outsiders and denied access to status granting societal positions in their place of residence, cope with their frustration and dissatisfaction in various ways. Forming their own social and cultural networks and ghettos is one of the important mechanisms here.

In the literature on migration, the desirability of migrants forming segregated districts, i.e. ghettos, is a controversial matter. While some see ghettos as a positive step in the integration of migrants into the host society, some draw attention to their negative impact on migrant integration. The most common argument against ghettos is that by establishing migrant islands within the society, they hinder migrants' integration into the host society (see Esser 1982; Abadan-Unat 1985; Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik 1986). In fact, this is the basis of the regulation that forbids foreigners from taking up residence in some districts of Berlin, which has been in effect since 1975.

In this alarmist view, ghettos are believed to reduce migrants' dependence on the organizations and services of the host society. They are internally organized through their own networks which fulfill the social, political and

cultural needs of their members, thus discouraging migrants' acculturation and assimilation into Germany society. Moreover, the presence of ghettos reduces the desire of ethnic minorities to communicate with Germans, thus reducing their desire and need to learn German, which in turn aggravates their segregation and isolation from the host society. Another consequence, according to this view, is the impact of ghettos on the intensification and deepening of negative stereotypes of migrants held by the host society.

Conversely, those who see the formation of ghettos as a positive development, argue that the identities, behavior and activities of migrants who lack confidence and recognition from the society at large find confirmation in these formations (see Graverus 1979:102). The migrants remain as foreigners, as strangers within the society as whole, but within their own ghettos they find the security, trust and recognition they need. In this way, ghettos raise migrants' self-esteem (ibid.).

On the other hand, some researchers find the concept of ghetto inappropriate in analyzing the social dynamics of ethnic migrant groups and propose instead the notion of an "ethnic colony". This shifts the focus of the analysis from the study of ethnically segregated migrant districts to the emergent social networks within the migrant population.

In Germany, the ethnic colony view was first formulated by F. Heckmann in 1981 and has since found other supporters. Heckmann detaches the whole question of migrants' integration into the host society from the presence or absence of ethnic neighborhoods, i.e. from the existence of ghettos. This brings a different orientation to the discussion of migrants' integration into the society. According to him, the concept of a ghetto lumps

together two different things. No distinction is made between the negative and positive views of the ghetto. The former view puts the emphasis on the deterioration in conditions of the inhabitants of these segregated districts and on their discrimination. In the latter view however, the focus is on the migrants' own social and cultural organizations in such districts and their development. Both views, argues Heckmann, share the common ground of accepting that migrants' integration into the host society depends on the presence or absence of segregated migrant ethnic neighborhoods.

However, migration is a process, and the segregated migrant neighborhoods do not determine migrant integration. The crucial thing here is the development of migrants' own socio-cultural organizations. Segregated districts, although they facilitate this development, are not necessary to it (Heckmann 1980:106-108). For this reason, we need another concept to analyse the migration process. This, in Heckmann's view, is the concept of colony (ethnic colony or migrants' colony), an overarching concept in the analysis of labor migration processes which refers to the sociocultural and economic organizations of migrant groups that are socially incorporated into the host society (Heckmann 1981:109).

Migrants' own social networks meet their most important needs in the transition from one culture to another, providing economic and social security, reinforcing ethnic identity, facilitating communication and contact within the community, and supporting the cultural socialization of future generations by means of its institutionalized activities. In this way, they definitely ease the newcomers' familiarization with their new environment and living conditions (1980:205). For these reasons, the formation of an ethnic colony is by no means a hinderance to migrant integration into the host

society. Thus, the focus of the debate on migrant integration has to be changed.

> Questions about contact between the German and foreign population or about the degree of organizational participation of foreigners as a measure of integration are formulated wrongly and evoke false answers; what is appropriate to investigate is which social system the foreign population has developed itself in order to integrate its members not into German society as an immigrant society, but rather into the society of immigrants in Germany. (Heckmann 1980:218)

On the basis of this model, Heckmann draws attention to signs of the emergence of an ethnic colony among the largest immigrant group in Germany, the Turks. Despite differences from classical immigrant countries, the situation in the FRG indicates that a process of integration, by means of a Turkish colony, is in full swing.[10] Foreign labour is by no means structurally marginal to the German economy; on the contrary, it is now so integral that its simple substitution is no longer possible. Whether the authorities accept it or not, Germany has already become a country of immigration (Heckmann 1981:99-102).

The notion of an ethnic colony and the concepts developed by the same line of argumentation have merit in pointing out the processes the migrant populations go through, but they are not free from all criticism. B. Nauck raises the issue that the functions the ethnic colony is claimed to fulfill are already met by migrant family and kinship networks. The internal organization of ethnic migrant groups is achieved by the latter, not the former. Thus it is misleading to base the question of migrants' integration process on ethnic colonies (Nauck

n.d.:172). In addition, the distinctions between the social structure and organization of the ethnic colony and those of other social groups are not clear in the ethnic-colony view (1988:171). There are also problems involved in drawing parallels between the classical immigration countries and the FRG (Wilpert 1986:136-137; Bröskamp 1990:), and in employing concepts that are already embedded in the highly problematic acculturation and assimilation perspectives. These "implicitly or explicitly assume that there is a normal process of acculturation or a final state of assimilation which approximates the values of the majority society and culminates in identification with that society" (Wilpert 1986:136). Moreover, the ethnic-colony view has been criticized for sharing some of the pitfalls of assimilation studies, such as treating the migrant culture as a homogenous block, and investigating its dynamics and relationship not with the different social groups in the society, but with an abstract host society (Bröskamp 1988:172).

Heckmann's view has had significant impact on migration studies in the FRG. Using a similar line of argumentation, Elwert (1982) develops it further, drawing attention to the merits of intra-ethnic social relations for the migrants' integrity as individuals and for their integration into the society. Like Heckmann, Elwert dismisses the concept of the ghetto as inconvenient in the analysis of migrant populations' dynamics. He proposes instead the notion of Binnenintegration (internal integration). This is the crucial factor for migrant integration, being independent of the existence of segregated migrant districts. Binnenintegration refers to the integration of immigrants from foreign cultures into their own social networks within the host society. This structure will not only give them access to some social goods, but will also strengthen relations of trust, solidarity, and assistance (ibid. 718-720).

Binnenintegration strengthens cultural identity and self-consciousness, thus increasing migrants' self-confidence, which in turn increases their ability to explore new ways of doing things. Increased self-confidence facilitates dealing with daily life in the host society (Elwert 1984:54). Secondly, Binnenintegration eases the transmission of knowledge among migrants which is crucial for survival in a foreign society (ibid.55). Thirdly, it leads to the formation of a pressure group which helps migrants exert pressure on these social, economic and political aspects of the society which effect their social position within that society (ibid.721-722).

Instead of employing culture-centered concepts of integration, Elwert proposes a culture-free social structure-oriented approach. In this it is not the language, religion, food, degree of interaction of the migrants with the Germans or their degree of assimilation or acculturation (in the sense of cultural homogeneity) that are important as indicators of integration but access to status in the receiving society (Elwert 1982:720).

The economic, social and cultural functions of migrant networks which Graverus, Heckmann and Elwert stress are important. Obviously, these social networks, whether organized in segregated districts or not, have an important role in bridging the contradictions between the organizing principles of the private and public lives of the migrants and raising their self-esteem in a hostile environment. The wide-ranging social networks of German Turks result from their efforts to bridge these disconnected spheres of their lives and to transform their alien and hostile environment into one which is not alien.

Turkish migrants in Berlin organize the different domains of their lives, environment and activities in their own way through their own resources and

relationships. In the face of the host society's failure to provide Turkish migrants with some of the services they needed, they have been forced to develop their own social networks to cope with the problems they are confronted with in Germany. Another factor behind these efforts is a basic mistrust of the "other" (non-Turks) in terms of the "other's" ability and willingness to understand "their" problems and to recognize them. The belief that only those affected are capable of understanding and of helping each other is widely shared by Turkish migrants in Berlin, including Turkish professionals, social workers and intellectuals as well as workers.

Despite the important points raised by the ethnic-colony and Binnenintegration approaches, they share the same framework of integration. The whole phenomenon of ghettos, ethnic colonies or Binnenintegration is discussed from the perspective of the migrants' embodiment and integration into the host society. In these approaches, social networks, ghettos and ethnic colonies are examined only in relation to their role in the process of migrants integration into the host society. This limits the scope of their analysis. These networks are equally important in cultivating certain dispositions, desires and discontents, as well as a self-image and inverted relationship with "tradition" in future generations of the migrants. New ways of coping with old and new problems and new ways of reconciling the old and the new all find expression in their lives within the framework of emergent social networks within the host society. If we restrict our analysis only to an integrationist framework, we miss the microprocesses by which these images, public identities and even utopias are constituted. These networks provide the migrants with new positions of identification which do not necessarily contribute to their integration into the host society. Moreover, processes of hybridization develop within the context of these social, economic and cultural

networks and are shaped by them. Hence the investigation of migrants networks is important in understanding the dynamics of migrants' emergent hybrid formations, which acquire a dynamic of their own.

Kreuzberg: A Turkish Enclave in Berlin

Kreuzberg, with its shops, printing houses, offices, wedding halls, and wide network of Turkish organizations, associations providing a broad spectrum of services to Turks, is a good example of a Turkish enclave in Berlin. One hears more Turkish than German on its streets. In 1991, of the 136,302 Turkish migrants living in Berlin, 30,362 reside in Kreuzberg. Turkish migrants compose 22.6% of the general population and 62.7% of the foreign population of Kreuzberg (Statistisches Landesamt, Berlin 1992).

Turkish migrants' associations and organizations in Berlin have a broad spectrum. For example, the mosques which are organized by the Turks themselves, try to reach some migrant circles by providing a number of services far beyond their usual range. In addition to Koran classes for children, they offer sewing courses for teenagers and women, something similar to insurance and retirement plans for their members (Islam Tekaful Sandigi), organize bayram celebrations for women and children.[11] Similar services are offered by other organizations (literacy, sewing courses, etc.) including the political associations of migrants. The aim is to reach and organize as many facets of migrants' public lives as possible through their own means and in their own way.

In addition to the 129 Turkish stores (Zentrum für Entwicklungsländer-Forschung 1990) and 65 handicraft businesses, which compose 65% of such businesses in this area (BIVS 1991), Kreuzberg has several Turkish translation agencies, expertise bureaus, private bureaus

providing credit to migrants, Turkish doctors, dentists, psychiatrists, and counselling services dealing with everything from housing to women's problems.

In the eyes of the Turks living there, Kreuzberg is different from other areas of Berlin. Dogan is twnty three years old and has been living in Kreuzberg for fifteen years. He works at a conveyor belt in a factory. When I first met him I was struck by the expression he used for Kreuzberg - he referred to Kreuzberg as a province distinct from Berlin (Berlin'in Kreuzberg kazasi), as if there were Berlin on one hand and Kreuzberg on the other.[12] It is noteworthy that he never uses this term for other municipalities in Berlin. For Dogan, Kreuzberg is somehow distinct from Berlin. After getting to know him well, I asked him if he was happy living in Kreuzberg, if he ever thought about moving out of the district:

> No, I am not considering it. I don't want to move. You know, now, everything here is just the way we like it. If you are bored, when you get to Kottbusser Tor, your mood changes. You go to the coffeehouse. You meet your friends on the street. You've got to understand that you don't have the atmosphere you have in this Kreuzberg township of Berlin (Berlin'in Kreuzberg kazasinda) in any place else. And anyway they don't want us over there [in other parts of Berlin]. You feel like a stranger there."

Muzaffer, from one of Turkey's eastern provinces has been living in Berlin for four years. He works in a furniture shop run by his uncle in Kreuzberg (he is an illegal in Germany). When asked if he has got used to living in Germany, and how he finds it here, he said

"It's fine, fine. There's this Kreuzberg, and you don't feel like a stranger here. If you are not bothered by them [by the Germans], you don't feel like a stranger. You walk around the streets just as you want. I swear it's true that you get further with Turkish than German here. How can I put it? There's no strangeness here."

It's noticeable that both Muzaffer and Dogan distinguish Kreuzberg from other parts of Berlin and define other areas with reference to a feeling of alienness, in opposition to Kreuzberg where this feeling is relatively absent. In this respect, both men's statements show that Kreuzberg succeeds to a certain extent in providing the security, behavioral certainty, assurance and confidence that Graverus stresses is crucial for a place to become home and for people not to feel strangers any longer.

No doubt the high population of Turks there, the services they offer, the many shops, restaurants, and mosques, all have an impact in arousing these feelings. Moreover, what could be called the "Turkification of German terms" also has a share in transforming this environment into a less alien one.

It is well known to scholars who work on the language of Turkish migrants in Germany that Turks change some German names in a particular way, called the "etymologization of the place names" (etymologisierung von Ortsnamen) (Tekinay 1987:101). Although some of these terms are used jokingly, most of them are integrated into the day-to-day Turkish of Germany. Instead of the German place name, a Turkish word chosen solely on the basis of its phonetic similarity, is used. The best known examples in Berlin are Gülizar (a Turkish female name) for Görlitzer, kesikburun (a maimed nose) for Gesundbrunnen

subway stations. However, the practice is not limited to the names of subway stations: names of streets and stores are also changed, for example Kayseri (a city name in Turkey) for Kaiser's supermarket, yörük (nomad) for Yorkstraße, Orhaniye (a placename in Turkey) for Oranien Straße, köpek-inek (dog-cow) for Köpenicker Straße and oto Ferzan (auto Ferzan) for Otto Versand.

All these placenames are from areas of Berlin that are densely populated by Turks, or places that Turks visit frequently (such as the supermarket Kaiser's in the area, or the employment office).[13] A good example, showing the degree of acceptance and use of these substitutes in migrants' conversation, is the name of a Turkish restaurant and nightclub in Hermannplatz (opened in December 1989). Called Harman[14], the allusion is to Turkish migrants' practice of using the term harman for Hermanplatz in Berlin. As already noted, the substitutes are chosen on the basis of their phonetical similarity and they are not meaningless words. They have meanings already in Turkish. This makes sentences with these substitutes incomprehensible and meaningless to a Turkish speaker unfamiliar with the scene in Berlin despite their pure Turkish nature.[15] This is a special development of Turkish among Turkish migrants and is an important aspect of the process whereby they are becoming a group in themselves, distinct from the Turks in Turkey, and forming a syncretic culture with its own dynamics.

It is notable that almost all these substitutes are placenames. Given that these are places that are often frequented by Turks living in the city, this Turkification of placenames has a particular effect on the mental maps they have of the city. The areas in which Turkified placenames are abundant encourage the feeling in the people living there that this is not a foreign area at all. They made them their own. Thus even in places run or

designed by Germans such as the subway stations, streetnames and big supermarkets in Kreuzberg, one forgets - at least in the language - that one is in an alien territory. The place has been made the migrants' own. This aspect of the daily language might have an impact on Dogan's image of Kreuzberg as a province (or a township) distinct from Berlin, or on Muzaffer's view that one does not feel oneself a stranger in Kreuzberg and could get further with Turkish than German there.

However, despite wide-ranging Turkish networks and fully fledged Turkish enclaves in Berlin, such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding, Turkish migrants' frequent complaint concerning different spheres of their lives in Berlin indicate that these networks are still failing to transform their social environment into an environment that is completely their own.

In investigating this issue further, some of the practices and complaints of Turkish migrants about their day-to-day lives are more illuminating than surveys that ask very directly whether or not they feel at home in Germany.

"Nothing has taste here"

A survey conducted by the Zentrum für Türkei Studien in Bonn (now in Essen) showed that a very high percentage (87%) of Turkish entrepreneurs in Europe are active in catering (Sen 1988). Imbiß (fast food) stand owners and the small storekeepers who sell Turkish food and imports from Turkey clearly constitute the majority of this group of entrepreneurs. As mentioned already, Kreuzberg is full of these stores. With very few exceptions, one finds all sorts of Turkish foods and ingredients in these stores, sometimes a better quality than those found in Turkey.

Moreover, Tuesdays and Fridays are market days in Kreuzberg.[16] In these markets, in comparison with other markets in Berlin, almost all the stalls are full of fruits and vegetables that have been directly imported from Turkey or of Turkish foodstuffs produced in Germany itself.[17] Although, there are some German stallholders, most of the stallholders are Turkish.[18] This market with its stallholders hawking their wares in Turkish, and its Turkish shoppers, hardly able to carry away the huge amounts of stuff they have bought, is a very lively and colorful spot in Kreuzberg.

However, despite the variety and abundance of food directly imported from Turkey, one frequently hears Turks complaining that fruits and vegetables are tasteless in Germany. The taste of Turkish food in Germany is a common topic of conversation.

R. Braun (1970) points to the similar centrality of Italian food in the lives of Italian migrant workers in Switzerland. Migrant Italian workers, unlike workers in the industrial revolution, are very reluctant to save money on food and are almost fixated on comparing the taste of food in Italy and Switzerland (1970:221-236). Following Graverus' train of thought, Braun sees a representative character in migrants' obsessive interest in preserving their former eating habits and in their overemphasis on food. Food represents 'home', the family and its warmth, and thus helps to cope with life in an alien society (Ibid:221). Thus, what might seem an obsession for Italian food is, in fact, something that provides order, orientation and security to these people in an alien environment (ibid.223). Symbolically it gives security.

Turks in Germany, contrary to Italians in Switzerland, are mostly there with their families. I

regard Turkish migrants' continuous complaints about the taste of fruit and vegetables which actually come from Turkey as actually a complaint about something else.[19] Despite the feeling of ease and assurance that Kreuzberg provides for these people, the feeling that something is missing and incomplete frames their lives. This complaint about food is in fact the expression of a yearning for something else.

This was made clear by the words of Aysegül (thirty one years old) with whom I was eating together with her aunts Songül (fifty five years old) and Sule (thirty three years old). In response to my remarks that the green beans which Songül had cooked were delicious, Aysegül said

> "Well, it can't take the place of [the food] in Turkey. You just make do, and that's it.
> A.C.: Aren't these from Turkey? Aren't those the same in Turkey?
> Aysegül: The ingredients are all from Turkey. But still, they can't take the place of the ones there. They don't have any taste or anything.
> A.C.: I think they're very good. I can't taste any difference.
> Songül: Can they take the place of the ones you eat in your own country, together with your family and friends? Why don't you understand, Ayse! The food is just an excuse, an excuse."

Although Turkish migrants always complain of their growing estrangement from their relatives and friends in Turkey, after returning from their annual visit there, the activities undertaken together in that milieu are still referred to and remembered as having something which is missing from those in Germany. The complaint about the taste of food is in fact a yearning for a mystified feeling of well-being and integrity, which is perceived to

have been lost in the experience of migration.

The window of a photographic shop on a very busy and lively street in Kreuzberg illustrates in an interesting way this feeling of something lacking, something incomplete in German Turks' lives. A part of the window display has been set aside for some photos that form a photomontage of a kind which is done only in this shop and in one other (a Turkish photographic shop again in Kreuzberg), in Berlin.[20] The customer gives the shop a number of different photographs, and the photographer produces compositions of them which are made to look as if the people in the photos were together when they were photographed. Turkish faces dominate the examples displayed in the window, and according to the owner, Turks form the biggest share of her clients for a photomontage.[21]

"Here, it is never warm enough"

The other favorite subject of complaint is the weather. No matter how warm, clear and sunny the weather is, it is never good enough to satisfy Turks living in Germany. Of course, people complain about the hard working and living conditions, but complaints about the lack of taste in fruits and vegetables and the absence of sunshine are not limited to any particular section of the Turkish population. Employed and unemployed, housewives and children (who have been to Turkey only briefly) all agree on this issue. The children's adoption of this discourse (Turkey being a country of sunshine with supposedly unpolluted air, despite the severe pollution in some Turkish cities) is itself a sign that this is quite a frequent topic of conversation at home.

The subjects of these complaints are noteworthy. First of all, they refer to a deficiency in the vital

elements of nourishment and air. Secondly, they single out the two very domains for which Turkey receives prominence as a place symbolized by exactly those elements which are missing in Germany. In being a country of sunshine and abundance, it is supposedly at the opposite pole to Germany where these things are lacking. From this point of view, Turkey is indisputably the obvious place to yearn for. These complaints, because of their subject matter, are in fact manifestations of discontent with one's present situation, expressions of "homesickness"[22] which voice a yearning for a mystified integrity which is believed to have been lost in the course of one's displacement to Germany.

"Something keeps making us ill"

Turkish enclaves, even though they provide some of the security and assurance the migrants need in the host society, fail to overcome their bitter feelings in the face of the social and cultural exclusion they experience. German Turks' health-related complaints seem to be connected with their general state of feeling unwell and of being discontent with their lives in Germany.

Turkish workers were, like all other guest workers, recruited to work in Germany only after a thorough health examination. Today, this first generation of Turkish guest workers, the "pioneers", suffer from various health complaints and spend a substantial amount of their time seeing doctors. As most doctors are helpless in the face of these complaints, they go to others with the hope of being made healthy again.[23]

Given the fact that Turks, who form the largest group of unskilled workers, work in the most unpleasant jobs, it is these hard and unpleasant working conditions that must be blamed for most of their complaints (Oppen

1985:210; Gündogdu 1985:448; Selimoglu 1986:29;). However, doctors in Berlin who have mostly Turkish patients indicate that a considerable number of their patients' complaints are of a psychosomatic nature.[24] Headaches, stomach aches, insomnia, back pains and pains affecting the whole body without any identifiable location or physiological disorder are quite widespread among Turkish migrants (see also Selimoglu 1986:28; Üzyol 1986:7).[25] One Turkish doctor in Berlin identifies depression and feelings of loneliness, isolation, and helplessness in coping with their problems (especially problems relating to their children) as the main complaints of his patients (personal communication). Most of the time, decisions concerning migration, such as decisions about return, about retirement, or decisions that would clash with their objectives and their expectations from their stay in Germany lie at the root of these disorders. They are in fact expressions of discontent in the face of the hardship they are confronted with in coping with migration-related problems (see Özerturgut-Yurttas 1988).[26]

In short, most of the health complaints of Turkish migrants are psychosomatic in nature. Living in a hostile social environment without social recognition plays an important role in this sort of health disorder.

The relationship between health problems and living conditions in Germany is made explicit in patients' claims that these symptoms or complaints disappear on their annual trips to Turkey, i.e., during their izin. After the izin period, one often hears people saying how all their headaches, stomach disorders and back pains magically vanished in Turkey and how they started again the very night of their return to Germany.

Fulya has been living and working in Berlin for

twenty four years. Her sister and brother are also in Berlin and, her parents being dead, she does not have many relatives left in Turkey. She is a single mother and lives with her 14-year-old daughter, whose father is German. She and her daughter both have German citizenship. Fulya had serious health problems, and had a number of risky operations. Although cured to a great extent, she still has numerous health problems. Even though her complaints have some physiological basis, she said after returning from one of her frequent trips to Turkey,

> "believe it or not, I didn't have a single complaint in Turkey during my izin. Finally my complaints about this and that and everything under heaven, and God knows what else stopped. But even before the plane landed here, I felt bad. It was terrible weather. I said to myself, "what kind of place is this? When I got up the next day, believe me, my head ached again and I was tired again just like always. I said to myself, 'this country isn't good for you', but what can you do?"

The magical disappearance of health complaints of Turkish patients when they go to Turkey during izin is also underlined by Turkish doctors in Berlin. According to one,

> "almost ninety percent of my [Turkish] patients claim that all their symptoms and complaints disappear in izin and reappear when they return here [Germany]. I believe them. Given the fact that most of them suffer from psychosomatic symptoms, why shouldn't they disappear? Why shouldn't this happen?"[27]

These complaints draw attention to the fact that

although the emergent social and economic networks of Turkish migrants seem to play an important role in making their alien environment a less alien one, they still fail to replace Turkey with Germany as their "Heimat". Turkey still has a strong presence in their lives.

Izin and its Place in the Lives of German Turks

The term and concept of izin, and its place in Turkish migrants' discourse in their lives, is important in further explaining the nature of their relationship with and sentiment towards Turkey and towards their lives in Germany. The annual trip to Turkey, called izin, has an important place in their lives. Students of German Turks are familiar with the frequent use of this term in migrants' day-to-day conversation.

Izin means literally permission, but in the conversation of German Turks, it almost always refers to their annual trip to Turkey. The widely used forms of this term are izine gitmek (literally, "going to izin", but meaning setting out on a journey to Turkey), izinden dönmek ("returning from izin"), and izinde ("during izin" or "at izin"). All are expressions whose immediate connotations are, almost without exception, of the migrants' four-to-six week trip to Turkey (mostly during the months of July and August).

It is interesting that in both izine gitmek and izinden dönmek, izin is used in its dative (suffix -e) and ablative (suffix -de(n)) forms respectively. While the former indicates the place to or towards which motion is directed, the latter refers to a state of being and/or a place from which motion proceeds (see Underhill 1976:67-69). All these uses of izin indicate movement towards or from a place or refer to the activities that take place during izin or at izin.

In the Turkish of German Turks, the place indicated by izin is taken for granted: it is Turkey. Examples taken from newspapers illustrate this tacit knowledge. An advertisement in the German edition of a popular Turkish newspaper reads "On the 7th of June, I am going to izin, and looking for a woman to accompany me" (Hürriyet May 3, 1991). Such ads appear not infrequently in Turkish newspapers before the izin period. The name of the place to which this person is going is not even mentioned. It is assumed that when one says "I am going to izin", the destination will be clear.

The izin supplement of the Germany edition of Hürriyet dated June 10, 1992, the izin rehberi (izin guide), is another example of this tacit knowledge.[28] The supplement gives information on the state of different routes, possible difficulties on these routes, and the formalities and precautions required for different borders, including an extensive price list of items sold in the Turkish duty-free shops. Interestingly, the only information included in these izin guides is that necessary for a journey from Germany to Turkey, whether by car, air, or sea via Italy. They are therefore not general guides for vacations in different places. It is taken for granted that izin refers to a journey to Turkey.

Other words are derived from the word izin, such as izinliyim or izin alacagim, which mean "I am on leave" and "I am taking some days off" respectively.[29] However, they do not have the connotations of a trip to Turkey, but simply refer to days off work. The activities and sentiments that have come to be attached to izin are absent from these expressions and izin is seldom used in these forms in the daily conversation of German Turks.

Turkish migrants try to avoid breaking up their annual vacation and spreading it through the year, so

short (two-or three-day or one-week) vacations are unusual. Workers try to have short periods off work by taking sick leave.[10] For these days the German word krank (sick), not izin, is used and for official German holidays the term tatil (holiday) (again, not izin). Some combine the Christmas break with a short vacation and go to Turkey, but mostly only one or two members of the family, very rarely all of them, go to Turkey at Christmas. If a trip to Turkey is undertaken at this time of the year it is usually in order to settle personal affairs such as visiting and taking care of a sick relative, or dealing with business or investments in Turkey. Generally, the term izin is not used for this trip, which is referred to instead by saying that a member or members of the family have gone to Turkey. Thus izin refers to a trip to Turkey, but not all trips to Turkey are izin.

Similarly, although izin might include a vacation, not all vacations are implied by izin. Izin is the annual "vacation" in Turkey. Nevertheless, it is not the idea of vacation, but the association with Turkey that defines the term izin. Another example from a Turkish newspaper illustrates this point clearly. The headline of an advertisement campaign for a holiday resort in Turkey in the European edition of the Turkish newspaper Milliyet (April 16, 1991) reads: "Both izin and a vacation. Now, the two together" and "A dream-like vacation during izin". This is a tacit acknowledgement that izin is not a vacation, for the advertisement is announcing a new event in which the two are combined. It is clear that the allusion with the term izin is not to a simple vacation.

For migrants, izin has a regenerative quality. It not only has a magical effect on migrants' health problems, but also an important place in their world as a reference point in dividing up the year. Events are remembered and dated in relation to izin. Izinden ünçe (before izin) and

izinden sonra (after izin) are very common ways of dating events. The families' izin, always clearly marked on calendars - an indispensable decorative element of German Turks' houses, if not of their living-rooms - has an important function in providing orientation. The moment the family decides its izin dates, the countdown starts.[31] People know exactly how many days or weeks are left before their izin and refer to it in their day-to-day conversation.[32] Among German Turks, a kind of folklore has developed around the phenomenon of izin. July and August are referred as the izin season, and a part of the apartment might be designated 'izin corner' (izin kosesi) where what will be taken on izin to Turkey is collected. Relatives and co-villagers will not infrequently leave there presents or things they want sent to Turkey.

If we remember that izin means not simply a vacation but a trip to Turkey, the significance of the disproportionate importance of this concept in Turkish workers' lives becomes more apparent. German Turks do not divide up their year on the basis of an activity that defines most of them as workers. The year is not divided up through a period of non-work, but by izin (time spent in Turkey in contrast to time spent in Germany). This emphasizes an important aspect of Turkish workers' self-perception in Germany.

To summarize this chapter, despite wide-ranging organized Turkish networks in Berlin, the belief that there is always something missing and incomplete in migrants' lives in Germany, the fact that their health-related complaints magically disappear in Turkey and reappear in Germany, and the central place izin has in their lives all indicate that the rhetoric of their life in Germany as a life in gurbet and the web of sentiments surrounding it have reality in their lives. I think it is useful to see this as symptomatic of Turkish migrants'

views of the world.

A new Sense of Place

Displacement has obviously brought changes to Turkish migrants' sense of place, but as can be seen from the phenomena of gurbet and izin, it does not take the form of a new homeland simply replacing the original one. In the context of the displacement of Turkish migrants, a new sense of place shaped by having more than one home has evolved, an identity placed in more than one location. The social, cultural and economic networks, whether organized in migrant enclaves or not, definitely play an important role in the formation of a more complex form of belonging.

Migrant enclaves neither substitute for the migrants' homeland nor demonstrate a symbolic return to it. Resemblances between migrant enclaves and the homeland are superficial. What we have in the former is a dynamic re-arrangement of relations and customs:

> The continuity of customs and of some social formations is certainly there, but their functions change dramatically -although to the casual observer it will look as if there is stagnation, conservatism or a return to the past. (Cohen 1974:xxiii)

In this re-arrangement, migrant enclaves acquire their own dynamics. By being at the crossroads of different kinds of flows, these networks draw on different codes and discourses from different cultural traditions and languages and recombine them. The outcome of this recombination is a hybrid formation with a dynamic of its own. Migrants' social and cultural networks provide the framework in which they can re-imagine themselves and their situation in the face of their displacement, thus providing new positions of identification. Migrants articulate and express their emergent identities and their

own utopias of what they would like to be in the context of these networks. Examining migrants' enclaves is important not only because of their alleged role in integrating migrants into the host society, but also in contextualizing migrants' emergent culture, sense of place and public identities in diaspora.

NOTES

1. This term is not used only for German Turks, but also for Turks living elsewhere in Europe. However, only its application to those in Germany is of interest to me here.

2. See for example, Hürriyet, October 5, 1990, and Milliyet, September 27, 1990.

3. For instance, the book by A. Naci Issever, himself a migrant worker in Germany: Gurbetci dedigin..., Gelsenkirschen: Okur Yayinevi 1987.

4. Despite the recent attempts of some Turkish intellectuals and journalists (see Hurriyet, June 12 1992) in Germany to reject the designation gurbetci for the Turks in Europe and to institutionalize instead the term "European Turks" (Avrupali Turkler), the term gurbetci is still a widely used term of address and self-address. These attempts must be seen in the light of the efforts of some migrant organizations to rework the images associated with Turkish migrants and to redefine the Turkish population's role in Europe for Turkey's attempts to join the European community, and to fight for citizenship rights for Turkish migrants in Germany.

5. There is a similar kind of resemblance between the songs and poems of German Turks and the expressions used by migrants from the eastern provinces moving into big cities in Turkey. Again the opposition between gurbet and memleket helps us to see that gurbet does not necessarily relate to a country. In the above example, memleket refers to the local place one comes from.

6. Ironically, in all discussions of the foreigner problem in Germany, whether concerning refugees, or Turks, issues relating to the presence of Turks in German society immediately come to the forefront. Even in the former GDR, which is literally free of Turks but has foreigners from other countries, Turks are the least welcome group of people (85% of the population is against the presence of Turks (Der Spiegel 31 August 1992)). It is notable that problems with the influx of other foreigners or refugees into the FRG somehow always merge into the discourse against Turkish migrants. In a similar way, when changing the regulations regarding refugees began to be discussed, attacks on Turks escalated and became more violent.

7. It is noteworthy that these three districts are areas where Turks are densely populated and are known as Turkish ghettos (Kreuzberg being the most infamous one). Thus,

although all foreigners living in Berlin are subject to this law, it is clear who the target of this regulation really is. It is ironic that in a city which until the reunification of Germany (in October 1990) was under foreign occupation and divided into the four English, French, American and Soviet sectors, in which people of these nationalities were obviously more concentrated, these sectors were never referred to as ghettos and associated with the problems of ghettos expressed in literature. The immediate association of the term "ghetto" in Berlin since the 1970s has been with the areas of dense Turkish population.

8. This regulation is believed to be one of the factors behind the high numbers of foreign, especially Turkish children in Sonderschule (special classes for children who have learning difficulties). The percentage of foreigners in these classes in Berlin increased from 3.2% in 1976-77 school year to 18.3% in 1989-90 (Landesstatistik des Landes Berlin, Senatsverwaltung für Schulwesen). Turks made up the 55.8% of foreigners in Sonderschule in Berlin (Statistische Veröffentlichungen der Kulturministerkonferenz Dok. No:119, December 1991). These restrictions apply not only to basic education but to all levels of education. According to a regulation passed in June 1993, foreigners without an unlimited residence permit, to which they are eligible only after five years of residence and which is not granted automatically even then, cannot benefit from Umschulung (re-training) or Fortbildung (further education).

9. This designation of Germany as gurbet is based more on the failure of German society, than on the success of Turkish society in fulfilling the functions of a homeland for migrants. For Turkish migrants' problematic social place in Turkish society, see Chapter VI.

10. Following Heckmann's train of thought, the formation of an ethnic colony in Berlin has been demonstrated in the work of the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung. J. Blaschke and A. Ersöz argue that in Kreuzberg, this process is definitely in full swing in the economy, so that one can talk about the development of a "Turkish economy" (1987). Another member of this research institute, T. Schwarz (1987), who has investigated Turkish immigrants' organization of sports as a part of the social network and institutions which make up the Turkish colony in Berlin, and concludes that there has been a clear development of ethnic (Turkish) sport in Berlin since 1979.

11. Bayram refers to religious festivals of Muslims.

12. In Turkey, a kaza is an administrative unit intermediate in size between the province (vilayet) and the village (the smallest administrative unit). A Kaza is therefore roughly equivalent to a district of a province.

13. In this respect theseplace names are distinct from those Turkified names which are made for fun but which are not used in normal daily language, such as sür ibrahim (drive, Ibrahim!) for "zurückbleiben!" (stand clear!) the warning given of a train's departure in the subway.

14. Another interesting example of this Turkification relates to Aldi, the name of a German supermarket famous for its cheapness. A group of Turks who read of and used this name as aldi, which means "took away" in Turkish, opened a supermarket themselves in Berlin Schöneberg which they called Verdi, in Turkish "gave away". Kleff (1984:257) mentions another Verdi supermarket opened by Turks in West Germany using this same language play with the Aldi name.) This story shows that they went one step further and, using the meaning of the shop-name Aldi as "given", opened up their own shop as an allusion to this Turkified meaning. As the meaning of the Turkified shop name Aldi accidentally has something to do with the transactions that take place in a supermarket, they played on this coincidence in using the shop name Verdi.

15. For example, when one hears someone saying that he went to Harman (harmana gitti), which literally means that he went to where a heap of grain is, it is impossible to understand what the person actually means unless one is familiar with Turks' Turkish in Berlin. Verdi and harmam both illustrate that these Turkified names do not have a superficial place in the day-to-day language, but rather develop their own stories and biographies.

16. This market is not specific to Kreuzberg. Each district in Berlin has market days twice a week, so in this respect Kreuzberg is no different from other districts.

17. Of course they also sell fruits and vegetables from other countries, but in contrast to other markets in Berlin, one finds more fruits and vegetables from Turkey in Kreuzberg. In season fish is also flown in from Turkey. Food produced in Germany for Turks includes cheese, olives, Turkish bread and Turkish sausages.

18. A documentary film on Berlin entitled Patates, Soğan (potatoes, onions), made by Serif Güren in 1988, alludes in its title to German stall-holders in Turkish markets who prefer to hawk their goods in Turkish.

19. Ironically, despite their consistent complaints about the taste of food in Germany, I observed the very same people taking German-produced Turkish sausages, cheese,

with them to Turkey to consume during their vacation there, the reason being that they are of better quality than those produced in Turkey. These complaints therefore have very little to do with the quality of the products.

20. The information on this shop is based on my interview with the owner in May 1990.

21. The second favorite theme for a photomontage among Turks consists of having one's own and one's friends' photos assembled together so as to create the impression of their having been together in the army. I was told that there is a similar kind of shop, in Burdur, Turkey, where people serve their military service (especially people from Germany who serve for two months instead of eighteen). It is interesting that this is again related to a time of seclusion in one's life when familiar social relations are absent.

22. Like all homesickness, there is a yearning for a particular type of relationship. The places and relationships desired are mystified, so that the question of their authenticity is irrelevant. The important thing is discontent with one's present situation and the belief that its antidote is "home" (for this see further Gerverus 1979:112-174). However, in the case of Turkish migrants in Germany, the term "homesickness" should be used with caution, since the desire is by no means for an unconditional return to their <u>former life</u> in Turkey. Moreover, their status in Turkey as <u>almancis</u> (Germanites) is degrading enough to complicate the classical phenomenon of homesickness among German Turks.

23. For the reasons behind doctors' inabilities to help these patients, see H. Özerturgut-Yurtdas "Krankheit als Ausdruck problematischer Lebenssituationen bei Migranten/Innen der ersten Generation - gestern und heute" (paper presented at the congress on 'Tultur in Wandel: Wege interkulturellen Lernens"), Berlin 6- 11 March 1988.

24. Personal communication from two Turkish doctors in Berlin in 1989. I preferred to talk to Turkish-speaking doctors in order to minimize the interference of the language barrier between doctors and patients which would have arisen with non-Turkish-speaking doctors.

25. The psychosomatic nature of Turkish migrants' complaints should not be understood as the consequence of "culture shock" or the "pressure of acculturation", but should be handled as the reactions of the migrants' bodies to their difficult and degrading living conditions in an alien society. For an argument against the first view, see M. Oppen, "Ausländerbeschäftigung, Gesundheitsverschleiß und Krankheitsstand", in Collatz et

al., Gesundheit für Alle, pp:196-212.

26. Özerturgut-Yurttas only examines Turkish migrant women in Germany. However, judging from other studies on the subject, the same points could be made for all migrants.

27. From a private conversation with a Turkish doctor who has been practicing in Berlin since 1980.

28. Such izin supplements have already become a regular feature of the German edition of several Turkish newspapers.

29. Of course all these derivatives have something to do with permission, but in this context they mean to be permitted to be off work.

30. Krank, the German word for "sick", "ill", is used extensively by Turks, even in their Turkish conversation. Krankta misin? (where the adjective krank is used with Turkish suffixes in the interrogative form to ask whether one is registered as sick or not) and kranka cikacagim (again this adjective is treated as if it where a Turkish adjective and thus integrated into Turkish grammar), which means "I will be registered sick", are the most commonly used forms of this term. Of course, Turkish workers with serious physiological disorders register sick, though some, anxious that they will lose their jobs, try to avoid doing so, despite their illnesses. However, it is well known that the need for days off are satisfied in this way. For example, in one family I know well, three out of four work, and it is always difficult for the mother, who is the only person not working and who has health problems, to manage the chores alone. The family solves this problem by having a different member of the family being registered sick in rotation, thus having someone to help the mother most of the time. In the last three years, there have not been more than three months in which all three were working at the same time.

31. Here, one should also take into account the possible impact of Germans' semi-obsessive attachment to their annual summer vacation.

32. It is interesting that it is not the number of work days left to izin but the total number of days left that are counted down.

CHAPTER III - "THE MYTH OF RETURN" AND LIMINALITY

Centered around the much debated issue of "the myth of return" and its place in the lives of German Turks, this chapter argues that the concept of liminality is an appropriate characterization of Turkish migrants' lives and of their perceptions of their situation in Germany. The dynamics behind the persistence of "the myth of return" in the discourse of migrants will be investigated within this framework.

"The Myth of Return"

Nalan was four and Cüneyt six when their parents left for Germany. Believing that in three or four years' time they would return to Turkey, they saw no point in taking the children with them, so Nalan and Cüneyt were left with their grandmother. This was the beginning of a long separation, because the parents kept postponing their return. They are still in Berlin and Cüneyt (who has never seen Germany) is still in Turkey. In the meantime, Cüneyt has turned 25 and Nalan, who has been living in Berlin for one and a half years illegally, has just celebrated her 23rd birthday. Nalan was brought to Berlin for the first time not because her parents had given up the idea of returning but because Cüneyt, who was keeping an eye on his sister in Turkey, had to do military service. In order not to leave Nalan in Turkey without a brotherly "duenna", they brought her to Berlin as a tourist. After her three-months' visa was expired, she simply did not go back. Nalan cannot work legally, and the moment her presence is discovered by the German authorities she will be deported. If this happens before Cüneyt finishes his military service, life will become complicated for the Atan family. If everything goes smoothly, however, Nalan will either return to Turkey after her brother finishes military service and get married there, or she will work illegally

on an occasional basis in Berlin until her parents retire and then - according to their "plan" - return with them to Turkey.

Nalan's mother and I are talking about the inconvenience of Nalan's illegal status in Germany. She seems less worried about it than I. Her worries are surprisingly oriented towards the present and near future:

> "Of course if she hadn't been here illegally it would have been easier. She would have worked somewhere. It's scary to be illegal like this. Every time she has to see a doctor, it's a problem. But it's because Nalan is only staying here temporarily. The important thing is to stay until her older brother returns from his military service. After that, either she'll get lucky and get married or she'll stay until we go back and then we'll all go together. It's just a matter of chance now. But it would have been nice if she hadn't been a tourist and had been able to save a few pennies."

The Özgüven family have been living in Germany for eighteen years. The mother, Sultan, used to have an Änderungsschneiderei (a tailor's shop specializing in alterations) and the father, Mahmut, is a district manager at Bausparkasse, a savings-and-loan bank, in charge of Turkish customers. They have two children, a daughter of seven and a son of twenty-one. Five years ago, Sultan sold her shop and returned to Turkey together with her daughter on the assumption that her husband and son would join them soon. But their plans did not work out as intended, and she returned to Germany, rented a new shop and started working again. In the meantime their son Hüsnü had graduated in hotel management and started to work in a hotel in Berlin. They say that they are all waiting for the construction of their own hotel in the Aegean coast of

Turkey to be completed. Then, they say, they will return to Turkey, and their son will manage their hotel. When I first heard of the plan for a second return, I could not hide my astonishment, because Sultan was always the one who contrasted the comforts of life in Germany with the difficulties of life in Turkey and tried to warn me against the distant attractiveness of Turkey. Seeing my astonishment, she said:

> "I'm not saying we shouldn't go back. Of course it's our home there, our own place. Sooner or later we'll go back there. Whatever you do, you're still a stranger [foreigner] here. The Berlin Wall fell and see how the hostility increased. We're willing to pay up to DM 4000 rent, but we still haven't found an apartment. Why? Because we are Turkish. Even with my money, I couldn't get my daughter into a private school. Of course we're going to go back, but the important thing is to go back the right way. Why did we send our son to study hotel management? For the sake of our own hotel. Thanks be to God, he's finished. When the hotel is finished he'll go back and run it. Otherwise why did we wear ourselves out like this working? What for? Why go through all this suffering if we're not going to be comfortable in our old age and can't guarantee our children's and our family's future."

The Atan and Özgüven families are not exceptional but just two among the many Turkish families in Berlin for whom the rhetoric of return, despite a twenty- to thirty-year residence in Germany, still has relevance in their discourse. Talking about an intention to return is an important part of the discourse of German Turks (see also Schiffauer 1991:175; Mihciyazgan 1988a:2).

Almost all Turks in Germany came with the idea of staying just a short time. The objective was to work hard for a given period, save money, and start a new and rich life back in Turkey. This initial objective was in line with Turkish and German official discourses. However, guest workers like Nalan's parents, who initially planned to save a certain amount of money and then to return, soon realized that the expected sum could not be put together within the expected period or that the amount they saved was not enough to establish the new life that they desired in Turkey. The stopping of new guest workers coming to Germany in 1973 played a decisive role in the development of Turkish workers' lives in Germany. Although the recruitment of new workers was banned, the law permitted the reunification of families. Realizing that the date of their return was not imminent, those workers who were already in Germany brought their families to live there with them. The presence of wives or husbands, together with children, made accommodation in company dormitories or barracks impossible, and private housing meant an increase in expenditure. Even housing in relatively cheap, run-down apartments in Kreuzberg, for example, made the usual amount of savings no longer possible. Despite the additional income from other family members - for example, the women started working - the date of return came no closer. The arrival of families solved the problem of loneliness to some extent, so that a quick return - in contrast to a well-planned one - lost its urgency. After family reunification, the education of children became another prominent factor in the timing of returns (Schiffauer 1991).

Although a number of legal restrictions on guest workers are still in effect, during these years the guest workers acquired certain rights and established numerous self-help organizations and associations which make the term "migrants" more appropriate than the former term

"guest workers" (see Castles 1984).[1]

However, all through these years the rhetoric of return, i.e., of seeing their own residence in Germany as temporary, has not been eliminated from migrants' discourse. The conditions which they attached to their return, such as the value of savings and investments in Turkey, the education of their children in Germany, political and economic instability in Turkey, all changed. Although, the date of return might be postponed ten times and be made conditional, talk of return never disappeared from the discourse of Turks in Germany.[2]

Because of the contrast between the persistence of this intention to return and its continuous postponement and ever-changing conditions, many researchers diagnose this rhetoric of return as an illusion or as "myth". According to Mihciyazgan, (1988a:8), the "return illusion" of Turkish migrants became a very favorite research topic in literature on Turkish migrants.

The researchers deal with the rhetoric of return either as an illusion - which has nothing to do with the reality of German Turks' lives - , or a myth, to which, in fact, not many Turks subscribe. Numerous surveys designed by different research groups using different categories have been conducted to determine the percentage of those Turkish migrants who subscribe to this "intention" to return (Ölcen 1986; Sen 1988:25; Sen 1992). The percentage of those who say that they do not intend to return to Turkey in these studies varies from 30.4% (Sen 1988:25) to 83% (Sen 1993).[3]

In replies to the survey questions, these studies single out a declared intention to return as a prime indicator of the migrants' perceptions of their belonging. This is seen as an acid test for predicting the turn

migrants' orientations will take. However, I think the conclusions on the life orientations of German Turks on the basis of these surveys should be drawn with caution.

The migrants who deny any intention to return to Turkey sometime engage in activities that contradict this response. Zeynep's case illustrates this clearly. Zeynep arrived in Berlin 15 years ago, when she was thirteen years old. She finished Realschule there and since then has been working in a motor assembly plant.[4] I have known her well for four years. She is the only one in her family who is eager to express her admiration for Germany and to criticize the way things are handled by Turks or in Turkey. She makes it very clear that although other family members might return, she will not. When asked, she denies any intention to return. On the other hand, she videos children programs from German television almost systematically and stores them in her family's house in Turkey. When I asked her the reason for this activity which often inconveniences her, she simply answered: "You know, there aren't any nice programs like that for children in Turkey. I really like the films and programs they have here. I tape them for my children. For later on." At the time she said this she was far from being married, and there were no candidates as husband in sight for her. In 1991, she still had not married, was still criticizing Turks and Turkey vigorously, had applied for German citizenship, and was still videoing German TV programs for her future life in Turkey, taking them to Turkey during izin together with other household goods that she had purchased.[5]

In exploring the world of German Turks, more attention has to be paid to the practices of their daily lives and to their concerns in terms of "planning" their lives, instead of relying on surveys of their intentions to return.[6]

The rhetoric of return has a reality in Turkish migrants' lives as an important component of their discourse. They engage in activities indicating that no matter how many times the date of return is postponed, this desire and "plan" of return has an important place in the organization of their lives. I will concentrate on some of their practices in three different areas: investment, the education of children, and the transfer of the deceased to Turkey for their funerals.

The investments of German Turks

It is by now common knowledge that German Turks tend to invest their savings in Turkey. The areas of investment show variation over time - while land and machinery were favorite areas in the beginning, some of the migrants' savings were later channelled into "workers cooperatives" and joint stock companies. However, regardless of these changes, housing proves to be the main area of investment (Gombrech 1980; Sen 1987; Keyder and Aksu-Koc 1988). Turkish migrants have either invested in private houses in their villages and/or in vacation areas of Turkey, or they have bought apartments in the cities they plan to settle in after they return. Almost all the Turkish worker families I know well have a fully furnished apartment in the cities they plan to settle in after their return, which have been kept unoccupied for their future inhabitants for years.[7] Those who do not already have one seek ways of acquiring one.

It is true that Turkish migrants invest not only in Turkey, but also in Germany, and more do so every day. This is a new development. The numbers of Turks applying for bank loans to buy houses or apartments has reached 135,000 and is growing (Sen 1987:18). The stability of the German currency, in contrast to the instability of the Turkish currency, and the difficulties Turkish migrants

face in finding appropriate housing for themselves and/or their married children in Germany have definitely played an important role in this growing trend.

Although the migrants invest in housing both in Turkey and more recently in Germany, the activities centered around these properties and the meanings of these investments are different. Those who invest in housing in Germany already have apartments and/or houses in Turkey. The basic motives behind their investment in this area are speculation and the solving of their housing problems as foreigners in Germany.

Turkish migrants not only buy houses and/or apartments in Turkey, they continue to get them ready for their eventual return. Goods to be used after their return, ranging from clothes, electrical appliances, china, furniture, and shoes to toilet paper, all end up in these houses, having been taken to Turkey during the annual visits. Furnishing and decorating their apartments and/or houses in Turkey is of great importance to German Turks.

In the Eryilmaz family (where I stayed), for example, all newly acquired goods were unpacked and put with the items waiting to be transported to Turkey at the next izin.[8] While helping them organize and pack their load, I saw certain things that I had never seen them using in their apartment in Germany. After seeing how much time they spent cooking in the house, where in fact everyone in the family, except the sick mother Güllü, was working, I asked her why they did not buy a pressure cooker. To my surprise she said that they had, but it was in Turkey. Realizing that everything "fancy" I might give them as a bayram (religious festival) present would end up in the kitchen in their Turkish home, I bought them a big earthenware pot thinking that, since it was of no great

value, it would end up in their kitchen in Germany. However, after thanking me politely Güllü repacked it and simply put it among the other boxes. A month later, while helping their izin preparations, I saw Güllü's husband packing my present together with two different sizes of pressure cookers. Seeing my astonishment, Güllü said "these [pressure cookers] are new on the market; we don't have these sizes in Turkey."

It is ironic that their fully furnished houses remain unused while they continue to live in poorly equipped and furnished apartments in Germany. They themselves are aware of this irony, a point made clear when they were talking about their apartment in Turkey:

> Mustafa: "What we've got there, we haven't got here. There we've got completely everything. There everything is complete. It's a real household.
> Zeynep (the daughter): "Here we are the dishwasher. Thanks God we've got a dishwasher there. We'll be saved."

Mustafa, who got mad at his wife because of the fancy new dresses she had bought for herself to be taken back to Turkey at their next izin, explicitly drew attention to this irony:

> "What good is all this stuff that is piling up if you don't use it? How many years have those dresses you carried over there been lying there like that? In those days you used to be 58 kilos, now you're pushing 80. You can't get into any of them. It's a waste and a shame. They're going to waste without even being worn. Thanks be to God that we can afford to buy them, but being able to buy them doesn't do anything. Let's see if anyone actually gets a chance to use them before we die."

It is not the mere investment in housing in Turkey but the preparation of these houses for their return, the values attributed to them and the energy invested in establishing contacts and friendships in the neighborhoods where these apartments are situated that illustrates that the desire and "plan" to return is not simply lip service to something they do not believe in. They organize their lives in accordance with this desire.

Housing is not the only area in which German Turks invest. They also invest in land, machinery, worker cooperatives, joint-stock companies, tourism, the export sector, in Turkey. Many are involved, mostly with their relatives, in small businesses in Turkey with the aim of becoming self-employed.

Some researchers interpret Turkish migrants' increasing tendency to invest in Germany as a clear indication of their giving up their "intention" to returning to Turkey and therefore of a change in the organization of their lives (Sen 1988; 1993). However, before any such conclusions can be made, I think more attention should be paid to the nature of these investments and the motives behind them.

Obviously, the commercial concerns mentioned above play an important role in the preference for investing in Germany. Moreover, most of investments by Turkish migrants in Germany are such that they can easily be converted into cash when needed. A tailor shop specializing in alterations, a general store, an Imbiß, or a restaurant - which account for almost 80-90 per cent of Turkish migrants' investments in Germany (Sen 1988:2), can easily be converted into cash. Thus increasing investments in these areas does not necessarily imply that the owners have given up the idea of returning. In fact, the European editions of Turkish newspapers are full of advertisements

for shops, Imbiß stands and restaurants which are being offered for sale because of their owners' kesin dönüs (final return).

Thus investing in a shop or owning a restaurant does not necessarily imply that the entrepreneurs see themselves as completely settled in German society. The brother of the owner of a shop where I worked at the counter, when cornered by the German tax authorities, said in rage: "If they continue to bother me, I know what I'll do. What keeps me here? I'll sell the shop and disappear. Then they won't get a penny. What's this place to me? Am I a fool?" In fact, two years later he sold the restaurant, left his shop to his brother, and returned to Turkey with his family.

Another example is the owner of a very well-known shop with a very central location in Kreuzberg, who had been living in Berlin for a very long time when he suddenly sold his shop and returned to Turkey. His children had grown up in Berlin (as second-generation Turks), and worked in their father's shop. One day one of them was found dead in the shop, which proved decisive for the family's future plans. Not long afterwards, the father sold the shop to a fellow villager and returned with his family to Turkey. It is especially in times of personal crisis in Germany (death, sickness in the family, divorce, accident,) that Turkey becomes prominent as the natural place to go.[9] At such times shops, restaurants, Imbiß stands, in short no major investment in Germany, is a sufficient tie to keep people in the country.

The German Turks I talked to who have shops in Berlin all made it clear that their intention is to maximize their advantages from their stay in Germany.[10] In fact, with the return they get from their shops, most of them invest more in Turkey, in luxurious houses, or in

businesses (35% of their investments) (see Sen 1988:3). For this reason, one must be cautious in drawing conclusions from the growth of Turkish migrants' investments in Germany.

Interruptions in the education of German Turks' children

Another area in which we can see that the "intention" to return is not mere rhetoric but a shared desire that indeed plays an active role in German Turks' decisions and plans about their future, as well as in the organization of their lives, is the education of their children.

Stories similar to that concerning Nalan's parents are common. Many who left Turkey believing that they would be returning in four to five years' time left their children behind with their relatives. Then after ten years, after realizing that the expected return was still not in sight, they brought their children to Germany. For example the Eryilmaz family left all their children, then four, seven, eight and ten years old respectively, in Turkey when they left for Germany in 1968. Only after nine years there did they realize that they would be staying longer and brought the children successively to Germany. At that time the two elder children were about to complete secondary school, but the two younger ones had to interrupt their education in Turkey and continue school in Germany, where to begin with they had to learn the language.

Again on the basis that they would not be settling in Germany, some sent their children to Turkey either to start school there or to continue in Turkish as early as possible in order to avoid the inconveniences that would arise from interrupting their children's education had they started school in Germany. Children who are simply left in Turkey for one to two years after izin to improve

their Turkish, are not a rarity (for an interesting case see Mihciyazgan 1986:169). There are even some that have travelled back and forth resuming their education more than once because of their parents' constant changes of plan regarding the date of their return to Turkey.

Günül, who has a tailoring shop in downtown Berlin, left her daughter Elvan, then four, in Turkey when she came to Berlin with her husband 23 years ago. After three years, realizing that they would not be returning for at least five to six years, they brought her to Germany where she started school. Struggling with the language problem, she was only able to finish Realschule. Since then, she has been helping her mother in the shop. Belma, who was born in Germany five years after Elvan came there, started in a German day-care center and has no language problems. She was doing very well in the German school system when the family decided to send her to Turkey to a secondary school in Izmir, in which the language of instruction was in German.[11] The family was fed up with the problems Elvan faced in school in Germany and was convinced that this school in Izmir would give Belma a better future. Also, said Gönül

> "We're finally getting old. The place we're going to end up in, where we're going to settle, is there [Turkey]. Believe me, the ignorance is very bad. If you only knew how we struggled with the schools here. You can't imagine how happy we are now that we have sent Belma to school in Turkey. It'll be good for her future too. This [our] ignorance, it has ruined Elvan here. We didn't realize there were possibilities like that there. With any luck, by the time she finishes, we'll have returned too. At least we'll have been able to prepare a future for her. Goodness, if you knew what a strict school it is! They don't let her get away with anything."

Two years later, she started talking about bringing Elvan back to Germany, as they realized they needed at least another four to five years there themselves.

The mere fact that the migrants interrupt their children's education in connection with their plans to return is an important indication that these much altered schemes and dates have an active organizing role in their lives. It is not simply a rhetoric to which they pay lip service. This expressed "intention" effects other domains of their lives too. Turkish migrants continually come up with strategies to cope with the problems such as problems with their children's education, which arise because of frequent changes of plan regarding when they will return to Turkey.

Turkish funeral homes

Lastly, I would like to draw attention to Turkish funeral homes operating in Germany as a means of emphasizing the reality in their lives of their "intention" to return. Advertisements for Turkish funeral homes in Germany -- altogether there are six -- appear in every issue of the Turkish newspapers published in Germany. They handle all the bureaucracy involved with funerals and according to clients' desires, either transfer the funeral to Turkey and arrange for burial there, or do this in Germany. The Turkish funeral home in Berlin is called Vatan Islami Ceneze Servisi (Fatherland Islamic Funeral Service). It was established in 1983, and since then the business has flourished.[12]

In Berlin there is a section reserved for Muslims in the cemetery in Neukölln and in the Berlin Turk Sehitligi (Cemetery for Martyred Turks), in which Turks can be buried in accordance with Islamic regulations. The differences in religion between Turks and Germans,

especially in respect to observances relating to disposal of the dead are not likely to be the reasons for the desire of most Turks to be buried in Turkey. Relatively few Turks are buried in these Berlin cemeteries."

Who is buried in Germany and is sent back to Turkey? According to the owner of Vatan Islami Cenaze Servisi,

> "of funerals for adults, eighty per cent are held in Turkey, and of those for children, I would say about ten per cent. The children who die here, who are mostly stillborn, are usually buried here. Aren't any adults buried here? Of course there are. These are people who live alone, kimsesizler [those without relatives or friends, those without support or protection], some political refugees, or those whose relatives are all here and who have decided to settle in Germany. They are buried here. But mostly our people think that sooner or later they will return to Turkey one day. For this reason they transfer the funeral back to Turkey."

Given the fact that the transfer of a corpse back to Turkey costs, depending on where it is sent, approximately DM 3000 over and above the cost of the funeral itself, the rate of 80% is significantly high. It is also noteworthy that according to information provided by this company, this rate has not changed since the company was founded in 1983. After 1973 the number of single Turkish workers in Germany decreased and most family members were brought to Germany, meaning that most German Turks are in Germany with their families and relatives. Thus it is not the case that the families of those whose corpses are sent to Turkey are themselves in Turkey. Although they are in Germany, they send the deceased back, on the premise that they will also be returning one day. In fact, the migrants themselves see the practice of sending the deceased back

to Turkey as being related to the question of their own return and belonging.[14]

We (that is, Güllü, Zeynep, Banu, Nurgül and myself) are sitting at home and talking. I ask whether they have heard about the accident that happened two days ago in a Turkish restaurant (club). A quarrel that broke out between two groups who had been enjoying themselves in the restaurant ended with one of them using a gun, as a result of which the nineteen-year-old by-stander son of the owner was killed by accident. They all knew about the incident, although in a different version. Then Güllü said:

> They're going to bury him this week.
> Zeynep:-Where? Are they burying him here or are they taking him to Turkey?
> Güllü:- Are you crazy? Would anyone bury someone here?
> Zeynep:- How should I know? Why wouldn't they? We live here. The guy died here too.
> Güllü:- Don't get me angry; what's this place to you that you should bury your dead here? Aren't you ever going to visit the grave?
> Zeynep:- My God! You'd think you were living in Turkey. How are you gonna visit a grave there, huh? (laughing)
> Güllü:- So where is it that you're gonna end up at? You can't bury the dead just anywhere. Don't make me crazy. Today, tomorrow, they could run you out of here; What'll you do then? What'll happen to the dead?
> Nurgül:- Are you kidding, Zeynep? God help us, would anyone bury their dead here, ever? (pulls an earlobe and knocks on wood).[15]

Turks who have been living in Germany for twenty-five to thirty years and whose children have grown up here are

fully aware of the difficulties involved in starting a new life in Turkey, of how different they have become from their relatives and fellow villagers during these years. In spite of this awareness, they do not leave this rhetoric aside: on the contrary, it is still present in the organization of their lives and in their future plans. This must be recognized. However, recognizing it is different from treating it as a sign of either the temporary or permanent nature of their stay in Germany.

Instead of dismissing this "myth" as a mere illusion, its contextualization in the lives of German Turks seems more useful and significant in understanding their world in Germany. Here, there are two related questions: what can this "commitment" tell us about the characteristics of German Turks' lives in Germany, and why do migrants maintain this rhetoric, after as much as thirty years residence in Germany?

Liminality

A. van Gennep, in his famous study of rites of passage, i.e., rites which accompany every change of place, status, social position and age, identifies three phases found cross-culturally: separation, marginality or liminality and re-aggregation. Victor Turner, following van Gennep's train of thought, extends the scope of these rites of passage by defining them as rites that "indicate and constitute transitions between states" (1967:93). In his reformulation, "state" is "a more inclusive concept than status or office and refers to any type of stable or recurrent condition that is culturally recognized" (ibid.94). In Turner's approach, rites of passage are no longer confined to culturally defined life crises, as they are in van Gennep's formulation.

Turner finds the middle phase, i.e., the marginal or liminal period, the most interesting of the three stages.

The liminal period, which refers to an interstructural situation, is structurally "invisible", and the ritual subjects (liminal personae) have an ambiguous character during this period, since they "elude or slip through the network of communications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space" (Turner 1977b:95).

In short, "liminal entities are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between the position assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremonial" (ibid.95). They are "merely entities in transition, as yet without place or position, neither this nor that, and yet both" (Turner 1967:99). This betwixt-and-between position is the defining characteristic of the liminal state.

This transition through a limbo of being without status has interesting characteristics. Those in the liminal stage are neither this nor that and yet are both: their condition confuses normal categories and is one of ambiguity (Turner 1967:97). For Turner, this dissolution of normal categories forms the essence of the liminal state, which is therefore to be found in the removal of normal constraints, which in its turn makes possible the deconstruction of the "uninteresting constructions of common sense" (1985a:159-60). The result of this transcendence of social structural constraints in the liminal period is "a moment in and out of time" (1969:96), in the sense that "symbolically, all attributes that distinguish categories and groups in the structured social order are here in abeyance" (ibid.103). The limbo of liminality originates in this suspension.

This confusion of the taken-for-granted order and categories brings about creativity and reflexivity, but it also leads to discrimination. The removal of normative constraints lays the basis for the free play of cognitive and imaginative capacities, resulting in the

"transformation, and the reformulation of old elements in new patterns" (Turner 1967:99). In this sense, liminality generates variability and creativity.

However, at the same time, this extraordinary combination of elements poses a threat to the entire group and to the normal state of things because it transgresses classificatory boundaries. The liminal personae are discriminated against because they, like things that are unclear and contradictory tend to be regarded as polluting.

The confusion of classificatory boundaries is also a source of reflexivity because

> during the liminal period, neophytes are alternatively forced and encouraged to think about their society, their cosmos and the powers that generate and sustain them. Liminality may be partly described as a state of reflection. In it those ideas, sentiments, and facts that had been hitherto for the neophytes bound up in configurations and accepted unthinkingly are, as it were, resolved into their constituents. (ibid.105)

This phase brings about a change: "[i]t gives freedom to juggle with the factors of existence" (ibid.106). The transformatory capacity of this period lies in this freedom.

Turkish migrants in Germany are not ritual subjects and they are not going through a ritual process. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the characteristics of the liminal phase which Turner brings to the fore are relevant and enriching in exploring migrants' sense of place, their perceptions of their world and the basis of their lifestyles in Germany.[16] The transgression of

classificatory boundaries, creativity and reflexivity peculiar to the liminal period are also characteristic of German Turks' lives in Germany.

Betwixt-and-between and German Turks

Turkish migrants' images of their lives in Germany as liminal have an objective basis. The anomalies of the double-bind situation of the guest worker system give rise to this perception of their situation as one of betwixt-and-between.

Turkish workers have been living and working in Germany for thirty years, paying their taxes like German citizens, and benefiting from numerous services provided by the German state.[17] Their children go to school there[18] and as workers they are basically subject to the same retirement provisions as German workers. However, despite this degree of integration into German society, they are denied the full participation in social and political life that German citizens enjoy. They are even denied voting rights in local elections. Though living in Germany for thirty years, they are not allowed to integrate fully into the society, on the supposition that they will eventually belong to another society.

However, from Turkey's point of view they are Turkish citizens abroad and therefore enjoy all the social and political rights of Turkish citizens. If they wish, they can, having worked for so many years in Germany, convert their years of work in Germany into a retirement plan in Turkey. This applies even to those who have never properly worked in Turkey. Second-generation migrants can enrol in a non-resident program in a Turkish university during their residence in Germany. Although they cannot vote even in local elections in Germany, they can vote in the Turkish general elections at the Turkish border.[19]

As Turkish citizens, they are subject to Turkish law in terms of inheritance, political activities, but as foreign residents in Germany, they are also subject to German foreigners' law. In short, like the liminal personae mentioned above, their legal status confuses customary categories; they are neither in one nor the other, but yet are in both.

Turkish migrants' channels of communication with Turkey

Despite thirty years absence from Turkey, life in the country has not become a mystery to German Turks, even though it has undergone drastic changes during this period. Turkish migrants in Berlin are surprisingly well informed about day-to-day political events and political figures in Turkey, to such an extent that some popular comedians from Turkey, who base all their sketches upon current political figures and events there, are always a big success on their frequent visits to Berlin. It is notable that their popularity is not limited to first-generation migrants and that there is an increasing demand for such entertainment from the second-generation.[20]

The physical proximity of Turkey, the extensive networks of communication between Turkish migrants and Turkey, the Turkish press active in Germany, and the existence of Turkish cable television in Germany, play important roles in migrants' keeping track of life in Turkey. In Berlin alone there are around five charter airlines (depending on the season) which offer weekly flights to Turkey (three or more, again depending on the season). German Turks other than those who drive to Turkey in izin, fly frequently to the country. During these trips the memories are refreshed and knowledge of the state of things in Turkey updated.

Of course the telephone network between Turkey and Germany, which includes direct connection with villages, is a very efficient and widely used channel of communication between Turkish migrants in Germany and Turkey. Through this network, news and events from Turkey enter immediately into circulation in Germany.[21]

Other communication networks also have an important impact on maintaining links with what is happening in Turkey. In Berlin, there are eight daily and three weekly newspapers in Turkish (all are German editions of Turkish papers published in Germany).[22] These newspapers together have a circulation of 189,000 (Sen 1986:5), a considerable figure when compared with circulation figures for newspapers in Turkey.[23] The circulation of Turkish newspapers in Berlin is estimated to be around 18,000 (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1991:47). For 51% of Turkish youth in Berlin, these newspapers are their main information medium. It is noteworthy that this figure has increased from 36% in 1985 (Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1992:5).

Another important contact with Turkey is provided by Turkish cable television. In Berlin, there are five Turkish cable TV channels. In 1990, Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) started "TRT International", broadcasting to Europe by satellite. Although three of these channels broadcast special programs made in Germany for Turkish migrants, they mostly depend on programs taken from Turkish television. With the launching of "TRT International", the share of programs originating with Turkish television has increased significantly. Every evening, Turkish news is broadcast by "TRT International", making it possible to follow events in Turkey very closely. German Turks follow Turkish cable channels at rates reported to be thirty percent higher than for all German channels put together (Turkei Zentrum

1992). In addition to the Turkish cable television channels, three Turkish radio programs are available in Berlin on German Radio stations. They broadcast news from Turkey and Germany, and prepare special programs to deal with issues of concern to Turkish migrants in Germany. In these programs, as in the newspapers, Turkish migrants are always addressed as "our citizens in gurbet" (Gurbetteki vatandaslarimiz). The possessive suffix -miz is noteworthy here.

Although not so effective as networks mentioned above, Turkish writers and intellectuals, who frequently come to Germany to take part in discussions, readings, and popular figures from the entertainment and music scene in Turkey could also be considered part of the communication network between Turkish migrants and Turkey. All these channels counter any estrangement by Turkish migrants from the events and state of things in Turkey.

This infrastructure in making easier Turkish migrants' awareness of and involvement with events in Turkey easier ironically has an effect both on the nature of feelings of yearning for a life in Turkey and on the presence of Turkey in their lives in Germany. It is important to note that the dominance of the Turkish media is by no means confined to first-generation migrants, but also effects those of the second-generation (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1992). A desire to return to Turkey tends to lose its grip on first-generation German Turks, because, despite their residence abroad, they can surround themselves with things and news from Turkey, which in its turn reduces their immediate desire to return. Turkey is accessible to them from Germany, at least in the form of information and news. On the other hand, events in Turkey, facilitated by the communication networks mentioned above gives them a greater grasp of Turkish affairs in their lives. The presence of Turkey in

their lives increases. In both senses, these communication networks promote their liminal state.

Gurbetci and almanci

Turkish migrants, like Turner's liminal personae, who become a group by means of a name and a set of symbols specific to them, are addressed and address themselves with the specific designation that identifies them as a group. A rich set of symbols is attached to this designation. As already mentioned, the most widely used designations for this group in Turkey and in the Turkish media - including the Turkish media in Germany - is gurbetci. Although gurbetci is used mostly in order to designate Turkish migrants in Europe, it is basically interchangeable with Almanya'daki vatandaslarimiz (our citizens in Germany) or yurtdisindaki vatandaslarimiz (our citizens abroad).[24]

The stress in both designations is on migrants' link with Turkey. They are defined in relation to their homeland. Displacement is the defining characteristic of those referred to in these designations. Both terms imply that they belong principally to Turkey (here) but at the moment are away from Turkey (there); they refer to being elsewhere.[25] The symbols associated with the term gurbetci almost always stress this link. In the Turkish media in Germany, the portrayal of gurbetcis against the background of a Turkish flag or of things that are considered to symbolize Turkey (minarets, mosques,) is common. In short, this widely used term, by which the Turkish migrants are referred to during their residency in Germany, underlines their otherness in the German environment.

On the other hand, the names they have in the German media and in the society at large are not different in nature, since they too point to a state of displacement

and distance. Gastarbeiter (guest worker, though not so widely used in popular and semi-official discourse as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s), Ausländer (foreigner), or Mitbürger (fellow-citizen) all signify Turks' foreignness, and distinctiveness.[26] Thus all the names German Turks are given in Germany, whether in the German and Turkish media, suggest their otherness and displacement.

Moreover, German Turks have another label when they are in Turkey. During their izin in Turkey or after their return to Turkey, they are called almancis (German-like, German-ish) or almanyali (Germanites) in daily conversation.[27] Even after they return and settle in Turkey, they are still referred to as the almancis or almanyalis in their districts.

While visiting a returnee I knew from Germany during my vacation in Turkey, I got lost in the apartment block, as there were no names on doors. I rang bells at random and asked those who answered whether they knew on which floor the woman I was looking for lived. Trying to be as precise as I could, I gave some details (in addition to her name) about her, such as the fact that she had moved two years previously and that she had a baby recently. My first two attempts were in vain. However, the woman I asked in my third attempt, who also could not figure out who I was looking for at first, suddenly asked whether she was an almanyali. At my confirmation that she was, all the people at the doors I had tried before, who had followed me, said almost simultaneously, why hadn't I said at the very beginning that I was looking for the almanyali. After two years this was still this person's defining characteristic.[28]

Both almanci and almanyali have rather negative

connotations in Turkey, centered mostly around "those named's" nouveau-riche behavior and consumption habits. The heavily overloaded cars packed with household goods which they bring from Germany for their houses in Turkey, their pretentiousness and readiness to pay any price when shopping, their different styles of dress and such details as the way their girls walk, are noticed by people in Turkey. During July and August, people even blame the almancis for traffic jams and accidents in Turkey. The Germanites' readiness to pay more than local inhabitants for land, apartments and brides[29] is considered responsible for the inflation of brideprice and of real-estate prices.

In the terms almancis and almanyali, the stress is on their relationship with Germany, i.e., again to their "out-of-placeness", but this time in Turkey. Both are, like gurbetci, distancing terms (Mandel 1988:298). Both terms, gurbetci and almanci, refer to people who are displaced, i.e., out of place. They underline the fact of their being elsewhere and define Turkish migrants with their otherness. Their double-bind situation violates the usual classification and presents them as an anomaly both in Germany and in Turkey.

The terms almanci and gurbetci are constitutive of a kind of "footloose" group, and disguise all the distinctions within it.[30] In this sense they homogenize the group. Despite the fact that not all Turkish migrants in Germany are workers (some are self-employed, students,) and that they come from different backgrounds, almanci and gurbetci have the connotation of a worker in Germany with particular manners and lifestyles.

Exclusion via terms that allude to their otherness in regard to both Germany and Turkey results in the creation of a collective identity as a liminal persona. "On the one

hand, the 'Turkishness' which marginalizes the migrants in the German context; on the other, the markedness of almanancilar in Turkey, the inability to merge back into the Turkish mainstream entrap Turkish Gastarbeiter in a circular quest for an increasingly elusive identity" (Mandel 1988:300). Their shared liminality and inability to fit into the normal categories establish a fertile ground for the constitution and development of a sense of collective identity among themselves.[31]

Betwixt-and-Between, Between-Two-Cultures and the Cultural Between-World

The characterization of German Turks' lives as a betwixt-and-between situation should not, however, be confused either with the "fragmented cultural world" diagnosis mentioned above or with the cultural between-world designation of Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage (1984). The betwixt-and-between state, unlike the other two, is not necessarily a transitory phase. It is something new with its own dynamic, which might become a lifestyle and cannot be understood through a simple reference to either previous or anticipated states of being. Moreover, this state, instead of being one of crisis and problems (as is the case in the "fragmented cultural world" view), is the "seedbed of cultural creativity" (Turner 1982:28, quoted in E.B. Turner 1985c:8). In the cultural between-world approach of Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage (1984:357-404), the focus is on the alienness of migrants in the host country and on the coping mechanisms they develop to deal with this situation. The migrants must come to terms with their new way of life, because they are confronted with the fact that the relationships and interaction patterns they take for granted are not valid any more in their new situation. This, argue Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage (1984:364), forces the migrants to reconstruct and reorganize their daily reality and their self-image, i.e. to construct a new "world of meaning."

The building blocks of the migrants' new social reality is their double-bind situation within the Gastarbeiter system (ibid.371), in which they are not completely separated socially, politically, and legally from their home country and are not socially, politically and legally integrated into the host country. Thus the concept of "cultural between-world" (kultureller Zwischenwelt) has been suggested in order to encompass this new social reality of the migrants. According to Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage, this concept refers to

> that mental, social and cultural position occupied by a person who, under the requirements of a unitary lifestyle, tries to reconcile the contradictory cultural worlds on which he is dependent. Under pressure to find his identity and to express it effectively in a social environment, he unites the components of these different worlds in the manner in which he has experienced them, and he constantly experiences them anew. Since human beings constantly change their relationship with their habitual forms of living, the concept of cultural between-world is less a description of a condition than a process of thinking and acting. (1984:378)

This cultural between-world situation, like liminality, is seen to be creative, because the "potential space" for interaction to construct identity and conflict solving is greater.

Like Turner's state of liminality, the cultural between-world refers to a state of being neither here nor there, in which foreigners find a place for themselves. Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage call this process the construction of between-world (1984:378). However, they still see this situation of neither here nor there, although long-term, as a transitional phase in migrants'

integration into the host society. Its acceptance as a phase in their integration marks a major difference from liminality. Hence, the cultural between-world view, unlike the "fragmented cultural world" view, does not place migrants' lives on a linear path which is assumed to connect cultural wholes, and it recognizes the specific dynamics of this phase. However, because this process is seen to be a part of the migrants' process of integration, ideally ending with their complete integration, both the creativity and the independence envisioned by Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage are limited. Unlike Turner's notion of liminality, which always has the potential to become a separate life-style, the cultural between-world formulation rules out indeterminacy and the possibility of this situation becoming a life-style on its own right.

Moreover, the functions claimed for the cultural between-worlds approach for future generations are debatable (see Bröskamp 1988:241-242). This approach fails to explain why cultural between-worlds do not lose their grip on future generations.

It is not possible to encompass the endurance and power of migrants' syncretic cultural world within a framework of integration in which this world is treated as a merely transitory stage of integration. The second and third generations of Turkish migrants are socialized into this social reality, so rather than being transitory, these hybrid and fragmented cultural worlds have already become part of the dispositions of these generations and are reproduced. Thus Turner's notion of betwixt-and-between is more appropriate in characterizing the decisive quality of German Turks' life-styles and their perceptions of their own lives in Germany. It is more fertile to approach German Turks within a framework of a betwixt-and-between state, i.e., of liminality.[12] The commitment to a desire and plan to return is symptomatic

of the liminality at the core of German Turks' social reality.

The Persistence of the Rhetoric of Return

Why have Turkish migrants in Germany, despite twenty to thirty years residence there, not given up their talk of, and "plans" for, return? Although it should be obvious to many of them that they have been so transplanted into German society that they will not return, why do they still subscribe to this desire?

Coping with social exclusion

The kind of "perpetual unsettlement" (Seyhan 1989) which finds its expression in the myth of return is not unique to German Turks, but a phenomenon generally related to migration. Sayad (1983:1749) remarks on a similar situation for the migrants in France and identifies it as "un provisoire qui dure." Similarly, Klimt (1989:47-70) draws attention to how migration represents a temporary interlude in the lives of Portuguese migrants to Germany.[33]

Klimt analyses "how Portuguese migrants to Germany construct and maintain the experienced realities of 'temporariness' and 'permanence'" (ibid.49). She argues that commitment to a future in Portugal is an important criterion for membership in the Portuguese migrant community and is therefore essential to Portuguese identity in Germany. It is by no means evidence of an immutable culture or of the stubborn persistence of an illusion, but an assertive response to their exclusion within Germany (ibid.49). In other words, within the context of the guest-worker system and its degrading practices in Germany, it is part of migrants' efforts "to construct meaningful and dignified lives" (ibid.63).

A "commitment" to return is a coping mechanism developed in order to deal with exclusion by the host society and the insecurity that results. Exclusion by the host society finds its clearest expression in Ausländerfeindlichkeit (hostility towards foreigners), and a great deal of migrants' insecurities are centered around this extreme form of social exclusion, which they face in various domains of their lives.

Uncertainties relating to jobs, lives and property constitute the core of German Turks' insecurities. The fall of the Berlin Wall increased job-related insecurities further.[34] Rumors about extensive lay-offs of Turkish workers and the fact that the number of Turks laid off are always lower than what Turkish migrants believe it to be resulted from their sensitivity about their job-security. Interestingly, the priority that is expected to be given to East Germans in employment is somehow accepted to be normal. Hatice said:

> "One shouldn't get too angry with them. Of course they're going to take [hire] their own people first. They'd never take you the same as a German. Why should they? He's one of their own people. What are you to them? I see this as a fight between brothers. Two brothers [East and West Germans] have got together. Now, if something happens, would you protect your brother or would you protect a total stranger? Let's be honest."

The social exclusion German Turks experience in German society has also proved to be immutable. The acquisition of German citizenship is regarded as useful in overcoming institutional exclusion, but still useless against social exclusion. There is an increasing awareness that migrants are powerless with their present legal and political status in the face of social exclusion in daily

life (see also Schiffauer 1991:119; 143). Ali's comment on his sister's application for German citizenship points at this:

> "Whether you have it [German citizenship] or not doesn't make any difference. You'd think that when you go to the Employment Office they'd look at your passport. Of course, they look at you first! They look at your face. Who cares whether you have German citizenship? They just treat you like a Turk anyway. I don't think it would make any difference at all. In the subway, do you think they'd treat you differently because you have [German] citizenship? To them you're Turkish. You can't change it."

In discussions of whether German citizenship will be a remedy to Turks' social exclusion in Germany, frequent references are made to the unfortunate death of a second-generation Turkish teenager in a neo-Nazi attack in Berlin in 1991. This teenager had had German citizenship. Turkish migrants also refer to the fact that the Jews exterminated during the Nazi period also had German citizenship. The widespread contention that one is a foreigner whether one has German citizenship or not could be interpreted as an expression of their inability to cope with their social exclusion in German society.

The growing attacks and hostility against foreigners and especially against Turks further increase Turkish migrants' insecurities about their lives and property in Germany.[35] As Haluk (twenty eight years old) said, "You know this hatred of foreigners here; it's not going to go away. It'll just keep increasing. You have to keep that in mind and be prepared." The necessity to be prepared for whatever might happen is an important concern of Turkish migrants in Berlin. Several Turkish youth gangs have been formed in response to increasing neo-Nazi attacks (Taz

January 26, 1990; Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1992; Cumhuriyet Hafta 1991; Taz Journal 1992). The increasing number of Turks who legally or illegally carry firearms (including businessmen and professionals), and the rumors that surface intermittently of the depth of animosity against Turks all underline the growing sense of insecurity among Turkish migrants.

Seeing the new cabinet the Eryilmaz family had bought, the first new item in their living room for four years, I asked them whether they had decided to make any changes in the living room. The wife Güllü answered:

> "Forget it, Ayse. Those days are gone. We got it cheap for the house in the village. It fits perfectly against the wall in the living room there. We measured it. Now we have to be very careful about buying furniture and putting it in the house. You see the state of things. God help us. It's not certain if we'd be able to take it with us or not. If you had to run away without even telling your neighbor, what furniture are you going to take with you. I mean, look, these people [neo-Nazis] set houses on fire even in Kreuzberg."

In Güllü's comment, there is an implicit allusion to the situation Jews faced in escaping from Hitler's Germany without being able to inform even their neighbors. This comparison indicates the extent of the insecurity felt by some Turkish migrants.[36] Of course, utilization of symbols from the Nazi past by right-wing radicals in defining both themselves and foreigners, such as marking Turkish houses, cars and shops with swastikas, establishes the basis for such analogies.

Moreover, the commitment to return is not just a strategy against the exclusion the Turkish migrants

experience, but also a means of being prepared against further extreme hostility that might come from the host society. Migrants transform this exclusion by relating themselves permanently to something that gives them value at least as human beings, rather than to the place in which their value as such is denied. However, I think the interpretation of the "desire" to return "home" as an out-and-out reaction to the exclusion experienced in the host country limits our understanding of the dynamics of these peoples' world and the place and functions of this desire within it. If we see migrants' notions of temporariness and permanence as merely the products of their symbolic efforts to free themselves from the need to measure their worth in German terms (Klimt 1989:49), then we leave no place for the dreams and ideals of migrants, which form an indispensable part of their world in Germany. These dreams and ideals need not necessarily be formed as a reaction to the host country but can be and most of the time are part of the starting fuel of their migration experiences.

An instrument of group identity

Like Klimt, Mihciyazgan (1988) also rejects the characterization of this desire to return as mere illusion and emphasizes its function in constructing and asserting loyalty to the Turkish migrant group in Germany.

The rhetoric of return is a pattern of daily conversation between Turks amongst themselves, and this pattern, like all similar patterns, has the function of constructing reality for the partners in the communication. Thus, asserting a commitment to return is an assertion of group membership and of Turkish identity. In that sense, it is both the expression and the consequence of the collective orientation of the individual migrant's social world and of his/her taken-

for-granted identity (ibid.6). This assertion and confirmation of identity is especially necessary when conditions bring commitment, belonging and identity into question. It helps draw the boundaries. "Talk of return, therefore, is not only functional for keeping intact the Turkish inner world in a foreign place, but it has the additional function of shielding one's own emotional world against that of the Germans" (ibid.6).

A remedy for breaks in biography

Return is not only a spatial category but also a metaphor, says Mihciyazgan. She goes one step further than Klimt and explores the meaning of this declared "commitment" to return for the migrants' individual biographies (ibid.6). It is a way of coping with the discontinuity that migration has brought into their lives.[37]

Mihciyazgan, in her insightful comparison of the ways Turkish women in Turkey and female migrants in Germany reconstruct their life stories, stresses that while the former prefer to divide their life stories into certain themes, the latter opt for a chronological narrative (1986:222-3). For Turkish migrants, unlike Turkish women in Turkey, it is not the present perspective but a processual viewpoint that is dominant and important in their narrations of their life stories (ibid.243). The reason for this difference, according to the author, lies in the confidence people have in their identities.

> As long as "personal continuity" is a social given, and the speaker is sure of her unquestioned identity, the future-oriented perspective is dominant. As soon as "personal continuity" becomes problematic, the past gains new meaning, and identity is reconstructed with the assistance of a long-term perspective

[continuum]." (ibid.224, my translation)

Migration presents a break in migrants' biographies, and the stated intention to return is the most common and socially acceptable strategy in reconsolidating this break. It is part of an attempt to provide a continuity in one's own life story:

> Although the life plan of migrants is temporally dichotomized into the time of migration and the "time after", the "time after" nevertheless is connected with the "time before"; it is , so to speak, the continuation of the time of migration, which was "interrupted" by the migration period. In the imagination of the women migrants, the intention to return serves to work through the biographical break resulting from their migration, and to create continuity where discontinuity is perceived. (1988a:34)

Time becomes conquerable

The commitment to return also helps to limit the period of one's life spent in Germany. This makes the hard and degrading conditions they have to put up with as something with an end, that is to say, something temporary and bearable.

This is then a strategy of coping. This commitment provides an important defence mechanism in a hostile environment when all else collapses. It helps first-generation German Turks to cope with the problem of meaning in their lives. It is not a mere accident that religious migrants are the ones least eager to talk about returning, contrary to expectations that they will be the ones who will suffer most because of hostility towards Islam, and that they will be those who are most willing to

return to Turkey.37 In their case, the problem of the meaning of the present is solved by religion (see Schiffauer 1984).

The moment the plan and desire to return is given up, the break in the biography has to be worked out in a different way and life has to be organized anew. However, the life to which migrants are subject does not offer much hope for a socially different and better future in Germany. Savings and earnings lose their power and value immediately through giving up the idea that they will be made use of in Turkey. They have a higher value as foreign currency there, than they have in Germany.

The commitment to return allows one to dream of a future that is different from the present. By leaving the future open, it transforms the way the present is seen and experienced. Savings and earnings have a special power and meaning only when they are thought of as being of use in Turkey. In Germany their power and value are different as would the self-image of Turkish migrants be if they gave up the idea of return. According to Schiffauer, "it is exactly this territorial split, the fact that one earns there [Germany] in order to live here [Turkey]", which could only be maintained through a commitment to return, which "seemed to offer the possibility of conquering time" (1990:188). In short, the myth of return transforms the meaning of the time spent in Germany and makes it appear to the migrants that it can be conquered.

With the idea of a future in Turkey, the concept of time acquires interesting qualities in the lives of the migrants. The differences in migrants' notions of time have been emphasized in many studies (Berger and Mohr 1975:167-201; Hettlage-Verjas and Hettlage 1984; Mihciyazgan 1986:151, 161-62; Mihciyazgan 1988a; Schiffauer 1991).

Much earlier than anyone else, Berger and Mohr (1975) drew attention to the peculiarity of foreign workers' experience of past, present and future because of their specific living conditions. He differentiates indigenous from migrant workers' experiences of the present. For both of them, there are two kinds of present: work-time and time off. However, the latter, unlike the former, "does not reenter his own present when he clocks out" (1975:176-189). Thus the present is completely exterior to the migrant worker. Time off cannot be exchanged against anything in the future, and the only acknowledgement he/she can anticipate is through this exchange. Only the money he/she saves can stimulate images of the future and thus of the present. "In exchange for his collection of units he will acquire opportunities in the future, and these will enter his life's time" (1975:168). Otherwise, the present haunts migrants with its meaninglessness. For this reason, time after work and on Sundays is hell (ibid.176).

First-generation migrants often characterize their time off as a time of boredom. Schiffauer argues that the emptiness and monotony of time experienced by migrants in Germany is a consequence of a life lived in a desymbolized realm (entsymbolizierter Raum) (1991:191). This characteristic of time is most apparent on special days and on Turks' religious holidays and festivals. On every religious holiday I heard nothing but complaints about the joy and meaning that was missing for Turkish migrants. The Turkish families I knew got their houses ready by cleaning them thoroughly for their guests, and tried to be nicely dressed when visiting one other, but they all questioned the meaning of these things in Germany.

The commitment to a different future than the present, which finds its expression in the "plan and desire to return" not only puts a limit to one's life in

Germany and the time one spends there, it simultaneously homogenizes the time period between. This in turn gives rise to a kind of indifference to time.

Calendars in German Turks' living-rooms, on which usually only the first days of the izins, i.e., the days they will set off for their annual trip to Turkey are marked, are an indication of this homogeneity and indifference to time. The dates of izin stand out on these calendars as a different point in this block of time, as if it is only then can the different lives that are anticipated be rehearsed and the social recognition that is desired experienced.

The exact date of izin not only remains marked on the calendars which are usually hung up in one of the most visible places in the house (there is often more than one in the same living room), it emerges as an important reference point of time in ordinary conversation. Even while chatting, one hears the exact date expressed almost constantly.38 One hears this exact date throughout the year and, starting from March, the exact number of days left to izin so many times that it acquires a strange kind of reality and importance, overshadowing the importance of the other events that take place before then.

During a phone conversation with Hatice after I had returned to Berlin after a two-week trip to Turkey in April, I told her about my trip and asked them how they were doing, and what the news was. Hatice responded:

> "What kind of news should we have? Work, home, work, home... we work all the time; it is always the same; that's the way it is here. You are the one with the news. You are the one who went to izin. We have to wait another ten weeks."

In Hatice's answer, the complaint about monotony and the taken for granted expectation that this monotony will only be broken by izin are present. Only then will things worth telling be experienced.

Schiffauer draws attention to first-generation Turks' expressions of perceived monotony of the homogeneity of time spent in "der Fremde" (in a foreign place) such as gün doldurmak or gün saymak (to finish our time or our days and to count days) for the period between izins (1991:210).

The dates pass like the telegraph poles, say Berger and Mohr of the migrants' understanding of time in the host society (1975:189). The "desire and the plan" to return prevent Turkish migrants from perceiving their entire lifetime as a period of monotony like the passing telegraph poles. This rhetoric keeps the expectation and dream alive that things will be different in future. Thus despite all the signs that they are already settled in Germany, first-generation Turks do not let go of this so-called "myth of return" from their lives. It is their form of resistance to the hostile present and an expression of their quest for a better future.

To summarize, the much debated rhetoric of return has a reality in the lives of Turkish migrants. Instead of relying on surveys about migrants' intentions to return, a focus on German Turks' practices proves to be more enlightening about the meaning, place and functions of this phenomenon in their lives. Certain practices of German Turks, such as their investments, their uncertainty regarding their children's education, their insistence on transporting their dead back to Turkey, all illustrate that this rhetoric of return is not only something to which they pay lip service, but something in relation to which they alter the organization of their lives. A focus

on this "commitment" to return, detached from the question of whether they will actually return or not and from the issue of belonging, enriches our understanding of German Turks' perceptions of their lives in Germany. It is a crucial building block of their lives there.

The "commitment" to return sustains the liminality of their lives further in Germany. Together with their social, political and legal status in German and Turkish society, it feeds their betwixt-and-between situation. The terms that designate them as a group, almanci, gurbetci and Ausländer, all define them as Other, and associate them with their out-of-placeness in both societies.

Moreover, the rhetoric of return functions as a coping mechanism against the exclusion they experience in German society, as a mechanism of group membership, as a counter to the breaks in their biographies that result from their experience of migration, and as a means of relativizing and limiting the time spent in Germany and the degrading conditions which they have to endure.

NOTES

1. However, one should never underestimate the official legal restrictions attached to German Turks' status in Germany.

2. This does not mean that people did not return to Turkey: in 1975, 148,000 did so, especially at the time when incenives were introduced by the German government (November 3, 1983) for those who applied to return until July 30, 1984 then and would have to leave Germany at the latest by September 30, 1984. ("Gesetz für Förderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft von Ausländern vom 28 November 1983", in Bundesgesetzblatt Teil I 1983, Number 48). Some figures on return migration: 70,905 in 1981; 86,852 in 1982; 60,641 in 1985; 51,934 in 1986.

3. See, for example, the various surveys cited in Sen 1987.

4. Realschule is the school leading up to the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level, which corresponds to the American high school diploma.

5. Zeynep's case shows that one must be cautious in drawing conclusions from Turkish migrants' applications for German citizenship. She is the only one of the Eryilmaz family who had applied for it. When I asked the reason, it became obvious that the decision was not Zeynep's but her father's. Drawing some lessons from the difficulties his other daughter had faced after getting married to someone in Turkey, her father decided that German citizenship would be very convenient for his younger daughter. In this way, the future husband (it being taken for granted that he would be Turkish and would be from Turkey) would not face bureaucratic barriers and as a son-in-law could come to Germany and work for a period of time.

6. Given the current political implications of accepting the presence of Turks in Germany officially, especially when Turkey joining the European Community is an issue, the motives behind such efforts are understandable. Seeing Turks in Germany as being there permanently also has important implications for acquisition of certain rights, especially political rights in Germany. Its decisive importance in creating opportunities for the second and third generations is clear. However, I think the limits of these surveys in illuminating the migrants' world should also be recognized.

7. For a similar pattern of investment by Portuguese migrants to Germany, see Klimt 1989.

8. The Eryilmaz family have been living in Germany for 27 years. They have a fully furnished house in their village, which they occasionally visit for two-three days in their izin, and a fully furnished apartment in Cumali in a small-summer resort near Istanbul, where they spend most of their izins.

9. For the connection between personal or family crises and the decision to return, see Wollbert 1992.

10. Here, advertising and engineering firms and printing houses owned and run by Turks (not many at present, but a growing number) must be considered separately from ordinary Turkish stores or restaurants. Although these prove not to be a hindrance to their owners' return, the relation of the owners of such businesses to their returning is complex.

11. This is one of a number of schools established in Turkey (two being in Izmir) in which the instruction is in German; there is a special quota for returnee children.

12. Information on this company comes from an interview I made with the owner in Berlin in June 1990.

13. For more information on the Berlin Türk Sehitligi, see H. Iskender Türk-Alman Dostlugunun Simgesi: Berlin Türk Sehidliginin Dünü-Bugünü, Istanbul: Bayrak Yayimcilik 1989. Since 1976, no one can be buried in Sehitlik due to lack of space.

14. The first prize in a composition contest open to Turkish school children, in 1992, went to a composition dealing with the question of sending the deceased back to Turkey in relation to the issue of return to Turkey.

15. It means "God protect us from such a thing happening."

16. I recognize that a period of from ten to thirty years might not seem to compare well with the liminal phase of a ritual. However, Turner himself emphasized that this period may in certain cases "cease to be a mere transition and become a set way of life" (Turner 1977:37). He expands this concept to cover phenomena other than those that are strictly ritualistic.

17. Such as family allowances and educational stipends.

18. Although the education system in Germany with regard to foreigners is complicated and Turkish children are over represented in special classes, they are nevertheless educated in German schools. In 1990, the number of Turkish children in German schools reached to 447,845. From these 23,953 were in special classes (Sonderschulen) (Yurtdisi

Isci Hizmetleri enel Müdürlügü 1992:23).

19. In fact, in the 1991 Turkish general elections Turkish migrants who were driven from Germany to the Turkish border to vote by certain political organizations based in Germany had a considerable impact on the increased vote for the right-wing religious Welfare Party (Refah Partisi). Arrangements to allow Turkish migrants to vote at Turkish embassies in Europe are under consideration and find support among migrants.

20. Zeki-Metin Alasya, Sezen Aksu, Coskun Sabah, Ibrahim Tatlises, Ajda Pekkan, are the most popular of such entertainers.

21. I was always informed the same day in Kreuzberg although sometimes misleadingly, about important events that had taken place in Turkey by people who had happened to get the information by phone before it appeared on the radio or in the newspapers.

22. Although this network is not specific to Germany, Germany is its center and it is by far more developed there than in other countries. For example, all European editions of Turkish newspapers are printed in Germany.

23. Some weekly Turkish newspapers which have a low circulation but nonetheless have German editions are not included in these figures.

24. The latter are the terms used in official announcements in Turkey, whether on Turkish television in Turkey or in the Turkish editions of Turkish newspapers. This is the name they are given in the regulations of Turkish ministries, such as the Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education or the Foreign Ministry. The former is used widely in popular discourse.

25. The term Türkiyeli göcmenler (migrants from Turkey) is used by some political organizations in place of Türk göcmenleri (Turkish migrants), so as not to lump every migrant from Turkey into the category of "Turk". There are estimated to be between 300,000 and 500,000 Kurds in Germany. Those who identify themselves as Kurds from Turkey or from Turkish Kurdistan have Turkish citizenship and came to Germany through the bilateral agreement between Turkey and Germany. This new term, Türkiyeli göcmenler (or simply göcmenler), which is used to indicate solidarity among migrants from Turkey who are of different ethnic origin, is preferred by progressive groups in Germany who are fighting for the social and political

rights of migrant groups. Although these groups argue that migrants have become an indispensable part of German society and are in Germany for good and therefore should be given equal rights German citizens, the terms "migrants" or "migrants from Turkey" still imply distinction.

26. In Germany, since the second half of the 1980s, Mitbürger (fellow citizen, here it has the meaning citizen-like) seems to be the term that is gaining the upper hand in Ausländer discourse. It is favored by groups who campaign for foreigners' rights and by Turkish migrants striving for Turks' social, political and legal equality in Germany. In designating migrants as only potential citizens of Germany, it differentiates them from ordinary citizens. It is also interesting to note who else are referred as Mitbürger in Germany. The disabled, for example, fall into this category. The term Mitbürger differentiates those who fall into this category from the Bürger (citizen), a differentiation which simultaneously marginalizes the former.

27. Although Turkish migrants prefer Almanyali to Almanci, because the latter is more derogatory, they dislike the application of either term to them, since they are very well aware of their pejorative associations.

28. For labels similar to almanyali and almanci, see Wollbert 1989.

29. Not infrequently, migrants settle their children's marriages during their izin. Engagements, weddings and circumcision ceremonies mostly take place on these annual trips. Turkish teenagers tend to panic before the family's izin, for fear that they will be forced into arranged marriages or engagements during it. This is stressed in statements by social workers employed at youth counselling centers: "This is why May and June are the busiest months for us," a psychological counsellor at a youth center in Kreuzberg told me (personal communication, 1990).

30. Almanci has become almost a generic name for Turkish migrants living in Europe, one which is applied to them especially when they are in Turkey. Although Germany is the country with the most Turkish migrants, Turks living in other countries of Europe are often lumped together under the category almanci in complaints made by people in Turkey.

31. For a similar case of shared liminality laying the basis for identity, see Bentley (1987:36). For the construction of collective identity, see also Schöning-Kalender (1988).

32. This is by no means to say that German Turks are marginal to the host society. As pointed out earlier, they are irrevocably integrated into the labor force in Germany. A characterization of their lives in Germany using the concept of liminality does not and should not lead to the conclusion that they are transitory, temporary or marginal to German society.

33. She also draws attention to similarities between the identities of Portuguese migrants in other countries of Western Europe such as France, Belgium, and Switzerland and their return orientation (Klimt 1989:60).

34. The unemployment rate among German Turks increased from 13% to 23% in the last ten years. Today unemployment among German Turks is 10 % higher than the unemployment among Germans (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1994:26).

35. Given the increasing level of violence directed against foreigners and official reluctance to take strict measures against neo-Nazi attacks or to grant political rights to foreigners, German Turks' feelings of insecurity are not groundless. In 1992, there were at least 70 arson attacks and 2285 personal attacks against foreigners. The number of those killed and injured in these attacks were 22 and 269 respectively. In the first six months of 1993, the figure for hostile attacks against foreigners was double the figure for the whole of 1991 (SFB documentary, October 3, 1993).

36. Although she knows very little about German history, she is familiar with the popular versions of the relationship between Jews and Germans during the Second World War. Parallels drawn between Turks and Jews in popular jokes (see Toelken 1985) also formed a basis for her spontaneous allusion to the Jews.

37. Although I agree with Mihciyazgan's analysis in general, I think her interpretation of the metaphorical use of "return" entails some problems, namely her conclusions concerning its religious associations and its place in fundamentalist discourse. For her, the desire to return is absent in their discourse, because return means returning to the roots, to Allah, to the religion. I agree that talk of return is relatively absent among religious Turkish migrants, but I think this is not due to the metaphorical meaning it has among them, but is related

rather to other factors. Both in general expressions of the desire and plan to return to Turkey and in fundamentalist discourse, Allaha dönmek, dine dönmek (to turn to Allah, to turn to religion), the verb used is dönmek (to return). However, in the former it has the meaning of "returning" to somewhere or something, and in the latter it describes the act of turning towards something, or orientation towards something. Mihciyazgan translates Allaha döndüm (I turned to Allah) as "Ich bin zu Allah zurückgekehrt" (I have returned to Allah), which I regard as misleading. When one translates the German translation back into Turkish, it becomes "Allah'a geri döndüm" (I returned to Allah), which is not the expression of fundamentalist discourse she is trying to draw attention to. The dönmek (literally, to turn) of the talk of return is in fact geri dönmek (to return), but in the daily language this takes the form of dönmek ("to turn"), in which the meaning "to return" is clear from the context. Dönmek and geri dönmek are used interchangeably in migrants' discourse on returning to Turkey. However, this is not the case with the verb dönmek in the expression Allah'a döndüm (to turn to Allah), which is not used interchangeably with Allah'a geri döndüm (I have returned to Allah). The discussion of the metaphorical use of return is therefore based on a mistranslation.

CHAPTER IV - GERMANY IS THE CHANCE OF ONE'S LIFE: THE SELF-MADE MAN AND THE WANING OF SOCIAL CONTROL

This chapter explores how German Turks regard their lives in Germany as a period of transition. The emphasis will be not on the transitions and transformations migrants' lives go through, which are not in doubt, but on their belief in the transformational character of their experiences in Germany for their lives generally. The consequences of this belief in the organization of their lives will be demonstrated.

Liminality and liminal persona, as entities in transition as yet without place or position, refer to transition and to transitional beings respectively (Turner 1969:103). Transition has cultural properties that are different from those of a stable state. It refers to a process of becoming and to a transformation. The structural and classificatory ambiguity and the confusion of customary categories that characterizes the betwixt-and-between state form the basis for the transformations that take place in the liminal phase.

Transformations in the liminal phase originate in the fact that one is not subject to conventional constraints or to normal classificatory categories, an experience which creates reflexivity. These transformations refer to a change in one's being rather than a mere acquisition of knowledge (Turner 1967:102). Thus in the liminal phase a process of change in one's being takes place.

In certain cases, the transitional phase "may cease to be a mere transition and become a set way of life" (Turner 1977a:37), i.e., a permanent condition (Turner 1977b:107). The characteristics of the liminal phase then become the normal state of affairs. This is what has

happened in the case of German Turks. Due partly to the persistence of the conditions mentioned above that feed Turkish migrants' betwixt-and-between situation, and partly to the functions that seeing their own stay in Germany as temporary fulfills, the transitional and transformatory characteristics of the liminal period became a permanent condition.

The German Experience: A Period of Transformations

Turkish migrants' belief in the transformatory nature of their lives in Germany is grounded in two major factors: a) the impact of official German and Turkish discourses on the anticipated effects of experience in Germany on Turkish migrants; b) and the relatively rapid internal stratification of the Turkish migrant population in Germany.

It is not only German Turks that see their experience of migration as a transformatory phase in their life process, they are also seen as and expected to be transitional in the official discourses of the host and home countries. One official expectation of the Turkish authorities - at least in the earlier phases of labor migration - was that these workers should not only acquire new skills but change and become more civilized during their stay in Europe (Keyder 1989; Abadan-Unat 1976; Abadan-Unat 1985). Although what the Turkish authorities understand from becoming more civilized is far from being clear, it implicitly alludes to a change in the nature of the workers.

This expectation is ambiguous. The workers are expected to change and not to change at the same time. They should change and become "civilized", but at the same time they should not forget their "culture, customs, mores and religion" - i.e., should not change in their "essence" at all. They should change, but not be alienated from the

Turkish society for this would rule out their re-integration. This ambiguity lies behind the many contradictory practices for migrants undertaken by Turkish officials abroad. An example is the provision of Turkish teachers and lessons in Turkish on Turkish culture, customs, mores and religion to migrants' children. In 1992, there were 2,788 Turkish teachers appointed by the Turkish Ministry of Education teaching these courses in Germany (Yurtdisi Isci Hizmetleri Müdürlügü 1992:25).

German society also expects Turkish migrants to change during their stay in Germany. The whole official discourse on the integration of foreigners is centered on this expectation of change, ranging from dress to codes of conduct.[1] Resistance to change in these terms is considered to be a clear sign of their failure to integrate. In short, they are expected to change their whole life-style, but to remain still loyal to "Turkish customs and mores" and to "Turkish culture".

The Rapid Stratification of the Turkish migrant Population

Apart from those Turks who went to Germany for university education, almost all of today's Turkish migrants in Germany went there as workers. However, the composition of the present population and their occupational distribution show that there is a growing tendency towards stratification within the Turkish migrant community, so that Turks penetrate into almost all social strata within German society. For instance, at present in Germany there are about 35,000 Turkish small businessmen, who have created jobs for over 125,000 people (see Sen 1993; Ersöz and Blaschke 1992). With its entrepreneurs, self-employed small businessmen in different areas, and artists and writers, it is very difficult to talk about German Turks solely as Turkish workers any more.

Many of those who went to Germany as workers are today travel agents, tailors, grocers, owners of translation agencies, accountants, social workers, teachers, writers, actors. Around 4,000 businesses run by Turkish migrants are estimated to exist in Berlin alone (Ersöz and Blaschke 1992). This development has happened in a relatively short space of time, within thirty years.[3] People still remember the old days when today's Turkish businessmen were just workers. Both those who have remained in their first social class and those who have managed to move up, i.e., both Turkish workers and Turkish shop-owners and businessmen, recognize that this rise to affluence and "prestige" is something that has been achieved despite the social and economical obstacles of being a foreigner in German society. Those who have moved up see themselves in debt to no one but themselves.

The increasing rate of economic and social mobility within the Turkish population and the fact that this has taken place in a relatively short period in a society where foreigners lack certain social and political rights establish the basis for a belief in the self-made man and for a clear and strong consciousness of one's personal qualities (see also Schiffauer 1991:206).

A year after the fall of the Wall, I am talking with Hatice (fifty five years old), Davut (fifty seven years old) and Haluk (twenty eight years old) at their place. I expressed my astonishment at the number of road-side stalls at the entrance to one of the busiest subway stations in Kreuzberg. Hatice reacted immediately and said:

> "Don't ever look down on those stalls. You wouldn't believe what people have earned from them. Even people who've been just barely getting by have recently made it with those stalls. What are you

> saying, Ayse? Of course their numbers will increase. People are smart. If you know how to work things here, tomorrow you've got it made."[3]

Then she started telling me the story of a Turkish couple who had worked as janitors for almost twenty years and at the same time had a small road-side stall at the square, how they always had a very modest income, but had been very clever in exploiting the situation after the fall of the Wall and now own a shop in Kreuzberg and employ people in their shop and make a lot of money. She kept comparing their previous and present lives, both financially and in terms of the respect they have in the community. Her 28-year-old son Haluk agreed with his mother in describing the opportunities Germany offers to people: "Take this place; here you've got to take advantage of every opportunity. Do you understand? Then you'll see from where to where a person can go." The father Davut immediately joined in the conversation with a different example:

> "After work, the man and his son carved some pieces from the [Berlin] Wall and the wife sold them at a stand at the [old] border [with East Berlin]. One has to be clever, a conman here. Then, even in the space of one day your situation will change. You put together what you need."

Then all the members of the family started quarrelling and blaming each other for their laziness and slowness in making use of the opportunities which life in Germany does not fail to offer.

These two examples are about people who have moved up because they were smart in taking advantage of the opportunities offered. They see upward mobility as being dependent on one's courage and cleverness in taking advantage of the opportunities Germany offers and which

lie at arm's length. It is also a shared belief within the migrant population that those who have become rich and successful owe this to their ability to exploit opportunities, to their courage and to their lack of morals (according to those who have remained as factory workers).

Reluctance to Recognize Forces Other Than Themselves

An important consequence of this widely held belief in self-made men is Turkish migrants' reluctance to recognize forces other than themselves. They have made it on their own, and they have control of their lives. This is a widely held contention. Their socially and politically ambivalent position, which defies conventional categories, and their betwixt-and-between situation also feed this reluctance. Consequently, a relative freedom in their encounters in different domains is observable in their political and religious activities, in their relationship with their former "significant others", and in the way they interact with Germans.

Relative freedom in political and religious activities

In various aspects of their lives, Turkish migrants are outside the control of the Turkish state. As Turkish citizens, they are subjects of the Turkish state. However, there is a considerable social and political space in which control by the Turkish state and Turkish society is absent. In addition to this space of freedom, they are also aware that the Turkish state fails or is reluctant to protect their rights in Germany. In fact, their frequent complaint about their having been forgotten by the Turkish state points to this awareness. In order to be able to pressure the Turkish state into being more sensitive to their problems, German Turks now campaign for a separate ministry in Turkey to deal solely with their problems.

German Turks are aware that they can organize themselves apart from the Turkish state. From this point of view, they enjoy relative freedom in Germany, especially in political and religious domains. Examples of this freedom are most apparent in the activities of Turkish political and religious groups and organizations in Germany. The number of Turkish associations and organizations in Berlin, in 1991 was 102 (Yurtdisi Isci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlügü 1992:11). Turkish migrants' religious groups, which are very well and very openly organized in Germany, could not have been organized legally in Turkey until recently. In fact, German-based religious organizations and fundamentalists play an important role in organizing similar groups in Turkey. People loyal to the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Isleri Bakanligi) have control of only fourteen of the thirty mosques in Berlin. The rest are under the control of Süleymancis and of the Federation of Islamic Associations and Communities (13 and 3 mosques respectively).[4] Islamic religious orders such as the Kaplancis[5] and Nurcus, would have been declared illegal in Turkey until recently. Here, it is important to remember that the activities of these mosques reach different domains of German Turks' lives. These religious groups organize themselves as self-help groups and provide many services for their members and adherents.[6]

Apart from the numerous Islamic groups, Turkish right-wing and left-wing political groups and the Kurdish and Alawi organizations enjoyed and still enjoy freedoms in Germany that would have not been possible and to some extent still are not possible in Turkey.[7]

After the Turkish military coup in 1980, many left- and right-wing militants took refuge in Germany and continued activities there which would have been illegal in Turkey.[8] Against the activities of such political groups

among Turkish migrants, especially the Kurdish and Alawi organizations, the Turkish state was and is powerless. They are not subject to the legal sanctions of the Turkish state in terms of organizing themselves. These organizations were effective not only in laying a favorable basis for the legitimacy of their cause in the international arena, but also in the forming an important financial source for such "illegal" organizations in Turkey. These organizations in Germany and their extensive and successful activities feed an awareness among German Turks that the Turkish state is not only reluctant "to embrace" the Turks in Germany, but also that in certain respects it is not capable of controlling their lives there.

Name-giving fashions among German Turks

There is a weakening of the influence of Turkish society on different domains of German Turks' lives. Basgöz's study of onamastics is an interesting illustration of this. The names that have become popular among German Turks show a different dynamic than those in Turkey. Those who play an important role in setting the fashion in names in Turkey fail to have such a role in Germany among Turkish migrants.

The names of those who occupy the higher ranks within society, military officers, teachers, governors, as well as names of their children play a leading role in establishing patterns of name-giving, especially in the small towns and rural areas in Turkey. However, Turks in Germany show a completely different tendency in this respect. Those who play the role of significant others in Turkey in fashions of name-giving have no influence on Turkish migrants in Germany, where Turkish soccer players and Turkish film actors on the popular videos set the fashion in name-giving.[9]

Tanya (eight years old), Emrah (five years old) and Dusen Sila (seven years old) were playing when I entered Güllü's apartment. I knew Tanya and Emrah but was seeing Dusen for the first time. Her name caught my attention. I was already familiar with the story of Tanya's name, which is Russian. In order to get through official Turkish regulations concerning which names are allowed for the children born of Turkish parents, the parents changed "j" to "y", thus turning the German spelling from Tanja to Tanya. However, the grandparents (who are also in Germany) were bitter that a grandchild of theirs had been given a "strange" name without their opinion being asked. Thus they intervened in the choice of name for the second grandchild. The consensus was for the name Emrah, after a well-known arabesk singer in Turkey.[10]

Dusen's name is not Turkish either, but again Russian. I asked the mother its meaning.

> "During my pregnancy, I read Chenghis Aytmatov's story Dusen, and I was very much influenced by it, so we named her Dusen. She has another name, Sila [which means homesickness], and this occurred to me while watching a program on Turkish children living in the USA during my pregnancy. The name of the Turkish girl who won the first prize in a poetry competition was Sila. So we called her Dusen Sila."

Although the stories of these names also have something to do with the parents' idiosyncracies, when considered together with Basgöz's research on onomastics, they point to a particular trend among German Turks. Among German Turks, parents' idiosyncracies play a greater role in choosing names for their children. The name fashions in Turkey are not copied among Turkish migrants in Germany and they prefer to name their children after famous people from Turkish media.

Reluctance to recognize the sanctions of German society

Laws that are not based on the customs and conventions recognized by the people living in the society have a limited grip on them.

Turkish migrants are aware that they are not German citizens and that as foreigners they lack certain civil and political rights. They are therefore subject to different regulations in certain aspects of their lives. Although they are subject to German law (for example to the criminal law and to the Ausländer law) they are generally reluctant to recognize the sanctions of the society they are living in.

The difference between Turks and Germans in terms of "culture" is a factor that reinforces the migrants' widely held contention that the customs, mores and regulations of the Germans should not apply to them and that the Germans cannot understand the dynamics of the Turkish migrants' world. "What do Germans understand of the way we do things, of our traditions? Every one has their own way of eating yoghurt. The Germans do that one way, we do it differently" are frequent complaints of German Turks especially in cases of conflict with the Germans. Such complaints are grounded on this contention that the two cultures are irreconcilably different from each other.

Turkish migrants' belief in the irreconcilable difference between their culture and German culture is also shared by the German public, and in certain cases, by the German authorities. This presumed discrepancy between German laws and Turks' customs and mores, on the basis of which German Turks are expected to behave, comes increasingly to the fore in the courts. There is now a growing practice of using anthropologists or other social scientists familiar with "Turkish culture and customs" in

cases relating to German Turks in the courts. This practice, which is aimed at eliminating injustice, ends up giving legitimacy to the contention that the laws and regulations of German society could hardly be applicable to Turkish migrants as they stand, or to members of other ethnic groups, who are assumed to act in accordance with their "immutable culture".[11] Some Turks who are brought to court, aware of the legitimacy this rhetoric of immutable cultural difference has in the courts, play on it and as a result come up with some very interesting claims about Turkish customs and interpretations of certain forms of behavior.[12]

Turkish migrants' reluctance to recognize the conventions of German society is apparent in public areas where Turks and Germans come into contact. They are significantly deficient when it comes to taking the conventions of daily life in Germany into account. On the other hand, the acknowledgement of another Turk's presence in the subway immediately changes Turks' behavior. I have noticed several times that Turks who hardly take notice of the remarks of German passengers in the subway and who loudly complain about the inapplicability of the German way of doing things to themselves (these are mostly related to the behavior of their children, their own relation to children) react differently to similar remarks from Turks. The latter has somehow more legitimacy and effectivity. This is not the case only with the first generation but also with the second and third generations.[13]

In terms of the law, there are even some attempts although within a small group of Turkish migrants to bring another sort of law into effect and to pronounce judgement according to it. Some adherents of the religious order Süuleymancis are seeking to establish their own courts in Kreuzberg, where conflicts and problems amongst themselves

are to be solved according to sheriat (see DGB 1980).[14]

In short, at the basis of Turkish migrants' reluctance to recognize any force other than themselves lies their contention that their position is unique and that it defies conventional categories. They are self-made men, and only they themselves are responsible for their deeds.

Life in The Making

There are three major consequences of German Turks' belief in the self-made man and of their view of their lives in Germany as forming a period of becoming: the experience of seeing their life in the making, the development of a consciousness of time, and the waning of social control.

Turkish migrants' belief in the transformational nature of their lives in Germany unfolds into an awareness of life as a process. Life is something in the making. The differences mentioned in the chapter three between how Turkish migrant women in Germany and how Turkish women in Turkey narrate their life stories are related to this awareness. Migrants' narratives of their lives, in which the predominance of a processual perspective is apparent, are a sign of their consciousness of a change in their lives. In this way, migrants try to bind the changes and the different phases in their lives together and give them continuity. Moreover, an awareness of life as a process and as a series of changes is also an awareness of a future which is neither more nor less predetermined. Schiffauer calls this the Turkish migrants' "discovery of a future" (1991:106).[15] He interprets this awareness in relation to German Turks' use of the term istikbal, "future". This term, considered as an abstract future, can be taken as referring to their children's future or to

their own, but it always refers to a state of being in which dreams are realized. In this sense, the term is linked with an ideal, and like all ideals, it includes the notions of a qualitative improvement and a difference from the present.[16]

An awareness of a future different from the present, together with the contention that migrants need be grateful to no one for their achievements,[17] give rise to a feeling that they themselves are the masters of their fate (see also Schiffauer 1991:177-78). Thus, life is not only in the making this process is in their own hands.

At the beginning, Mustafa did not believe that my husband, who is Tuurkish and has been living in Germany for fourteen years, had not dedicated these years to achieving an ideal. Mustafa used every opportunity to criticize us, the main target of his criticisms being my husband. He said:

> "You struggled here for so many years and never thought about your future. It's not right. All those lost years are a shame. Whatever you are going to do, you will do here. If you go back to Turkey without having prepared anything, you'll be lost. If someone wants to do something, they do it here. You can't do it there. You'll find your future here. It won't work without a plan and a program."

There is this contention that the future requires a program. After seeing the new spacious apartment we were able to move into, he continued to criticize us:

> "OK, great, I hope you enjoy living here. Your apartment is beautiful. But instead of paying so much rent for this apartment, you should be using it [the money] to prepare for your future. You're not taking

advantage of your opportunities at all."

In his criticisms, it is apparent that work and residence in Germany are seen as being the chance of one's life to prepare for a better and more secure future. Moreover, the person himself or herself is seen to be the only one who can be responsible for realizing this future. When one plans and organizes one's life according to an ideal, then one should achieve it. Thus everything depends on the individual himself or herself.

What is important is that this future is not seen as a distant ideal in which only a few have faith, but is believed to be realizable if one makes use of the opportunities Germany offers and adjusts one's life according to an appropriate plan and program for this future.

These plans play a decisive part in setting German Turks' priorities and in giving meaning to certain practices in their daily lives. Those activities that are thought of as being an integral part of the plan and program are accepted more readily. One hears relatively few complaints about these in comparison with those whose relationship to one's planned future are not clear.[18]

Practices and needs acquire meaning in relation to their contribution to the desired ends. For Nurgül (the daughter-in-law of the Eryilmaz family), the reason for her in-laws' continuing to stay after their aims have been realized is not clear:[19]

> "God knows, I don't understand. What kind of greed for money is this? How many years have they worked, put up with all kinds of difficulties? They have two completely furnished houses in Turkey [actually one house and one apartment]. What they are still doing

here is beyond me. Their children are no longer at school. After having put together everything you might ever need, why on earth do people stay here? If you could see the houses [in Turkey], how full they are of furniture and appliances. They have everything. In my view it's some kind of sickness."

She was so puzzled with their extended stay in Germany that she could hardly give meaning to it other than by diagnosing it as a kind of sickness.

Two years later, with the completion of Eryilmaz's third house in Turkey in sight,[20] the father , Mustafa, decided to take up an offer to retire (Sozialplan). He had had enough, he told me. Güllü explained his retirement: "we said, 'you're very tired, don't work anymore; look, your house is going to be finished, what are you working for?!"[21]

Five months later, after Mustafa's retirement, the family and I were talking about the increasing hostility and attacks against Turks in Germany. To my surprise, Mustafa, who always claimed that there was no danger at all to Turks in Germany and who always quarreled vigorously with his son on this subject, started arguing that the situation had become terrible, almost unbearable for Turks. For the first time, he claimed that hostility against Turks was on the increase. Seeing my astonishment, the eldest son intervened and laughingly explained the change in his father's attitude:

"You know our house [the third one in Turkey] is just about finished. Moreover, he's retired. As you see, it's become impossible for my father to stay here any more. When we said anything to him about Ausländerfeindlichkeit [hostility against foreigners] before, there was always 'just one more house' he's

got to do. He said that then 'there is no such thing'."

In short, the plans and programs for one's anticipated future relativize the perceived burden of one's job and the problems one is confronted with in Germany. This is not always immediately apparent. Migrants occupy themselves with a lot of things at home and visit each other frequently. Their frequent complaints of boredom in Germany, especially during holidays and days off (Schiffauer 1991; Berger 1975), seem to arise out of the difficulty of integrating these activities into their plans for the future. Because of this difficulty, the meanings of these activities come to be questioned.

One meets this problem of giving meaning to practices that are not seen as contributing to the realization of the desired future (in the first generation), particularly in respect to their consumption. While goods that are thought to be essential for the desired life-style are bought almost without hesitation -- despite their high costs --, such as a set of fine china or gold-plated cutlery, things that are going to be consumed immediately or which do not make any obvious contribution to the aspired life-style for the future are avoided as being useless and expensive (for example, a quart of ice cream or even the set-square the child needs for school). The purchase of these items are frequent causes of conflicts between parents and children as was the case in the Eryilmaz family.

Within the context of their legal and social positions, which are fragmented between two societies, German Turks' contentions that they are somehow outside both the conventions and the protection of the two societies (Turkish and German) unfolds into an attitude that they have to rely solely on their own means and

abilities. Combined with a belief in the transformational character of their experience of migration, this view gives rise to an awareness that their success in achieving the anticipated future depends on them, namely on their manipulation of everything they have, according to a plan and a program. The consequences of this are a waning of social control among German Turks, and the instrumentalization of everything they have at hand including their interpersonal relationships in Germany.

The Waning of Social Control

The harsh confrontation between police and radical left-wing groups in Berlin on the night of May 1 in 1987 was the beginning of what would later become a quasi-traditional May 1 event in Kreuzberg. Although the "riots" initially broke out against the authorities' insistence on the official registration of people in Berlin, this initial cause was very quickly forgotten and the riots turned into violent clashes between people living in Kreuzberg and police.[22] Since then, and despite some changes in the composition of those taking part in these events[23], it has become customary to have a confrontation with the police in Kreuzberg on May 1. People living there take precautions for the violence expected on May 1 each year.[24] The clashes on May 1, 1987, which left more than thirty cars destroyed, numerous shops damaged, and one big supermarket totally demolished, continued on and off for ten days. I started living with a Turkish family in Kreuzberg immediately after May 1, 1987, so when I moved in things were still continuing at night, and people were still very excited and worried about what was happening.

Stories about police terror, about how the protesters burned cars, set huge garbage containers on fire and barbecued the meat they had plundered from the supermarkets in the area, and how people looted the shops that had been demolished, were the favorite subjects of

conversation among the Turkish inhabitants of the area. Some were angry that, despite the Turks' carefully refraining from active participation in any confrontation with the police (in 1 May 1987), these disturbances would reinforce the negative image of Kreuzberg and of Turks in the public eye.[25]

All the Turks I was in contact with agreed on the Turks' non-involvement in the violent clashes, and their involvement in the looting that followed. In fact, who took part in these raids, which family made how many trips in their cars to the demolished supermarket, and stories about Turkish women jumping over the ruins, their shopping bags full of looted goods, were favorite subjects of conversation among visitors to the family I stayed with and of the customers in the shop where I worked.

Although a little bit ashamed and disapproving, people talked at length about the Turks involved in the looting. In all these conversations, the central theme was how astonished they had been to see other Turks' impudence, to see that they, as grown men and women, as families, had taken part in such shameful acts in the presence of their fellow countrymen. Talking at home about these actions, Banu said casually

> "Tarik's family made the trip by car three times. And they all piled in the back on each trip.
> Güllü: Here, there is no being embarrassed or being ashamed. OK! You aren't ashamed of the Germans, but aren't you ashamed of your fellow-villager or of someone from your home region?
> Ali: This is the last place where you would be embarrassed. Here, everything is based on [your own] interest. You save yourself. When you find something, you should take hold of it quick. People don't think like you and me. This is Germany. You know, if you

didn't do it, you'd be a fool. Shame and embarrassment don't work here."

In the shop, I heard a similar kind of criticism and commentary. One customer, criticizing other Turks, said excitedly, "People here do nothing but fill their own sacks. There are some Turks who have no shame, who took part in it [the looting]. Would you ever dare to do that in Turkey? You wouldn't dare. This is Germany, Germany."

This is Germany

Both Banu and the customer in the shop used the expression burasi Almanya, "this is Germany", as if it were a self-evident explanation of the behavior they were criticizing. I was to hear this "explanation" often in my further encounters with Turks in Berlin. What does it point to?

When we examine the context in which this expression is used, we see that it figures as an explanation for those kind of encounters of German Turks which would otherwise be seen as anomalies within the framework of the accepted moral codes of the "normal state of things."[26] It points to situations in which the "normal state of affairs" is put into brackets, i.e., it underlines a situation of relative freedom from accepted moral codes. However, this relaxation is conditional and is seen as being restricted to Germany. The German context is seen to be extraordinary, because of the particular constellation of migrants' living conditions there. Their lives in Germany are believed to have this extraordinary quality in comparison with Turkey. In this comparison, what they know from Turkey or what they think to be the case in Turkey implicitly represents the ordinary or normal state of things. Their exceptional position in Germany allows different codes and forms of interaction from those in

Turkey. In this context, Germany acquires the characteristics of a "desymbolized realm" (Schiffauer 1991:176) for Turks. Their lives in this desymbolized realm are believed to be free from some of the constraints and imperatives they would otherwise be subject to in Turkey. The phrase "this is Germany" is an expression of this bracketing.

However, in most cases, extraordinariness is equated with limitlessness. That is, the difference in terms of codes and norms of interaction in Turkey and in Germany is not between A and B, in which both sides have concrete but different contents, but in fact between the norms thought to be applicable in Turkey and criteria that is defined by their absence. This framework gives rise to what Schiffauer calls "the image of limitlessness" (das Bild der Grenzenlosigkeit) (1991:326). According to him, it is the discrepancy between Turkish migrants' public and private lives in Germany and the absence of a traditional ethic to control situations - as would have been the case in their village lives - that are responsible for this image of limitlessness in their encounters (ibid.267). "[T]he lack of any limits differentiates the situation in Germany from that in Turkey" (ibid.326). The former is an outlook that is relatively free from moral constraints, in which everything seems possible.

This outlook results in a general weakening of social control among German Turks. The factors involved are, again a) Turkish migrants' perceptions of their lives in Germany as liminal, as a period of transformation and as the chance of their lives, which in turn result in the instrumentalization and mobilization of everything they have for the ends desired; b) their contention that neither German norms nor codes nor the imperatives that would be applicable in Turkey are relevant (because of German Turks' peculiar living situation in Germany) in

regulating their lives in the extraordinary context of Germany; c) the weakening of some 'traditional' social control channels such as hemserilik or neighborhood relations (see chapter five); d) and relatedly, the weakening of their former reference groups, which have lost their significance and power but have not yet been replaced entirely by new ones. All these factors pave the way for a general weakening of the social pressure which is felt to come from outside and for a lessening of social control among German Turks.

Haste and lack of professionalism

The relative erosion of Turkish migrants' customary conventions gives them more freedom and flexibility in making use of what they have. This, in turn, results in the further mobilization and instrumentalization of all elements in their grasp from different cultural traditions. The outcomes of this process are hasty, very unprofessional, second-rate, but very creative and daring constellations in their encounters and dealings. This hastiness and lack of professionalism are apparent in all sorts of activities that German Turks engage in in Germany, ranging from running a grocery store to running a cable television channel.

Out of the casual meetings of three co-villagers, that is hemseris (two of whom were relatives) developed the idea that together they could rent a hall in central Kreuzberg and run a restaurant with Turkish music.[27] Two of them had regular jobs on a factory conveyor belt, so they would work in turns in the restaurant. With the money borrowed from their relatives and from the bank, they opened their restaurant without having any experience of such a business. Although the restaurant suffered badly from disorganization, they managed to run it for one and a half years. Then, despite the good business it was doing,

it had to close because the partner responsible for taking care of the rent and taxes failed to do so. He simply did not pay the bills or taxes, nor answer letters from the landlord, lawyers or the tax office. When the restaurant was closed down, he was as surprised as the other partners. Their business ended as abruptly as it started, without much planning. Two of the partners were left with just their previous jobs, and each with approximately DM 20,000 in debt. The third one joined another partnership and opened up a new Turkish restaurant in another part of Berlin.

BTT (Berlin Türkiyem Televizyonu), founded in 1986, is one of the cable channels broadcasting in Berlin. Like ATT (Europe Turkish Television), BTT was set up by people who had neither the technical skills nor any experience of television broadcasting.[28] Until recently, and despite the regulations prohibiting the practice, it relied on programs videoed off Turkish television in Turkey. Someone hired by the company in Turkey would videotape programs and send them to BTT weekly by charter flight from Turkey. Apart from these ready-made programs, BTT broadcasts news (both local and from Turkey), entertainment by Turkish artists living in Berlin (especially musicians), programs with Turkish specialists such as doctors, social workers, teachers, audience contests, musical request programs and, most importantly, advertising by Turkish shops and businesses which targets the Turkish population in Berlin.

Despite five years in the business, the initial lack of technical skills and experience in this company still characterizes its broadcasts, which continue to be unprofessional and to be undertaken with maximum economy of both equipment and staff.[29] It is not unusual for programs not to be ready even an hour before they are due to be broadcast; a different program may be transmitted

from the one that has been announced; in music request programs, a listener may request a song which BTT says, with apologies that it does not have, whereupon it announces another, only to end up playing a third, completely different song; and private discussions by phone may be entered into with the television audience during the broadcasts.[30]

Like the restaurant just mentioned that had to be closed down, this company has also had problems with rent, taxes, as none of these formalities are handled properly on time. Because they still have not applied for a parking space in front of their studios, a whole day's broadcasting might be messed up because of a quarrel with the police who are trying to tow away the company-car.

When we look at the biographies of Turkish shopowners or of Turkish businessmen in general in Berlin, two things become apparent: first, most of the time they do not have the appropriate experience and technical skills in the area they are active in. Secondly, before taking up their present activity, they tried all sorts of different jobs. Mahmut, the owner of twenty-two Imbißes and an employee in a branch of savings-and-loan bank, is a good example. Before deciding on this area, he tried wholesaling fruits and vegetables, then opened up a bakery, and finally a language school. Or take Tarik, who while working as an ordinary worker in a factory invested his savings in a travel agency together with two of his friends and became a travel agent. After this agency went bankrupt, he decided to try his hand at real estate. After his disappointment in this area, he again started work in a fish factory as an ordinary worker.

Dumrul and his family ran a grocery in a Turkish district for ten years. It was doing very good business, but one day, a fire that started in the Imbiß stall next

to his shop burned it to the ground. He got money from his insurance, but instead of reopening the grocery store, to everyone's surprise, he opened up a jewelry shop on the same spot on the basis that "this was a booming business." He runs his jewelry shop with the same personnel who ran the grocery store. They changed their area of activity abruptly, although none of them had any experience in this new market before.

In short, people are active in areas in which they are not competent. In fact, this lack of competence and planning are the most important factors in the high rate of changing hand and bankruptcy among Turkish firms in Berlin (70.6% between 1981 and 1991) in general, especially, in the service sector and in food and catering (78% between 1981 and 1991) (Ersöz and Blaschke 1992:14).

However, this lack of competence and technical skill is not conceived as a problem by migrants. Very few Turkish businessmen started their business with the appropriate knowledge, skill and experience, although many of them have nonetheless prospered. People have witnessed their success.[31] Secondly, since those who decide to go into business do not have any sort of technical competence, the decisions as to what kind of business to run are not made on the basis of competence, but on other factors such as the existence of a gap in the supply of certain services. As a result, when one has the appropriate capital, all areas are seen to be within one's reach. An extreme example of this attitude is the personal card below. Y.B. is announcing himself in his personal card as a (Problem Löhser aller art) "solver of all sorts of problems" and this is the only information given about his profession.[32]

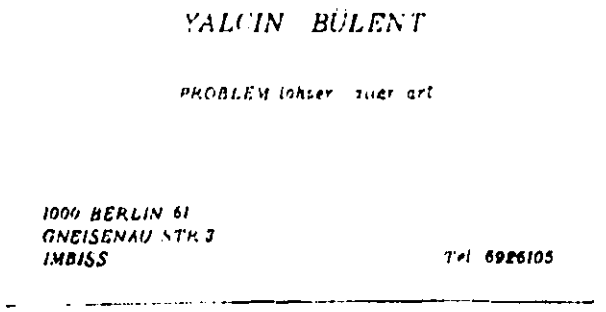

Fig. 1

However, he has not even bothered to pay any attention to the German on his personal card, but has misspelt Löser (solver) as Löhser, which is meaningless. Without any hesitation or urge to check his German at all, he let this personal card be printed, and he is using it. In his bad spelling, however, he is not unique among Turkish businessmen in Berlin. In fact this is a very widespread phenomenon.

The language of advertisements

The spelling and grammatical mistakes on signs, announcements and advertisements for Turkish shops and services in Berlin, whether in German or in Turkish, are striking. When we examine these, we see basically three types of mistake which businessmen share with other Turkish migrants. First, both German and Turkish words are misspelt with phonetics predominating over the written language.[33] Secondly, Turkish and German are mixed up together in the same sentence. Either German words are used within sentences which are otherwise in Turkish (see Tekinay 1987:98), and/or German words and terms are treated as if they were Turkish words and used with Turkish plural, possessive, locative, ablative, suffixes. The former is usually, although not always, the case with concepts with which Turkish migrants have come into contact for the first time in their daily lives in Germany. These originate from their new situation, such as being a worker: Kollege (workmate, colleague), Arbeit

(work), Versicherung (insurance), arbeitslos (unemployed), krank (sick), or terms that are peculiar to the consumer world in Germany and to German bureaucracy and society, such as Ausländerpolizei (foreigners' police), Wohnberechtigungsschein (official status as "needy" with respect to housing, permitting the holder preferential access to socially subsidized housing), Polizeianmeldung (registration with the police). German is used for the concepts they are not familiar with from their previous experience, or which do not have equivalents as such in Turkish.

However, in cases of the second type, German words used with Turkish endings are not necessarily new to migrants or peculiar to German society. An advertisement in a newspaper reads: Biz müsterinin **netini** ariyoruz (we are looking for nice customers). Here, **net** in netini is the German word **nett**, nice, which here is treated as a Turkish word within an adjectival phrase with the suffix - ini. The adjective "nice" is neither new to German Turks nor a concept peculiar to the German language. The Turkish word for it could easily have been used here without any problem.

Thirdly, advertisements and announcements are written in Turkish but take the form of word-for-word translations from German. Mistakes become especially apparent in expressions. A very common one, for example, is using ikinci el for Zweite Hand (second-hand), for which the appropriate expression in Turkish is elden düşme. Erroneous capitalization (from the standard capitalization of nouns in German) and incorrect punctuation in Turkish belong to this category of mistake. However, one should note that these mistakes do not have any consistency within the same text, so they are not mistakes originating with a good knowledge of German.

Although the Turkish and German spoken by Turkish migrants are interesting subjects in themselves, and have their own peculiarities, it is not my intention to analyze them here. Instead, I want to draw attention to the hastiness and unprofessional nature of German Turks' activities, including Turkish businessmen in Germany, who make the same sort of mistakes with spelling and grammar as other Turkish migrants.[34]

At one of Berlin's most famous and oldest Turkish restaurants (Imbiß branch) two Turks, one the person running the Imbiß, and the other an employee of the place, are busy writing out the price list with a paintbrush on a board to be hung on the wall. As the Imbiß is located in a very busy shopping area of Berlin and visited as much by Germans as by Turks (if not more), the menu has to be given in both Turkish and German. However, it is apparent that they have begun the job without any proper preparations. They run into difficulties in finding the German equivalent of the Turkish dishes and the appropriate German wording for them. They keep asking me or other customers they know personally to correct them. Everything is being decided on the spot. Sometimes they find the appropriate term they were looking for only after writing down something else, or else they realize from customers' remarks that they have misspelt the words in Turkish and German. But they continue, and because it is not possible to correct the mistakes immediately, all spelling mistakes, and the different German names for the same vegetables, remain on the list. Two weeks later I see the list hanging on the wall with no corrections at all. After two years, it was still there as it was before, only new prices had been posted over the old ones.

In this case, two issues are important: first, they started writing without preparation, i.e. they did not find out the proper names and terms beforehand, and

secondly, even though they noticed that the board was full of mistakes, they have not bothered to correct them for at least two years. Many shop owners have their shop signs and announcements prepared professionally and pay for them, but they still do not feel any need to have them proof-read beforehand. Such carelessness is responsible for several misspelt shop signs and business advertisements in Berlin.

Like everything else, business is also done in great haste as if one were catching a train, and use is made of the chance of one's life by mobilizing everything one has at that moment. The poster below is taken down from a wall in Kreuzberg in 1988, demonstrates all the characteristics mentioned above.[35]

MÜJDE MÜJDE

Daha müregkebi kurumamış Yeni eserler yepyeni Besteler

ABDULLAH CANSES Avrupada ilkdefa türk müzik severlere **çok sesli** Türk Müziğini Yediden yetmişe veyâ Halk ozanından hafif Müziğe hatta Kılâsik sanat musikisine Varana kadar Her müzik severin Zevkle dinleyebileceği Özellikle Genç müzik severlerin Günün müzik Anlayışına Kulak tutup ona göre Çok uzun süren bir çalışmadan sonra **ABDULLAH CANSES den** Modern cıhazlarla Kaliteli kayıtlarla Eco ve Halgereit ve sinte zayzerli zaund gibi lüks âletler Sâyesinde sizlere benzeri görülmemiş bir Eserler mânzuması Sunmakla gurur duyarız not Kasetlerimizi her kaset satılan yerlerden Bulmak Mümkündür Yalnız Önce dinleyin sonra karar verin.

The text on the poster reads:[36]

A Spring Day

Good News

Brand new musical works

Abdullah Canses is in Europe to offer polyphonic Turkish music to the connoisseur, both young and old. His repertoire encompasses traditional folk music as practised by troubadours and the classical Turkish music of the high. His new work also incorporates the modern sound and taste which young appreciate. **Abdullah Canses**, in his latest cassette, uses high technology to register his music such as "Eco" and "Helgereit" and synthesizers. We are indeed proud to present his work to the public at large. The cassettes are available in every music store. We suggest that you listen to it before deciding to buy.

Some words (not only nouns, and not all the nouns as in German) are capitalized, such as Yeni (new), Her (every), Besteler (compositions), Zevkle (with joy). Some Turkish words are misspelt, such as müregkebi instead of murekkebi (its ink), manzumasi instead of manzumesi (an epic); there are mistakes in punctuation. There are grammatical mistakes, such as using yerlerden instead of yerde, in the sentence. Kasetlerimizi her kaset satan yerlerden bulmak mümkündür. Zaund, which is meaningless in this form, is preferred to Turkish ses (sound), and misspelt. Technical terms such as echo and Halgereit appear in German, but the latter is again misspelt. Although it is obvious that the poster has been printed, no one involved in the process of its preparation has bothered to have it proof read.

Apart from the text, the photograph on the poster, which we learn from the sign at the bottom right was taken in a photographic studio, hints at the hastiness and carelessness involved in the preparation of the

advertisement. The baby's high-chair, doubling as a stand for the electric organ, was obviously the first thing at hand. The musician has paid the greatest attention to his suit, but it is difficult to figure out why there should be a name-tag attached to his pocket, since this is one of those name-tags used to identify staff in German factories and shops.

The important things in all the above examples are the fact that migrants dare to engage in activities in which they have neither the experience nor the technical skills, and that they feel no social pressure in respect of their quality and professionalism that are strong enough to make them overcome their carelessness.

NOTES

1. Similar expectations can be observed in society at large in Turkey. These are particularly apparent in criticisms directed against German Turks' codes of dress and forms of interaction.

2. The estimates for the number of Turkish businessplaces in Berlin for 1994 change between 8,000 and 10,000 (Blaschke, personal communication 1994).

3. She is familiar with such stories about Turks and therefore the reference to "people" in her conversation is to Turks.

4. Süleymancis are an Islamic order active in Turkey and Germany.

5. Kaplancis are an outlawed religious brotherhood. They are based in Germany and active in both Turkey and Germany.

6. However, this should not be understood as these groups being completely independent of Turkey. It is a known fact that most of these organizations are affiliated to political parties and religious organizations active in Turkey (for instance with Refah Partisi).

7. The majority of Turks adhere to the Hanefi legal code, one of the four branches of Sunni Islam; the Alawis, on the other hand, are adherents of a belief system fitting loosely under a Shi'ite Muslim rubric. They believe to be the descendants of the Caliph Ali from whom, according to their belief, the Caliphate was wrongfully stolen. For Alawis in Berlin, see Mandel (1988).

8. After the military coup in Turkey (September 12, 1980), the number of refugees to Germany from Turkey increased significantly. With a figure of 57,913, they composed the 53.7% of all the refugees applying Germany for asylum in 1980 (Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge, in Yurdisi Isci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlügü 1992:9).

9. In Turkey too, the practice of naming children after popular television characters, such as J.R., Samantha, Laura, or after left-wing political heroes, such as Ernesto, Che, is increasing. However, this practice has by no means set a trend in Turkey. Making up new names is quite widespread among German Turks. Three sisters are called Belma, Belgin, and Berlin. The first two are common female names in Turkey, but their father chose the third because the child was born in Berlin, and Berlin started with "B", thus matching the other daughters' names. Such

examples are not rare among German Turks. Here, it is noteworthy that the figures that set fashions in Germany are completely different from those in Turkey, but they still come from Turkey. Although fashions in names have a different dynamic among German Turks in Germany, they nonetheless originate in Turkish society.

10. Arabesk refers to a type of music which utilizes Western instruments in large orchestras and a simple form of polyphony. It is often said to reflect the influence of Arab music, but it is actually a native form. This type of music is very popular both in Turkey and among German Turks in Germany.

11. For a criticism of this practice, see Wolff (1992).

12. For instance, one Turk being tried in the courts argued that stabbing someone in his or her back, according to Turkish custom, shows not an intention to kill but merely to wound (personal communication from a Turkish anthropologist who worked as an expert witness in this case).

13. The kinds of activities these people would refrain from in the presence of other Turks cover a wide spectrum from cursing loudly and talking about intimate sexual encounters to explicitly disturbing other passengers.

14. Sheriat is law based on the Koran.

15. For the development of a notion of biography among German Turks, see Schiffauer 1991:174.

16. Mihciyazgan (1988b) criticizes migration studies which approach the subject from the perspective of modernization, in which the possibility of an open future is taken to be the basic difference between modernity and tradition. Her criticisms on this point are relevant and I would like to make it clear that, in this work, the presence or absence of the idea of an open future is by no means considered to be an index of modernity. We should note that migrants do not dream of returning to their villages or to the social group they belonged to before their migration. Mihciyazgan, in her article on the relationship between gold and the future (1986), concludes that women's expectations of the future are not qualitatively different from their expectations of the present. The future is imagined as more or less identical with the present (ibid.:32). I think one should be cautious in generalizing from this conclusion to the migrant population. It is true that in the dreams of migrant women concerning what will become of them after their return, there is not much place for their earning their livings alone. Like middle-class women in Turkey - which they dream of becoming a part of - gold has an

important security function in the life they imagine for themselves in the future. This does not mean, however, that the future is seen as being identical with the present. At least it is thought of as being different socially.

17. Although most German Turks still occupy the lowest position in the labor market, when they compare their present with their past condition, they can identify important achievements. For the internal stratification of Turkish migrants, see Ersöz and Blaschke (1992); Sen (1988).

18. For example, in the life story of the Turkish migrant Fadime analyzed by Mihciyazgan, there is a striking difference between the nature of the difficulties and conditions Fadime saw herself having to put up with when she was working to finance the building of the family house in Turkey, and those she had had to face during her extended stay in Germany in financing her children's education. According to Mihciyazgan, for Fadime, staying in Germany, working, and putting up with the associated problems for the sake of owning a house in Turkey was taken for granted as part of the normal state of Turkish migrants' lives in Germany (1986:155). Thus she does not talk extensively about the sacrifices she made for this purpose apart from the hard working conditions in the factory. What was not self-explanatory for her was her extended stay in Germany to educate her children (ibid.161-62). The burden of this extended stay for her life as a whole occupies a lengthy part of her narrative.

19. Nurgül came to Berlin when she was ten years old, grew up, and went to school there. After finishing Realschule, she started work in a factory and got married. She has been working in a factory for ten years, though her parents and sisters returned to Turkey eight years ago.

20. The first house they had constructed for themselves was in their village. It is completely furnished, but they do not go there even during izin. The second one is in a town not far from Istanbul, which in the 1970s was a popular holiday resort for people from Istanbul and Ankara. The third house, which is still being constructed and is intended for their children, is in Istanbul.

21. Although Mustafa did not complain very much about his health before the completion of their third house was in sight, he started complaining about his work in the factory, that it had destroyed his health and finished him off. Even though the doctors were not able to identify any physical disorder, he spent his last year before retirement visiting one doctor after another.

22. "People living in Kreuzberg" does not refer only to Turks. Although Turks predominate in the popular image of this district, other foreigners, Germans (especially those living more on the margins of German society), intellectuals and artists who see themselves in solidarity with foreigners, and opponents of the dominant social system also belong to those who are to be understood as "people living in Kreuzberg". Turks compose 22.6% of the general population in Kreuzberg.

23. Turks, and especially Turkish youth, who were generally absent from the group actively opposing the police on May 1, 1987, became relatively active in the May 1st events in the following years, from 1988 through 1990.

24. These precautions vary from getting organized against a possible police attack or attack by right-wing radicals to fleeing or moving one's car out of the area for the night.

25. However, although Turks in Kreuzberg were a little annoyed by the massive police presence and by the unpleasant things that were happening in their district, they also appreciated those left-wing radicals (Autonomen) who were believed to have taken care not to damage Turkish shops in the area.

26. This expression figures in contexts in which differences from the taken-for-granted models in male/female, child/parent, family, and hemseri relations are apparent. Although it is sometimes used to draw attention to the opportunities Germany offers to people in a positive sense, it still underlines a difference between the accepted ways of doing things in Turkey and the current forms of interaction in Germany. However, most of the time it indicates general disapproval, combined with an acceptance within the German context of the actual forms of interaction. Another expression that gives temporary approval or acceptance to different ways of handling relations is Roma'da Romali gibi yasayacaksin ("When in Rome, do as the Romans do").

27. The ages of these three Turks on their arrival in Germany varied. Bilal came when he was eight and went to school in Germany. Nihat was seventeen; he did not go to school, but worked in a Bosch assembly plant as an unskilled worker. Selahattin first came when he was 22 and has never had a stable job. They have been living in Berlin for twenty, sixteen, and thirteen years, respectively.

28. A Turkish migrant who owns a shop specializing in window glass was behind ATT, and the person who founded BTT was a journalist for a Turkish newspaper in Berlin.

29. These economies even ran to video cassettes. Knowing the people there and sometimes being around the studio, I once gave them an empty cassette for them to videotape a selection of their advertisements for my own use. They did so, but I failed to pick it up immediately. I found out later that my own cassette had been erased and used for their own purposes, since they were short of cassettes. According to a technician who worked for BTT for two years, these kinds of shortage and disorganization were not exceptional in the company.

30. These snags are not intended to make the program funny or interesting but originate from simple lack of organization.

31. The demand from the 'community' for services is so high that despite their disorganization and incompetence, Turkish businessmen manage to do very well. Here one should also not forget the impact of the interpersonal relations these businessmen make use of, such as cutting down their labor costs by employing family members, relatives, or illegal hemseris at very low wages (see Ersöz 1988).

32. In fact, we also learn from the address on this card that Y.B.'s contact address is actually an Imbiß.

33. Although there are no marked dialects in the Turkish spoken in Turkey, there are still regional differences, which are reflected in written Turkish in Berlin in advertisements, shop signs, name-tags.

34. For a discussion of the influence of German on the Turkish spoken by German Turks, see Tekinay 1987:96-103. For a discussion of the peculiarities of their Turkish, see Pfuff 1988.

35. I thank A. Özserin for letting me use this poster from his private archive.

36. This is a free translation of the text. A precise translation reflecting all the mistakes in Turkish would be incomprehensible.

CHAPTER V - THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

The Hemserilik Among German Turks: An Asset at Hand

A week after I arrived in Berlin to do my fieldwork, a Turkish worker family agreed to my staying with them, without seeing me or knowing much about me. The fact that a Turkish friend of mine, who had known the family for a long time (though as I discovered later, did not have close relations with them) and most importantly, was from the same region of Turkey, as the family, had asked them whether I could stay with them seemed to have played a crucial role in opening their house to me. When I asked Mustafa later why they had decided to accept me without even meeting me, I was told "we are hemseris [fellow-villagers] with Ahmet [my friend]," as explanation (although they are not from the same city or village).

I wanted to work but did not have a work permit. A week after my arrival at this house, Mustafa visited a shop of one of their hemseris on a very busy shopping street in Kreuzberg. The next day, I started working at the shop. The owner of the shop also accepted me without seeing me or having much information about me.

Even though, being without a proper work permit, I posed a potential danger to the owners of the shop and proved to be a terrible counter assistant who kept making mistakes all the time, the owners did nothing to get rid of me.

One of the reasons I never seemed to learn the job was that the goods sold in the shop did not have prices displayed on them. At the beginning, I asked the owners the prices and I tried my best to memorize them, soon being able to remember some of them without asking. But

although I remembered them correctly, I was still corrected by the owner when taking money from the customers. The owners give different prices for the same goods to different people, depending on their personal relationships. Being a hemseri was a very important factor in determining prices. So without mastering the customers' relationships with the owners, there was no way of learning the prices. Not only did the goods have no prices displayed on them, they had no fixed prices at all.

The grandson of Mustafa from Turkey came to Berlin with his mother to visit his grandparents (after living in Berlin for ten years, his mother returned to Turkey). They wanted to video him together with my daughter in the Botanical Garden. Everything was ready except the video camera, which was to come from one of Mustafa's friends who was living on the other side of the city. I knew that two of their neighbors in the same house had video cameras, so while we were waiting I asked why they didn't borrow one from one of their neighbors.[1] Güllü responded: "You would in any case have had to pay for it. Tugrul has done us a lot of good turns. So, we thought we would borrow it from him. Even if you borrow from your hemseri you would have had to pay for it. This is Germany."[2] Some points in this answer are worth underlining. First, even though the owner of the camera is a friend of the family, a work-mate of the father's, they pay for using it. Moreover, although the transaction between them takes place as if it were between strangers (after all, at that price they could have rented a camera), the term to borrow (ödünc almak) is used, not to rent (kiralamak). Secondly, this activity is seen as a favor done to Tugrul for the things he had done earlier for the Eryilmaz family. Thirdly, it is implicit in Güllü's explanation that the only alternative that occurs to her is "borrowing" a video camera from one of her hemseris and not from a neighbor (which in this case would have been more practical). But

she sees no advantage in doing it, as she knows they would also have had to pay for it if they had borrowed the camera from a hemseri. However, she is aware that this monetary transaction in borrowing something from one's hemseri has something disturbing and abnormal about it. As an explanation of this abnormality she says, "this is Germany" (burasi Almanya), thus implying that hemseri relations here are different than one would expect them to be in Turkey.

To summarize, when in need of a camera, a friend is preferred to a hemseri, though money changes hands in this "borrowing" from a friend. However, although they pay for it, it is seen as reciprocation with a friend and as doing him a favor. Friendship and hemserilik are considered to be on the same level. Moreover, an awareness of the altered, in fact abnormal, nature of hemseri relations in Germany is acknowledged.

Before focusing on the differences in hemseri relations between Germany and Turkey and investigating the characteristics of interpersonal relations among Turkish migrants in Germany, some general information on hemseri relations in Turkey is required.

Hemseri relations in Turkey

Hemserilik is a network of solidary interpersonal relations based on regional ties. Like kinship, it is thought of as a primordial tie (Duben 1976:435). The importance of hemseri relations in Turkey among migrants to towns or cities has been demonstrated in many studies on rural-urban migration. The predominant processes of migration in Turkey i.e., chain and mass migration, are organized on the basis of kinship and hemseri relations.

The significance of hemseri relations in the

organization of migrants lives in Turkey is studied mostly with regards to the squatter areas (gecekondus) where migrants to a city mostly settle. All the main gecekondu studies in Turkey (e.g. Yasa 1966; Hart 1969; Kiray 1970; Karpat 1976) underline the fact that hemseris tend to settle and live together in these areas, where hemseri networks play a crucial role in providing accommodation and all sorts of material and psychological support to the migrants, as well as in finding jobs for newcomers to the city. In a country where wages are low and a well-organized social security system is non-existent, hemseri networks have the function of providing welfare, mutual help and support for migrants to the city. Due to this settlement pattern of hemseris in gecekondu areas, hemseri and neighborhood interests and networks merge into each other.

The unity of hemseri and neighborhood networks and interests is one of the defining characteristics of gecekondu life (Ayata 1989). The coincidence of hemseri and neighborhood ties intensifies interpersonal relationships in gecekondu settlements and makes them multi-dimensional. All sorts of leisure activities as well as to a great extent women's work, are carried out together in common areas, mostly in open spaces (parks, gardens, coffee houses, mosques) (ibid.101).

In the context of city life, sharing the same physical space for all sorts of activities with one's hemseris in gecekondu areas, intensifies relations among hemseris - neighbors - and thus facilitates the survival of certain traditional village control mechanisms in the new environment (ibid.105). Thus, the unity of hemseri and neighborhood relations in gecekondu settlements gives way to a considerable degree of social control and to limitations on individual behavior and freedom there (ibid.110).[3]

Compared to the use and significance of hemseri ties in gecekondu areas, hemserilik relations in Turkey, in their different contexts have been poorly researched. Dubetsky's study of the impact and role of hemseri ties in small factory organization in Turkey (1976) and Ayata's (1989) comparative study of the social environments of gecekondu and apartment housing are exceptions.

Dubetsky (1976) shows that hemseri relations are utilized by people not only in finding housing, jobs, following up business in hospitals, with lawyers, but also by small factory owners for control and production purposes.[4] Hemseri bonds provide a good basis for trust and loyalty, enabling information about the people involved to be obtained, and offering important channels for the control of their behavior (ibid.444).

Ayata's (1989) comparative study of the social environments of gecekondu and apartment settings is important in illustrating the transformations hemseri relations go through in different social settings, namely in the milieu of the apartment block. There, hemseri relations, due to the segregation of physical space among people for different types of activities and the non-coincidence of hemseri relations with neighborhood relations in apartment settings, lose their grip on people's relations (ibid.110). They are limited and of a purely practical nature.

Hemseri bonds in the context of international migration

The importance and relevance of hemserilik in the migration of Turkish workers' to Europe have been well illustrated in studies of chain and mass migration. Important examples are: Eberktasson's (1985) comparative study of Turkish migrant groups in Sweden from two

different villages in Turkey, Köksal's studies of Turkish migrants in Sweden, of the phenomenon of the ghetto (1986) and of women in chain migrant families, and Schoning-Kalender's case study of the roles that kinship and hemserilik play in migration to Germany (1988a) are important examples of such research. These studies all point to the role of the hemserilik complex, first in the decision and timing of migration, secondly, in where migrants will live, and thirdly in the internal organizations of migrants' groups and their relations with the host society in general.

Like hemseri networks in Turkey, hemseri bonds are also utilized in Europe in finding jobs, accommodation, and for mutual help and support (see Yücel 1987:119-127; Schoning-Kalender 1988a:3-4).[5] However, the experience of many migrant communities indicates that hemseri bonds tend to dissolve with time as a consequence of physical and psychological separation from the homeland. The important questions in the context of German Turks are therefore what happens to hemseri relations among Turkish migrants in Germany over time, i.e. whether or not they lose their importance and relevance for interpersonal relations, and to what kind of transformations they are subject.

Researchers on this subject argue that in the context of German Turks, new types of relationships, new networks for coping with life in migration, and consequently new reference groups other than hemseris emerge. Hemseri relations either lose their primacy to these new types of relationship such as friendship (see Schiffauer 1991:279), or else they merge into new networks, through clientelism (see Kleff 1984).

According to Schiffauer, together with the individualization process, which he believes the experience of migration sets into motion, the hemserilik

loses its importance in the interpersonal relations of the migrants (1991:279). In the context of migration, the general restructuring of relations between the individual and the group to which the former traditionally belongs to gives rise to an increasing consciousness of one's individuality, and consequently to a loss in importance of hemseris as a reference group in one's life. Friendship replaces hemseri relations (ibid.279).

In spite of the emergence of new types of networks built on a non-hemseri-basis, I think one should be cautious in concluding that hemseri ties have been replaced by these new kinds of relationship. Instead of a dissolution of hemseri ties in Turkish migrants' interpersonal relations in Germany, we should speak of a transformation of hemseri relations. Even if they were to be replaced with another kind of relationships, such as friendship, the nature of these new relationships still has to be investigated.

Hemseri bonds among German Turks in Germany remain effective. It is clear from the examples I gave at the beginning of this chapter that the hemseri bonds of the people I was acquainted with played a crucial role in finding a job and accommodation for myself in Berlin. Moreover, first generation migrants are well informed about their hemseris, not only about those in the same city, but those in other cities of Germany too (and sometimes, in other parts of Europe). There are some hemseri organizations(such as Giresunlular Yardimlasma Dernegi), by means of which hemseris help their villages and towns in Turkey, keep themselves informed about each other, and periodically get together. Hemseris keep in touch with each other. After I started living with the Eryilmaz family, I realized a month later that all the people I met through them were their hemseris.

In both financial matters (borrowing money, giving loans in cases of emergency) and practical matters, (help with moving, finding housing, sharing containers in transporting goods to Turkey), hemseris cooperate. Just before midnight, Mustafa received a phone call informing him of the sudden death of one of his hemseris. After that, until daybreak, the phone did not seem to stop ringing in the Eryilmaz household. All the hemseris in Berlin communicated with each other to raise the money needed to transport the body back to Turkey and to send other family members who were to go to Turkey for the funeral. They managed to collect enough money in a very short period of time, although this caused conflicts among the hemseris later.

The social columns of German editions of Turkish newspapers illustrate the embeddedness of hemseri relations in German Turks' lives in a particular way. German Turks' engagements, weddings and circumcisions constitute the majority of entries on these pages,[6] where information about individuals' ages, occupations, can be left out, but not information on their regional origins (see Appendix 2a,2b, 2c).[7] Hemseri ties, if there are any, are particularly emphasized. Information about regional origins, which is basic when it comes to determining hemseri relations, form essential parts of such entries.

Again in these newspapers, mini-surveys are conducted on current topics. Here too, the only information given about interviewees is their regional origin in Turkey and their ages (see Appendix 3a, 3b, 3c).[8] Interestingly, even for those who are born in Germany, the regional origins of their parents in Turkey are given. Hemseri relations and the regional origins of the people involved are almost always an integral part of news in German edition of Turkish newspapers.

Although hemseri ties are still effective in Germany, they are believed to have taken on a different character by German Turks themselves. Sadik and Bülent (who are hemseris) are talking about a hemseri of theirs, a policeman in Turkey who ended up beating up another hemseri involved with a leftist group. Sadik says

> "That's too much. I mean, one does not [should not] treat one's hemseri in that way. If that were to happen in Germany, I would have said OK, one does not care whether one is a hemseri or not. But it shouldn't have happened there.
> Bülent: He's a policeman!
> Sadik: Policeman or not, it doesn't matter. How come he beats up his hemseri like that?"

Like the example of the video camera, I think this conversation also hints at the perceived differences in hemseri relations between Germany and Turkey.

The Atik family began taking care of one of their hemseris, Füsun, when she started showing symptoms of psychological disorder after her son was sent to a psychiatric clinic first in Germany, then in Turkey. The family members took turns to make sure that Füsun would not be alone at home, cooked for her family, and cleaned her apartment. However, while doing these things, they complained a lot, and the taken-for-grantedness of helping a hemseri was often questioned. I kept hearing the complaint "Who would help anybody here? We do; that's it." " So what if she's a hemseri; what's it to me? With this crazy woman, we'll become crazy too. And craziness is contagious too. Did you know that?"

Not only is the taken-for-grantedness of the obligations attached to hemseri ties questioned, hemseri relations lose their influence in respect of social

pressure on the migrants. For example, in Germany hemseris do not feel obliged to pin gold on brides at weddings any more, as they would do in Turkey, (see also Mihciyazgan 1986). Güllü said:

> "when it is a close relative, you've got to pin gold on her. A relative is different. It's not like in the old days when you pin gold on someone just because she is your hemşeri. What are we working for here? Gold to give away? They don't pin, you don't pin. That is the best way."

Due to the specific configuration of the social and economic forces that impinge on German Turks' lives, the hemserilik assumes a new form. In one sense, it has similarities with the hemserilik in the apartment milieu in Turkish cities, and in another with that in squats in Turkey.

Turkish migrants in Germany live in apartments, but the social environment of the apartment setting and its effects on relations between Turkish migrants are different from those in Turkey.

First of all, even in areas of Berlin that are densely populated by Turks, the occupants of particular buildings are not all Turkish.[9] Thus given limited contacts between Turks and Germans, relations between neighbors in the apartments are restricted in nature to begin with. Secondly, although there is a general housing problem in Berlin, the situation is worse for Turks (see Kleff 1987; Castles 1984). Due to immense difficulties in finding apartments for themselves, Turks rely on informal ties, mainly of kinship, hemseri and friendship in solving this problem.[10] Apartments found through such connections are usually near to those belonging to relatives of the hemseris or friends who had informed and arranged the

vacancies for them in the first place.[11]

Turks are not generally welcome in some areas of Berlin, so that they have a better chance to find housing in those districts that are already densely populated by Turks, but officially closed to them. In these areas their chances of being near their hemseri and/or kin are higher (for the concentration of Turks in particular districts of Berlin, see Table 1).

District	Number of Turks	% of the foreign population
Tiergarten	8980	41.9
Wedding	23993	58.1
Kreuzberg	30867	62.7
Charlottenburg	8247	26.8
Spandau	9142	38.7
Wilmersdorf	2365	14.25
Zehlendorf	902	10.6
Schöneberg	13327	41.8
Steglitz	3134	20.4
Tempelhof	4235	29.4
Neukolln	26129	49.8
Reinickendorf	5710	29.6

Table 1 Source: Statistiches Landesamt Berlin, as of 31 December 1991.

In addition, people make an extra effort to live close to their kin and hemseris for practical reasons, for instance so that relatives can baby-sit. As a result, people who have the same regional origins and/or have kinship ties tend to congregate in neighborhoods more than is the case in the apartment milieu in Turkey. In this respect, although the peculiar geographical organization of a gecekondu is absent, neighborhood and hemseri relations in apartment milieus in Berlin coincide more

than is the case in apartment neighborhoods in Turkey.[12] This coincidence, in turn, hinders the development of neighborhood relations among non-hemseri, non-kin among Berlin Turks.

The consequences of the constellation mentioned above are first, that relations among hemseris in Berlin who live in neighboring apartments are more intense and multi-dimensional when compared to the apartment setting in Turkey. They continue to share the same physical space and have common areas such as mosques, parks, coffee houses, and playgrounds where they can also be together in their leisure, and thus can continue a sort of community life. As well, the relations with non-hemseri or non-kin neighbors, in spite of the apartment context, are not well developed and do not tend to replace or become alternatives to hemseri and/or kinship relations in the way they do in Turkey (see also Ayata 1989).[13]

In non-hemseri and/or non-kin relations, it is friendship with workmates rather than neighborhood relations that predominate. Workmates are rarely neighbors, therefore physical space is rarely shared with these friends.

On every religious holiday during my fieldwork, Turkish families paid visits to their relatives, hemseris and their few close friends from work, but not to their neighbors in the same building.[14] In all the picnics I went on with Turkish families, we were together with relatives and/or hemseris, and again with close work mates, but never with neighbors. Once in picnic areas[15] we paid visits to other hemseris and friends and invited them over either to eat together or for tea, but never to non-kin or non-hemseri neighbors. This was also the case with the house visits we made at weekends and sometimes on weekdays during the summer.

Moreover, it is close friends from work, not neighbors, who are invited to birthday parties, which are becoming more and more popular among German Turks. Some women who work together occasionally get together in houses at weekends. Unless there is a particular reason, non-hemseri, non-kin neighbors in the same building are not invited to these receptions.

However, in Berlin, despite some coincidence of hemseri and/or kin and neighborhood relations, the social control hemseris exert on their members has diminished. This is due to factors beyond the migrants' control, such as finding available housing close to their hemseris. When Hemseris do not share the same physical space this deprives them of access to ordinary information channels about each other through observing, seeing, and meeting their hemseris all the time in their daily and private life. Social control in Berlin among hemseris who are both hemseris and neighbors may be greater than it is in apartment milieus in Turkey,[16] but overall, hemseri bonds lose their strong grip on people's lives and relations. The result of this relative weakening of relations among hemseris and consequently of the social control the members exert on each other is a decrease in the expectations one has of one's hemseris.

Although the hemserilik as an important network German Turks make use of never dissolves entirely, it is no longer the primary reference group for Turks (see Schiffauer 1991:279) that it was in their villages or to certain extent in gecekondu settlements in Turkish cities.[17] Hemseri relations acquire a more pragmatic and utilitarian character in the context of migration. They do not dissolve completely, but instead come to be seen as an asset in one's relations and encounters with others when it comes to the realization of one's plans and desires.

Clientelism and Instrumentalized Friendship

Turkish migrants' wide use of hemseri-based interpersonal relations in their efforts to cope with their social environment in Germany, characterized as it is by relative isolation and discrimination, has led some writers to conclude that clientelism is the basic form of relationship among German Turks in Germany (Kleff 1985).

Clientelism refers to an asymmetric interpersonal relationship (dyad) between a patron and a client in which "one partner is clearly superior to the other in his capacity to grant goods and services" (Wolf 1962:16). That is, patrons in these situations either control or have access to key power positions in the society, acting as power brokers between their clients and institutional frameworks outside it (ibid.18). In this relationship there are reciprocal rights and duties between patron and client. However, "like kinship and friendship, the patron-client tie involves multiple facets of the actors involved, not merely the segmented needs of the moment" (ibid.16).

Patron-client ties prove especially useful "in situations where the formal institutional structure of society is weak and unable to deliver a sufficiently steady supply of goods and services, especially to the terminal levels of the social order. Under such conditions, there would be customers for the social insurance offered to potential clients, while the formation of a body of clients would increase the abilities of patrons to influence institutional operations" (ibid.17-18). Relatively isolated social groups who have poor access to power, prestige or wealth establish a fertile ground for clientelism. "The patron provides economic aid and protection against both the legal and illegal executions of authority" (ibid.16), and the client in turn shows respect and loyalty to his patron

and provides his patron with information and political support. Kleff (1984:9) argues that this situation obtains among Turkish migrants in Germany.

According to Kleff, German Turks of rural origin deal with official "Foreigners' Law" and unofficial hostility against foreigners, and with the many sorts of discrimination they are subject to in Germany, by means of a personalized social form of organization they already possess through socialization, namely clientelism.[18] Turkish migrants who are confronted with language barriers and problems of work and housing try to overcome the problems they face in Germany through their ties with patrons who act as brokers between them and German society and its institutions (1984:247). Moreover, Turkish businessmen, who are also involved in illegal activities and have close connections with political (Turkish) organizations in Germany, act as patrons in this context and gather economic-political client groups around them (ibid.260).

It is true that the social, political and economic conditions of German Turks' lives in Germany establish a very fertile ground for clientelism to flourish. However, clientelism does not seem to be the most dominant form of relationship that characterizes Turkish migrants' interpersonal relations apart from some special areas.

There are basically three major factors preventing clientelism from becoming a widespread form of interpersonal relations in Germany. First, for clientelism in its full sense to develop among German Turks, some patrons should be able to control key positions in German institutions within German society. However, among Turkish migrants, this is not the case except in respect to certain illegal activities. If patron-client relationships are to develop among German Turks and Turkish and German

brokers, this collaboration needs to encompass domains not confined to underground activities, as is the case now. It is noteworthy that almost all the examples Kleff gives of patron-client networks in Germany concern illegal, underground activities.

In short, the fact that Turkish patrons who might act as brokers can control key positions only within a restricted niche, prevents clientelism from becoming the dominant form of interpersonal relations among German Turks.[19] Secondly, promises of political support are an important element in relationships between patrons and clients. Kleff argues that the business and political interests of Turkish businessmen merge into each other, so that Turkish political groups and affiliated associations in Germany are based on clientelism too (1984:259). However, given the fact that Turkish migrants have very restricted political rights in Germany and no voting rights even at the municipal level, the political aspect of the patron-client relationship among Turkish migrants is bound to be restricted to community affairs. Turkish brokers do not control key positions.

Thirdly, unequal access to resources is a crucial condition for the development of patron-client networks (see Wolf 1966:16; Mühlmann-Llaroya 1968:3). The imbalance in patrons' and clients' access to goods and services should be stable, and this is not the case among German Turks. Due to high social mobility among German Turks within the Turkish community and the variety of channels the migrants believe that they could make use of, the type of inequality among Turkish workers is not consistent. Necmi's case illustrates this point clearly. Necmi owns two import-export shops and a restaurant together with one of his brothers and he has a share in another shop and a restaurant that his other brother owns in Kreuzberg. With his shop and restaurant in a very central location in

Kreuzberg, he is a man of prestige among the Turkish migrants in that area. He is a hemseri of the Eryilmaz family. In terms of access to resources and services, he is definitely superior to them and has always helped them in the latter's, affairs, always on the basis of his being hemseri.

A week before July 1, 1990, the date the East German mark was to be officially equated with the West German mark, Necmi started calling on the Eryilmaz family. The exchange rate of the East mark to the West mark was officially one to one in the GDR, although it was six to one in the FRG. After the fall of the Wall, the official rate was made three to one, though on the black market in West Berlin changed from being seventeen to one to being twenty to one. With the rush of people from the GDR to buy consumer goods in the West, people were quick to acquire East marks at the seventeen to one rate from East Germans, in the hope of reconverting them at the one to one rate after July 1st, 1990.

Like many Turkish shopkeepers and businessmen, Necmi collected thousands of GDR marks. However, after the government's announcement of restrictions on conversion at the official one-to-one rate in GDR banks, namely that East Germans should have the money in their accounts already, and that different age groups had different quotas concerning the amounts they could convert, a kind of panic set in among those Turks who had invested thousands of West German marks to collect East German marks. This panic was the reason for Necmi's repeated calls to the Eryilmaz family in which Mustafa was addressed only as hemseri, to remind him of the ties between Mustafa and Necmi and of Necmi's previous favors to Mustafa.[20]

Necmi, who had no contact with left-wing political groups but was instead affiliated with religious groups, knew that Mustafa, who was a supporter of the Turkish Communist Party, happened to know some people in East Berlin, and he wanted to make use of Mustafa's connections to convert the marks he had collected at the favorable one-to-one rate. It was true that Mustafa had a contact in East Berlin for some time, and he transmitted Necmi's request to this person. This acquaintance eventually failed to help Necmi, but during this period Necmi called Mustafa several times, and with each call, with his repeated pleas for help in the affair, his position in the relationship became weaker and weaker. He was more helpless and weak than one would have expected of a person who had always played the superior role in a relationship.

As stated in previous chapters, the Turkish migrant population in Berlin is a very dynamic one, and migrants have experienced rapid social stratification amongst themselves. For this reason, channels of social mobility are perceived to be open and varied. They may not be that open and varied in reality, but the belief in their openness, if one knows how to make use of them, is shared by many and reinforced by the success stories of today's Turkish businessmen in Germany in the media. This, in turn, works against the stabilization of relations of inequality between patrons and the clients and against the loyalty required for clientelism.

In short, clientelism, although prominent in certain areas of activity as stated earlier, does not constitute the most dominant form of interpersonal relations among German Turks.

Instead of hemseri relations being merged into clientelism, we should talk more in terms of their transformation, because of German Turks' objective social,

political and economic conditions in Germany. The hemserilik is a relation of trust embedded in a network of mechanisms of social control. However, the erosion of the social control mechanisms of hemseri networks also erodes its trust basis. Consequently, hemseri ties lose their strong grip on the migrants' lives. However, they are neither eliminated from the organization of migrants' lives, nor replaced by friendship. Instead, they are transformed.

Wolf's notion of instrumentalized friendship (1966) is useful in understanding the form the interpersonal relations among German Turks take in the German context. He identifies two kinds of friendship: "expressive or emotional friendship" and "instrumental friendship" (ibid.10). Although an element of affect is an important ingredient in both, in the latter striving for access to social and natural resources by means of the relationship is vital:

> In contrast to emotional friendship which restricts the relation to the dyad involved, in instrumental friendship each member of the dyad acts as a potential connecting link to other persons outside the dyad. Each participant is a sponsor for the other. In contrast to emotional friendship, which is associated with closure of the social circle, instrumental friendship reaches beyond the boundaries of existing sets and seeks to establish beachheads in new sets. (ibid.12)

That is, like the hemserilik "the relation aims at a large and unspecified series of performances of mutual assistance" (ibid.30). It is based on a very generalized form of reciprocity. Moreover, instrumental friendships "try best in social situations which are relatively open and where friends may act as sponsors for each other in

attempts to widen their spheres of social manoeuver" (ibid.50).

Hemseri bonds, by losing their objective basis of the channels of social control that are necessary for their networks to function, and consequently their trust basis, also lose their prominence in the interpersonal networks of the migrants. They take the form of instrumentalized friendship. Given the severely limited structural position of Turkish migrants in German society, the hemserilik provides a valuable channel of personal relationship which can be manipulated in the pursuit of practical interests in their endeavour to move up the social scale in Germany.

In this form, the hemserilik is an important form of "social capital." Social capital, in Bourdieu's formulation, refers to membership in social groups and to the profits that can be appropriated by the strategic use of social relations in order to improve one's position (Joppke 1986:60). In that sense, the hemserilik, like all other forms of social capital, is a means of maximizing power and rewards through the manipulation of group membership.

Turkish migrants are aware that their achievements in society depend on the success with which they manipulate these relations (see Yücel 1987:119). The hemserilik is therefore a valuable asset that can be manipulated to achieve the ends desired. In the migration context, the hemserilik loses its function as a reference group but is not eliminated from migrants' lives. Its instrumental character becomes more and more prominent.

As the examples in this chapter illustrate, the expectations, obligations and duties attached to hemseri ties among hemseris in Berlin are more limited in nature than in Turkey. They are perceived to be voluntary and

selective rather than obligatory. In general, they come to resemble instrumentalized relations of friendship. The hemserilik, the familiar form of interpersonal relationship, is carried over on to the new forms of relations that become important in the lives of German Turks, namely friendship, giving the latter the characteristics of an instrumentalized friendship. While the hemserilik is coming to resemble friendship, the friendship relations come to resemble hemserilik.

Before Kemal left for two months of military service in Turkey, he was invited to lunch or dinner by some hemseris and by a couple of his parents' friends (all the friends were his parents' work mates). At each such invitation, the hosts gave him a monetary gift which they called bahsis atmak (literally, "to throw baksheesh"). One of the invitations was from a close friend of his father's and I went along with them. On the way back home in the car, this baksheesh became a subject of conversation. His mother Aliye turned to me and said, "Hasan is a very nice person. He is more than a hemseri. Look, he even threw baksheesh, while our hemseris do not. You know, hemseris should throw baksheesh." Hasan proved his closeness to the family by behaving like a hemseri.

Very often, friends who prove their loyalty to each other are addressed as hemserim (my hemseri). For example, whenever I did someone a favor without there being any obvious return, such as taking care of a sick person, taking them to a doctor, or cooking for them when necessary, I was addressed and referred to as a hemseri. This is an assertion of the closeness and reliability of the relationship. Close friends are expected to behave like hemseris. Although this form of address brings with it certain expectations of being a friend, these are quite low in the German context.

The type of friendship which is developing among migrants under the influence of the hemserilik might be categorized under Wolf's "instrumentalized friendship". In fact, instrumentalization is the predominant characteristic of all interpersonal relations among Turkish migrants in the German context.

To return to the example at the beginning of this section, behind Güllü's view of what it is to be a hemseri and a friend, as if they were alternatives with similar obligations, lies this instrumentalization of relationships which brings the hemserilik and friendship closer to each other in terms of their functions and obligations. When in need of a camera, a friend and a hemseri are perceived to be equivalent, the idea being that the form of the transaction would be no different in either case, for money would equally be involved. However, while this transaction is perceived to be an anomaly in the context of taken-for-granted hemseri ties, it does not have this connotation within friendship, which is in fact an instrumentalized friendship.

The relative absence of social control and consequently of social pressure, combined with a relative freedom from moral codes and partly from a confusion and vacuum in reference groups in Germany, fuel the processes of instrumentalizing everything in order to achieve desired ends. I think all the dynamics that become prominent in the lives of German Turks in Berlin, namely belief in the self-made man, the weakening of social control and the instrumentalization of everything, are symptoms of a life-style characteristic of social groups seeking to move into a new place in the social order.

NOTES

1. I used the word "borrowing" in my question because when they called on me in connection with this videoing activity, they told me that they would borrow a camera. In Güllü's answer: "even if you get it from your hemşeri, you will pay", the verb almak (to get, to take) is used. The verb "to rent" was never used in the entire conversation.

2. Mustafa and Tugrul not only worked together in a car-assembly plant, they were also both in the left-wing political organization that was active in Berlin in the early 1980s. Tugrul was the only non-hemşeri I got to know in the first month of my stay with this family. Tugrul once drove together with the Eryilmaz family to Turkey and bought an apartment from the same neighbor that the Eryilmaz had bought theirs from in Turkey.

3. This unity and the survival of some of the traditional control mechanisms of village life has led some researchers (Karpat 1976; Bastug 1979) to conclude, erroneously in my opinion, that gecekondu settlements, in terms of their social environments, could be considered segregated communities which provide a continuation of the community life of the villages.

4. Small factories in Istanbul recruit their workers on the basis of hemşeri networks. In this way, argues Dubetsky (1976:439), feelings of trust and loyalty are translated into a commitment by the work force to increase profits.

5. For example, Yücel reports that over 62% of the Turkish migrants in his sample reported that their relatives, hemşeris and friends had found them their second jobs (1987:128). According to Kleff more than 40% of Turks reported that they found their apartment through a relative or hemşeri (1984).

6. In some of these social columns, news of Turks not only in Germany but in other parts of Europe finds space.

7. The examples in the Appendix were randomly selected and cover a wide time-span. As regards the aspect mentioned above, there occurred no change over time.

8. For such mini-surveys, see the Berlin editions of Hürriyet on Thursdays. The interesting thing is that young people who were born in Germany give the regional origins of their fathers when asked.

9. Buildings housing only Turkish occupants are very rare, if indeed there are any. In many cases only three or four families in the buildings will be Turkish.

10. Here it should be noted that kin and hemseri networks cross-cut one another because people of rural origin tend to marry hemseris i.e., those whose trustworthiness and purity they could be sure of (Dubetsky 1976:444).

11. For example, many shopkeepers in a very busy street in Kreuzberg are hemseris (from the Black Sea region -- especially from Samsun, Ordu, and Giresun -- in Turkey). When I asked how this came about, one shopkeeper said "whenever, there was a vacancy, we hemseris naturally told one other."

12. Apartment dwellers also try to live close to their kin or hemseri in Turkey, but economic conditions and social and economic differences among hemseris mostly prevent it (see Ayata 1989). In Germany, the situation is different, because of the low-status Turks, and some of the areas they live in, have vis-á-vis German society. Thus market mechanisms, contrary to what is the case in Turkey, promote the concentration of Turks and therefore of hemseris and kin in the same neighborhoods.

13. The only exception is elderly Turkish women, who stay at home and do not work. They have the closest relations with their Turkish neighbors.

14. Young children were the only ones who would visit all the Turkish families in the building (sometimes in the whole block). In Turkey, neighbors in the same building, even if they do not have close relations with one other, usually pay bayram (religious holiday) visits on one other.

15. Tiergarten, especially the area in front of the Reichstag, and a small area in Wannsee are Turks' most favorite picnic areas in Berlin. In fact, in good weather, these areas are full of Turks, making it likely that one will meet one's hemseris, relatives and neighbors there. This was the case with all the picnics in which I took part.

16. Interestingly, Mustafa banned his 26-year-old daughter from going out wearing shorts, after a neighbor hemseri had paid a special visit to Mustafa to warn him about them, which he had seen her wearing. It is noteworthy that the father permits his wife and his two daughters to wear shorts during their izins in Cumali, in their new social milieu. However, wearing shorts would be

and is out of question while visiting the home village during izin, not only for his wife and two daughters, but also for his grown-up sons.

17. The fact that most German Turks do not desire or intend to resettle in their villages in Turkey has an important role in hemseri groups' loss of function as reference groups.

18. Migrant Turks are fully familiar with patron-client relationship from parts of Turkey. For clientelism in Turkey, see Kudat-Sertel (1975). However, what is brought to Germany is not necessarily existing patron-client groups, but a familiarity with this sort of interpersonal relationship and the ability to deal with it. Turkish migrants have brought clientelism to Europe as part of their cultural repertoire, but patron-client groups in certain parts in Germany are new.

19. Kleff stresses that the illegal activities associated with migrants in German society correspond to migrants' existential needs, such as residence and work permits. It is true that illegal and underground activities and the patron-client networks that have grown up in these areas are attractive to a larger group than these other domains are. Despite this, however, the lack of access by Turkish brokers to key positions in German institutions means that clientelism is still limited to particular domains in Turkish migrants' lives.

20. However, apart from this use of hemserim in address, alluding to their current ties and to all previous relations between them, and in which Necmi always acted as the superior, the tone of the exchange between Necmi and Mustafa on this occasion was as if between two equal partners, and even as if Necmi were the inferior.

CHAPTER IV - GERMAN TURKS' QUEST FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY

Saliha is originally from a city in central Anatolia and came to Istanbul after getting married to Mahmut, a graduate of Istanbul University who had lost his father at an early age. Mahmut was the only son of the family and was living with his mother. Saliha joined them in Istanbul after the wedding. Soon afterwards, conflicts broke out between Saliha and her mother-in-law, and Saliha saw going to Germany as her only way out of the problem. Despite her husband's reluctance, she applied to go to Germany and was accepted as one of the last four people to be allowed entry before the ending of labor recruitment in 1973. Fighting off the objections of her relatives, she managed to persuade her husband to go to Germany to work with her. She would work for a cleaning company as a cleaner and Mahmut would register for a graduate program in Berlin. They arrived in Berlin with their two-year-old son Hüsnü. She started right away with the cleaning company, hoping that she would be able to move quickly to a better job, though she only managed this after two years. Meanwhile, Mahmut, who knew no German at all, was quick to realize that university was not for him and started trying his luck at various other activities. According to Saliha, he became successful very quickly. After trying his hand in several sorts of business, he became the district officer of a branch of Savings-and-Loan Bank in Berlin, and after the opening of the Wall, the owner of twenty-two Imbißes in East Berlin. His business prospered most after the fall of the Wall. He aims to have sixty Imbißes altogether in the former GDR. Saliha, after leaving her job as a cleaning lady, decided to try her hand at running a tailor's shop specializing in alterations. She opened her own shop and, like her husband's, her business also flourished.[1]

In 1987, having decided that they had invested enough in Turkey, they decided to return there in order to supervise the construction of a 500-bed hotel on the Aegean coast of Turkey. Saliha went first with her four-year-old daughter and settled in a newly purchased apartment in a very fine and expensive part of Istanbul. Mahmut and the son were to join them later. However problems appeared in the plans for the construction of their hotel, and Saliha, not being able to get used to the life of a housewife in Istanbul or to the social isolation she suffered in her new milieu in Istanbul, decided to return to Germany. As the family had given up their apartment and her shop in Berlin before she left, the family tried to manage in the very small apartment Mahmut and his son had rented temporarily.

Saliha opened up a new shop and started working again. This shop now is doing as well as the earlier one. In the meantime, the son has completed his training at a college of hotel management and is now working in a hotel in Berlin, in Saliha's words, to obtain the necessary experience to run their own hotel. At the same time, he is helping his father in his business and learning that too. Their daughter is now attending primary school. Financially, the family is doing so well that they recently bought a Mercedes Benz as a family car for themselves for approximately DM 40,000 (32,000 CDN dollars) and a BMW for their son for about DM 35,000 (28,000 CDN dollars).

The family's basic problem, which they eventually solved, was their very small three-and-a half room apartment in which, due to shortage of space, Saliha and Mahmut had to sleep in the living-room. At first, they found rents very high and looked for an apartment for under DM 2000 (1,600 CDN dollars) a month, but were not able to find anything appropriate. Later they agreed to

pay up to DM 4,000 (3,200 CDN dollars) monthly for a spacious apartment, but they still ended up spending two years searching for one. Her husband suggested buying a house in a Berlin suburb, but Saliha rejected this. She told me:

> "I don't want to go to unpopulated places like that. Sure, the garden is nice, but I don't know. As a foreigner, I would hesitate to live there. In any case, we are foreigners. This hostility [bu düsmanlik] is terrible.[2] What if something happens, and so on. I don't know, one's just afraid."

Then I asked her whether, given that her husband was working for a branch of Savings-and-Loan, it would be possible to find something in East Berlin.

> "They're worse than those here. Would you believe it, Ayse, in a restaurant in the East, they wouldn't serve us because we were Turks. We couldn't eat with our money, so we stayed hungry."[3]

Her complaints about their life in Germany always had the same tone. While searching for an apartment she said,

> "It's not that there aren't any apartments. There are, but they're very expensive. And Germans don't want to give foreigners an apartment. How many Germans could afford to pay what we're willing to pay. But they still don't give [it] to us. How many times have we applied! The minute they understand we're Turkish, they don't call back."[4]

In the end she found a very spacious apartment for DM 3,200 (2,560 CDN dollars) a month and was very happy to have found such a "bargain"!

Saliha's basic complaint is their not having access to things and services in Germany despite their excellent financial situation. At the kindergarten her daughter attended, they said that her daughter was not mature enough to start primary school. Saliha was furious at this and said "they did the same thing to Hüsnü. It's the same kindergarten. They know Hüsnü too. Then we fought and quarreled. He got through Gymnasium without any problems. Because she's Turkish, they do these things. We'll fight them again."[5]

She managed to get her daughter into a public primary school, but this time her teacher and her educator in the day-care center which she attended after school complained that she was not paying enough attention, so Saliha hired a tutor. Again, in the same tone, she complained, "There are three Turks in the day-care center. They all play together. Straight away they [the educators] go for them, accusing them of not working. Well, that's the way things are here. Your troubles never end. You are Turkish."

Apart form the complaints mentioned above, the Sanli family enjoy their prosperity. At least once a year (usually more than once) they drive to Turkey either to their vacation house on the coast, during the summers, or else to their fully-furnished house in Istanbul. Sometimes they go to other places in Turkey such as Uludag, an expensive "high society" ski resort. These trips to Uludag are emphasized particularly in her conversation. "In winter we go to Uludag. It's very nice. We send Lale [their daughter] to ski lessons and go to the baths. The atmosphere is good and genteel. It's really good for us. We relax."

As a Turkish businessman in Berlin, Mahmut has a respectable position and a wide network of friends among Turkish migrants. However, almost all the family's friends

are Turks. They have very limited contact with Germans and other foreigners: all those with whom they have contact are either the wives, husbands or lovers of their Turkish friends. Saliha and Mahmut belong to those Turkish migrants in Germany who initially started there as workers and have moved up over time. Saliha and Mahmut are not the only ones. As already stated, Turkish migrants in Berlin no longer form a homogeneous group, as workers, but a stratified one.

When we examine cases like Saliha and Mahmut's more closely, we notice that German Turks' moves into new positions in the social order have particular characteristics, or more precisely, some anomalies. When we explore what these moves achieve for such people in terms of their standing in the social hierarchy - both in German society in general and in regard to the Turkish population there - and what they fail to do, the peculiarity of such moves becomes apparent.

In order to examine the characteristics of German Turks' mobility in the social order, we need to explore the social space they occupy in German society.

The Concept of Social Space

Bourdieu has developed the notion of social space in order to formulate the relationship between the universe of economic and social conditions and the universe of life-styles. Social space refers to the space of social positions, as defined by objective social structures that shape the subjects' social beings. It is the seedbed of mental structures, patterns of perception and thought through which the subject apprehends the social world (Bourdieu 1990:123-130). Bourdieu uses the term "habitus" for these unconscious dispositions, classificatory schemes and taken for granted preferences which mediate between social structure and practical activity (Bourdieu

1974:169-225).

> ..[H]abitus refers to a system of acquired schemas that become practically effective as categories of perception and evaluation, i.e. as principles of classification, and also as principles organizing social action. (Honneth et al. 1986:42)

These historically and socially acquired dispositions are the embodiment of social structures and are the necessary aspect of every practice (Bourdieu 1985:727-28). Individuals' practices and representations are guided and constrained by these dispositions.

Habitus is acquired in the position one occupies, for this reason agents subject to similar conditions of existence and conditioning factors have similar dispositions and interests. These produce practices of a similar kind (1977:5). These dispositions are the product of the internalization of the structures of the social space (1985:728; 1990:130-31). The place social groups occupy in social space forms the particular expectations and aspirations towards which their actions are oriented. These expectations, aspirations, and the agents' subjective self-understanding form the basis of these people's strategies (Bourdieu 1974:175, 466-468; Bourdieu 1990). Hence, in order to understand the practical activity of social groups and their group-specific life-styles, we need to identify the place they occupy in social space.

Bourdieu identifies the position of a given agent within the social space on the basis of his or her position in different fields and of his or her capital, which he differentiates as economic (of different kinds), cultural, social and symbolic capital (1985:724). In regard to these fields, the agents' positions are defined

along three dimensions:

> The agents are distributed in the overall social space in the first dimension according to the global volume of capital they possess, in the second dimension according to the composition of their capital, that is, according to the relative weight in the overall capital in the various forms of capital (especially economic and cultural).... (Bourdieu 1987:4)

The third dimension is the change in these two dimensions over time, i.e. their trajectory in social space. In short, the structure of social space is given by the volume and composition of the capital the individual has (Bourdieu 1974:114). These four forms of capital are, under certain conditions, convertible into one other. Economic capital refers to all goods that are immediately and directly convertible into money (1986:243) and may also "be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu 1986:243). It is important to note that Bourdieu does not distinguish between productive capital and unproductive wealth (Honneth 1986:58-59). He has a rather expanded notion of capital.

By cultural capital, Bourdieu understands the ensemble of embodied dispositions such as learnable skills and abilities which enable individuals to handle the social potentials of scientific information, aesthetic enjoyment and everyday pleasures (Honneth 1986:59). Cultural capital exists in three forms: in "the <u>embodied</u> state, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the <u>objectified</u> state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments and machines, etc.)...; and in the institutionalized state" (Bourdieu 1986:243, original emphasis). The latter usually refers to educational qualifications.

Social capital is composed of "resources based on connections and group membership" (Bourdieu 1987:4). It "refers to the membership in social groups and the profits that can be appropriated by the strategic use of social relations in order to improve one's position" (Joppke 1986:60). Symbolic capital, which is very much related to social capital, is simply the "form which is assumed by different forms of capital when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu 1990:128).

The agents are distributed in social space on the basis of the composition and overall volume of their capital. Changes in the volume of capital as well as in conversions between forms of capital correspond to movements in a social space (Bourdieu 1974:131). Thus, within this framework, social mobility not only refers to changes in the volume of capital, but also covers changes in the distribution of total capital among its different kinds. While the volume of one's overall disposable capital functions as the ultimate criterion of social membership in classes, the composition of capital differentiates groups within classes, i.e. distinguishes class fractions (ibid.115-142).

Before moving on to the benefits of using this kind of differentiation in the analysis of social mobility, we need to clarify some of the problems raised by Bourdieu's terminology and the possible confusions this terminology might lead to. In Bourdieu's endeavor to go beyond their economic interpretation, classes have a different definition and connotation than they have in Marxist theories. As Brubaker rightly emphasizes, "the conceptual space within which Bourdieu defines class is not that of relations of production but that of social relations in general" (1986:761).[6] Although he accepts the primacy of class as the unit of analysis, through the inclusion of factors such as sex, age, marital status, place of

residence, etc. into the definition of class, class in Bourdieu's theory "ceases to designate (as it does in Marx and Weber) a particular mode of social grouping: it becomes a metaphor for the total set of social determinants" (ibid.769).

It is not accidental that Bourdieu uses classes and occupational groups (groups sharing common interests) interchangeably. Because of the emphasis he puts on the distributive struggle of the classes for resource appropriation in his formulation, "classes increasingly take the form of status groups founded on distinctive styles of life..." (ibid.756).[7]

However, despite the problems mentioned above in his theoretical understanding of social classes, the refinements Bourdieu introduces into the analysis of social mobility are important. His emphasis on the relationships between different forms of capital which correspond to movements in social space is useful in the analysis of intraclass divisions and differences in attitudes and practices (Brubaker 1985:769).[8]

The refinements Bourdieu introduces into the notion of social mobility, through the notions of the structure and composition of capital, are valuable in the analysis of the positions that German Turks occupy within German society and of their strategies to cope with them and to alter them.

The Social Space Occupied By Turkish Migrants

What kind of a position do Turkish migrants occupy in German society on the basis of the volume and structure of their capital?

Until the mid-1980s, studies on the socioeconomic position of German Turks within German society drew attention to the low position Turkish workers occupied in the labor market. Their relatively late arrival as guest workers, and the high rate of semi- and unskilled workers among them were singled out as the factors responsible for their position as the bottom stratum within the German working class (see Hoffman-Nowotny 1973; Castles 1975:7; Castels 1984:119; Hill 1984; Berger 1987). Studies of Turkish migrants in the late 1980s however, began to point out the growing number of Turkish firms and employees (Sen 1987; Sen 1988; Sen 1993; Blascke & Ersöz 1992) and to underline the increasing trend towards stratification among Turkish migrants.[9] Although the largest percentage are still workers, the image of Turks as unskilled worker, forming a homogenous block, is no longer valid.

In terms of economic capital, there are no significant differences between Turks and other guest workers and German workers (Zapf/Brachtel 1984 in Bröskamp 1991:28).[10] However, German Turks' situation in terms of their cultural capital is different. The form of cultural capital easiest to measure is the educational capital (i.e. educational qualifications). In this area, Turks have a clear deficit. While the rate of completion in vocational training for German workers is 69.3%, for non-Turkish workers and Turks it is 23.7% and 18.3% respectively (ibid.28). The difference between the percentage of Turks and Germans who are in university in Berlin, 4% and 14% respectively is a further manifestation of their deficit in this respect. Only 16.4% of first-year vocational training students are foreigners. In Berlin, in 1989, only 30% of foreign youth was in a vocational training program, in contrast to 68% of German youth. Moreover, those foreigners that leave school form 20% of students altogether. Of this figure, those with no diploma

at all form 31.4%, while the corresponding figure for Germans is 11.2% (Stölting 1991:2-9). Although the number of Turks in vocational training increased in 1990, until 1988, they formed not more than 2% of all the foreigners in vocational training (Yurtdisi Isci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlügü 1992:24).

Turks have relatively poor competence in the German language. Figures for German competence among foreigner groups are: for Spaniards 68%, Yugoslavians 74%, Italians 62%, Greeks 76%, and for Turks 46%. Turkish migrants' low rate of competence definitely plays an important role in positioning them to an inferior place in this field. Language competence is a necessary input for contact and relations with work-mates, authorities, for educational purposes, training and professional positions. For this reason, Turks' poor language competence immediately puts the German-working class in a better position with regard to language-based cultural competence (Brösekamp 1991:9).

Citizenship is also considered to be a part of the institutionalized form of cultural capital (Brösekamp 1993:10). It not only proves to be a necessary condition for certain legal and political rights, but the possession of citizenship does affect not only one's juridical position but also one's standing within the society as a whole (ibid.11).[11] In short, with their low rate of acquiring German citizenship, poor language competence and relatively poor educational qualifications, Turks have an inferior position in respect to cultural capital compared with other foreigner and social groups in German society.[12]

Turkish migrants' real deficiency with regard to distinct forms of capital, however, lies in their social and symbolic capital. The size of the network of

relationships, the connections one can mobilize and the efficiency of these connections within the society determine the volume of one's social capital. As stated already, Turks have effective networks of relations among themselves, but their contacts and connections outside the Turkish migrant community are not as effective as the former and are numerically fewer. While the percentage of people who claim to have contact with Germans are, for Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Italians and Greeks 70%, 74%, 68%, and 76% respectively, for Turks, the figure is 43% (Zapf/Brachtel 1984 in Bröskamp 1991:28).[13] The situation is not very different for second-generation Turkish youth. According to a study conducted by the Foreigners' Office in Berlin, 30% of the 1000 Turks between 16 and 25 years old in their sample claim to come into contact with German youth only very rarely, and 34% have no contact with German youth at all (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1992:14). It is also notable that the number of those claiming to have no contact with Germans increased by 11% between 1985 and 1991 (ibid.14).

A clear deficiency in symbolic capital

The major deficiency in Turks' different forms of capital in Germany is in their symbolic capital. Symbolic capital "is a credit, it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition" (Bourdieu 1990:135). That is, acknowledgment and recognition are essential to this type of capital. The distinctive quality of symbolic capital is that "while the other forms of capital have an independent objectification, be it as money, titles or behavioral attitudes and dispositions", this form of capital "only exists in the eyes of the others" (Joppke 1986:60). Thus, it is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized (Bourdieu 1990:135). For this reason it has a special

importance.

There is a severe deficiency in Turks' social recognition in Germany. Saliha's complaints about her life in Germany, despite her well-off position there, are in fact all complaints about her family's lack of social recognition in Germany. Her family is in a position to afford a very high rent and is willing to pay it, but she ends up searching for an apartment for two years. She faces difficulties in getting her daughter into a private school. She is convinced the family is faced with these problems because they are Turkish. She is aware that not many Germans would be willing to pay such a high rent, but still her money fails to give her access to things she views as hers by right. They have money but are refused service in a restaurant in East Berlin. Her son, a graduate of a hotel management college, is not allowed into discotheques, because he is Turkish.[14] She is aware that this lack of social recognition negates the success they have achieved in different areas such as business, education. Other types of capital that they manage to acquire lose their value because of their severe deficiency in symbolic capital.

Derogatory jokes about Turks,[15] increasing antipathy toward foreigners, attacks and insults directed towards Turks, Turks' inferior position even within other groups of foreigners, have put them into the position of being a minority within a minority (Castles 1984:100).[16] The fact that Turks are always treated as a major problem within the paradigm of "problems with foreigners" (Ausländerprobleme) (see Mandel 1988)[17] is a clear indication that, in the eyes of others, Turks have a very negative image in German society. Ironically, the animosity against foreigners that escalated with the sudden influx of foreigners into Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall was quickly aimed at German Turks. Right

after the attacks on non-Turkish refugees in Rostock in August 1992, public discussion managed to refocus itself on German Turks as the major problem. Thus not surprisingly, Turks were and still are the main target of the arson attacks that have gained momentum since Rostock. 93% of Turkish youth surveyed in Berlin indicate hostility against foreigners and particularly against Turks as the major source of their unease in living in Germany (Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1992:10). German Turks' successes, achievements and sufferings are not acknowledged but are dismissed because of their negative image among the public at large.

Regardless of the different positions German Turks occupy in social space in respect to their economic and cultural capital, they have a deficiency in symbolic capital. It is not only workers or those who started as workers and became successful entrepreneurs who suffer from this lack of social recognition. Turkish artists and writers living in Germany express similar discontent. Their major complaints are about being treated as "ethnic" artists or writers, and the evaluation of their works by reference to criteria different from those that are applied to German artists and writers (see Seyhan 1989; Cirak 1991:5; Erdem 1991:57-59; Erdem 1989; Wolbert 1991). The source of their unease is their non-recognition as artists and writers per se and their recognition only as ethnic artists.

The denial of social recognition for Turkish migrants as a category in Germany also effects their efforts in building connections and networks among themselves. Their efforts in this regard clearly have a pragmatic and short-sighted character rather than being efforts to acquire a reputation or prestige within the community. No matter what kind of symbolic capital one has as a Turk among other Turks, it is negated by the overall deficit in

symbolic capital Turks as a category have in German society. This situation in turn contributes to a further weakening of social control among German Turks. Those who have prestige and reputation among Turkish migrants fail to become the new "significant others" for their fellow nationals.

Saliha and I are talking about recent burglaries, which have increased since the opening of the Wall. She is worried about their two expensive cars. But she adds,

> "To tell the truth, I have no fears about home. If a burglar breaks in, what's he going to steal? OK, he'll steal the stereo. But everything I have [jewelry] is in the bank in a safe. Believe me, you don't wear it here. You tell me, for God's sake, where I would wear it here? Should I wear it at the weddings? [She laughs]. There isn't the right kind of social life here. Mahmut gets really mad at me. Every year during izin I buy something new. All the rest of the year, it sits in the safe. I wear it in Turkey. But here, just once or twice a year, that's all. That's all. Mahmut says 'you like to buy jewelry, not to wear it'."

Turkish women, and especially the young, both male and female, wear a lot of gold in Germany, and Turkish brides receive more gold (as presents) than they do in Turkey (see Mihciyazgan 1988:31).[18] It is noteworthy that Saliha identifies social life in Germany for Turks as inappropriate for wearing her jewelry, for showing off prestige goods. People there, namely other German Turks, are not seen as the right target for showing off.

Zeynep and I are going to Turkey for the Christmas holidays on the same flight. I meet her at the airport and she is extraordinarily well dressed. For the first time

(except for weddings) I see her with make-up. I drop some remarks to the effect that she looks very chic. She answers laughing, "what should I do. We're going to Turkey. If I'm not going to dress up when going to Turkey, when can I? Who am I going to dress up here for [Germany]?". Not only Zeynep but all other Turkish passengers have paid attention to their dress.[19] Before the izin period, Turks spend a considerable time shopping, not only to buy presents to take with them, but also to buy clothes for themselves to wear in Turkey.[20] In izin photos the great attention that is paid to being properly dressed in Turkey is very clear.

Reputation and prestige are not acquired through such showing off and through status goods alone, but the latter is an important part of the former. German Turks' perceptions of their lives in Germany as not worth displaying prestige goods are notable in comparison with the importance they place on reputation and prestige, i.e. on increasing their symbolic capital within the Turkish society.

In short, the social space German Turks occupy in German society is characterized by a deficiency in symbolic capital. Volumes of economic and cultural capitals vary within the stratified Turkish population in Germany, but this deficit in symbolic capital, which affects all Turkish migrants shapes the composition of Turks' overall capital.

Turkey and the symbolic capital of German Turks

The severe lack of social recognition German Turks face in the society they live in leads them to seek ways of compensating for this deficiency. The increase in hostile attitudes and practices against Turks in German society rule Germany out as a place where an increase in

Turks' symbolic capital might be achieved in the near future. Turks, who are aware of their deficit in symbolic capital in Germany, are also aware that an increase in it depends on disassociating their practices from "Turkish culture".[21] The denunciation of everything Turkish and attempts to be more German than the Germans - one of the strategies adopted by some Turkish migrants - are consequences of this awareness.

However, most German Turks seek another basis and reference group to increase the symbolic capital for their social mobility. At this point, Turkey becomes prominent as the most convenient place for matching their economic mobility with their social and symbolic capital. To repeat, this has nothing to do with "returning" to Turkey. Futures might be dreamed of in Germany at least in the short term, but ties to Turkey are too precious to be severed for the sake of social mobility. Turkey's crucial importance in German Turks' self-evaluation and in their quest for social recognition gives rise to a complex structure of reference groups in their lives.

Despite recent stratification among Turkish migrants, the majority of them form a part of the working class.[22] In their day-to-day lives, if they have contact with Germans, it is almost exclusively with working-class Germans. The fact that they belong to the bottom stratum of the working class in the segmented labor market in Germany and aspire to rise in the social order means that the life-styles of the German working class have presence in the formation of their aspirations. That is, in German society it is the German working class upon whose life-style they model themselves. But, in regard to Turkey, the situation is more complicated.

Numerous studies demonstrate that not even Turkish migrants who came from rural parts of Turkey intend to

return to their villages in Turkey. If they ever return to Turkey, they intend to settle in cities and do not want to become workers, but dream of being self-employed (Sengül 1980:46 in Sen 1987:5; Keyder and Aksu 1989).[23] In fact some have already paved the way to their self-employment in Turkey by joining small businesses run by their relatives or hemseris there. Some are also shareholders in cooperatives and middle-size firms in Turkey. Through their investments and business interests in Turkey, the sources and nature of their income have diversified.

This diversification encourages dreams of self-employment, to the extent that it is seen not only as something that will only come true after their return to Turkey, but as something that has already partly come true. Despite their status as workers in Germany, their image of themselves, in the context of Turkish society, is not that of a worker.

Moreover, their income in Germany and their savings in German marks, due to the high exchange rate of the German mark against the Turkish lira (1 DM=10,440 TL), acquire a different meaning within the context of Turkish society. Given the minimum wage of a worker in Turkey (2,000,000 TL, approx. DM 200 a month), their income in Germany (DM 1,500-2,000 a month) is far better than that of workers in Turkey.[24] In fact, it is above the salary of an average middle-class employee. Thus, together with their investments in housing and land and with their (mostly) petty business interests in Turkey, the overall volume of German Turks' economic capital acquires a different character in the context of Turkey. While it makes them working class in Germany, with the same amount of economic capital they come close to being middle classes in Turkey.

Simmel draws attention to the equalizing power of money (1978). According to him, money "tends to extend a concept of equality, insofar as the perception of inequality becomes based upon differences in the possession of money, rather than on an essentialist notion of intrinsic differences in persons" (cited in Miller 1987:73). It is the equalizing power of money that promotes German Turks' impressions of their own social mobility, i.e., as being part of the middle class in Turkey.

The Ambiguity of German Turks' Sense Of Place in Turkey

However, these feelings of a rise to a new position in social space and of joining the middle class in Turkey are ambiguous. "The dispositions acquired in the position occupied involve", according to Bourdieu, "an adjustment to this position - what Erving Goffman calls 'the sense of one's place'" (Bourdieu 1987:5). This sense of one's place is a product of the internalization and incorporation of the structures of one's position in social space.

The sense of one's place is also a sense of what one can or cannot permit oneself, and it "implies a tacit acceptance of one's place, a sense of limits" (Bourdieu 1985:728). The ambiguity of Turkish workers' upward mobility in regard to Turkish society is observable in the ambiguity of their sense of their place and limits. On the one hand, they do not feel inhibited in taking part in certain activities that a worker in Turkey would not dare to do, on the other hand, this "feeling of limitlessness" is also accompanied in practice by a sentiment of uneasiness.

The discussion which centered around the choice of an appropriate wedding hall for the forthcoming wedding of the Eryilmaz's daughter illustrates in an interesting way

the ambiguities involved in their sense of place and limits. All the family members - mother (Güllü), father (Mustafa), two daughters (Banu and Zeynep), two sons (Ali and Halil), and daughter-in-law (Nurgül) - were discussing the planning of Banu's wedding which was to take place next year in Istanbul (although the two families both come from the Black Sea region of Turkey). Everyone proposed a different wedding hall and disagreed with the others' suggestions. In the middle of the discussion, Zeynep came up with a further proposal:

> "Actually, the most beautiful place is I don't know. I mean, there's that place we went to, you know. In the forest. The palace there. Let's have it there.
> Güllü:- Which one, girl? The pink one? The one painted in pink?
> Banu:- O, yeah, that's right. There's a pink one and there's one painted yellow too. That's it, it is beautiful there. That's true.
> Güllü:-Yes, yes, it's very beautiful there. Let's have it there; [turns to her husband Mustafa] the place we went this year during izin. You liked it too, you know Mustafa.
> Nurgül (daughter-in-law):- Are you crazy? Do you have any idea how much that place costs?
> Mustafa:- The money isn't important. The place should be beautiful. It's nice there.
> Zeynep:- That's it; we found it. The argument is over.
> Nurgül:- Don't we count for anything? That's not fair. When it comes to us, we get Burcu [a wedding hall in Kreuzberg]. Your daughter gets a palace.
> Mustafa:- Don't make me tell you how angry you make me. All your expenses and things cost me a good DM 28,000.
> Güllü:- It's easy to do here [in Berlin], isn't it? There are only so many halls to choose from [turning

to Nurgül] What is it about Burcu you don't like? It's a huge hall, the best.

Mustafa:- It isn't the money that worries me. But we have a lot of people coming and they won't fit in there. How are we going to stuff that many people in there?

Güllü:- That's true. There are people coming from the village.

Banu:- I've got it! The best solution! Let's close off the Belgrade woods [Belgrat ormani]. Invite as many people as you like. Bring as many chairs as you want and line them up.

Mustafa:- Well. That's a possibility. Actually it's better than anywhere else. Where are you going to find a more beautiful place? It's open air, woods. And once you bring drums and horn. Line the chairs up. There it's better than those places. We'll be on our own. There's no problem about space. And no one will bother us.

Nurgül:- How are you going to rent a wood?

Mustafa:- You pay your money, you get it, how else?

Banu:- [turns towards me] You know the Belgrade woods, don't you? The air is wonderfully clean. It's like heaven. Wouldn't it be wonderful?"

The wedding took place a year later, not in one of the kösks (pavilions dating from the Ottoman period) which they referred to as palaces, nor in the woods, but in an ordinary wedding hall in Istanbul which was popular among the lower-middle and working classes of Istanbul. However, this conversation is interesting in pointing at two important issues: the nature of the places the family members agree on for their wedding in Turkey and Germany, and the contrast between them and where the wedding was actually held a year later.

First, some information is needed about the places that enter into this conversation. The 'palace-like' places suggested by Zeynep, which they had obviously visited during their izin in the summer, are recently renovated kösks (pavilions) in Istanbul dating from the Ottoman period (in this case Malta Pavilion and White Pavilion). These restorations were carried out with a definite touch of nostalgia and now function as expensive cafés. The renovations were highly praised by those who identify themselves as original Istanbulis and who are continually expressing their unease with the influx of Anatolian migrants and their life-styles into Istanbul. The cafés are expensive, targeting, with their elegant menus, brunches and classical concerts, a relatively well-to-do group of people who have, in Bourdieu's terms, considerable symbolic and cultural capital. In the 1980s these places were popular venues for upper-middle-class weddings, being prestigious places in Istanbul (see the photo in Appendix 4a).

Burcu, on the other hand, is a Turkish wedding hall in Kreuzberg, the oldest of its kind, run by Turks. Despite its popularity among German Turks in Berlin, with its cheap, run-down decoration, traditional drum and horn and popular band music, it certainly has no prestige at all within German society but is exclusively used by Turkish migrants (see the photo in Appendix 4b).[25]

Belgrat ormani is a wood in Istanbul, a well-known picnic area but not a place for holding receptions. At the time of this conversation, there were no cafés or restaurants at all.

The conversation is interesting in terms of the contrast between places that are considered appropriate in Turkey and in Berlin. The choice of wedding hall in Berlin is seen as straightforward: the range of possibilities are

limited and of all the same kind. The weddings that take place in Burcu or similar halls all resemble each other in terms of how the guests are seated, what they are served, the music offered. Burcu is the best of its type (at the time of this conversation) and different sorts of places are not even considered. The Eryilmazs' sense of their place in German society, despite their considerable savings and investments, is not ambiguous: its limits are felt.

The matter becomes complicated when it is a question of choosing somewhere in Turkey. The range of choice is wide and varied. Despite the high price and rather exclusive and cultivated atmosphere, the elegantly renovated kösks, where guests from the village would definitely be out of place, are considered as suitable places for the daughter's wedding. They are beautiful, and the family can afford them with their German marks. They see no reason not to allow themselves these places, which are visited by the upper-middle-class in Turkey. As long as they have the money, they see them as accessible.

However, the contrast with the alternative on which they all end up agreeing is considerable, that is, renting or 'closing off' the woods for the wedding which is in fact not possible and bringing in as many chairs as they wish and organizing davul zurna music, which would be out of the question in the pavilions mentioned above. This is a completely different arrangement for a wedding in terms of the seating of the guests, the food and drink served, the music, etc. A wedding where the guests are seated on chairs placed in rows[26] with traditional drum and horn music, i.e., on the pattern of traditional village weddings, has a different, and a lower status within Turkish society from weddings that take place in the pavilions mentioned above. However, this arrangement, despite its village-wedding sort of set up, has its own

peculiarity. The Eryilmaz family would like to do something unprecedented,[27] i.e., close off a well-known wood in Istanbul. As long as they have sufficient money, they see nothing to prevent them doing so.

Interestingly, in the end the wedding took place in an ordinary wedding hall (dugün salonu) in Istanbul. From the video of the wedding, it is clear that they had the sort of wedding common among workers and the urban lower middle class in Turkey.

Unlike what they would allow themselves in Germany, the range of choices that they see as being accessible to them in Turkey is wider and more varied. The settings and arrangements for weddings they perceive to be feasible range from an upper-middle-class setting and practices to a novel village-like wedding in a wood in Istanbul. A "sense of limits" functions as a sort of social orientation, a sense of one's place, and their sense of "their place" in Turkish society is very unstable and ambivalent. The equalizing power of money blurs their sense of place in Turkish society and gives rise to a belief that (as they would like to believe and experience) the life-styles they wish to follow in Turkey depend only on money. However, in practice they are perfectly aware that money is not enough for them to achieve the life-styles they desire in Turkey either.

In the conversation mentioned above, the limited number of guests that would be invited to a wedding in these pavilions was the only reason given for their inconvenience. But it is notable that, later in the conversation, when comparing the pavilions with the wood, Mustafa says of the latter, "it's better there. We'll be on our own...No one will bother us." Here, it is clear that although it would still be a closed party in the pavilion, they would not feel they were on their own (biz

bize, just among us). Something would disturb their feeling of being at home. On the other hand, although it is impossible to close it off and have a closed private wedding, Mustafa thinks that they would be on their own in the wood. This feeling of being on their own is obviously related to the different atmosphere and arrangement of a weddings at these places. Although they see the pavilions as within their reach, they still do not feel at ease at there. The reasons for their uneasiness are again to be found in the composition of their capital.

The economic capital of German Turks, although acquiring a different meaning in the context of Turkey and theoretically enabling a vertical move into the ranks of the middle classes there, still falls short of granting them an acknowledged place among the middle classes in Turkish society. Whatever they do and achieve, they are almancis or almanyalis, words which evoke connotations of being nouveau riche, backward, uncivilized. Turkish migrants are themselves aware of the negative associations of these labels and develop strategies to overcome them.[28] Sensitivity towards this term is clear from the words of a returnee interviewed by Wolbert: "she's an 'almanyali', they said behind my back. That means: she came back, has lots of money, but doesn't know a thing! (...) I don't like that word: for me the word almanyali has a terrible meaning. Just like the word 'country bumpkin' (in Turkish: kiro): I don't know, just like we came to the city fresh from the backwoods" (1989:7).

Once again, their achievements, especially in regard to economic capital, are not recognized as something which entitles them to an appropriate place in society. As with their position in Germany, they are once again deprived of acknowledgement and recognition, i.e., of symbolic capital, but this time in Turkish society.

Given the low level of education of German Turks on the whole, they also have a deficit in the institutionalized form of cultural capital that goes with this position. However, this is not the only form of cultural capital Turkish migrants are seen to lack in the eyes of the middle classes in Turkey. They also lack manners and are uncultured, in short they have a deficiency in what Bourdieu identifies as the embodied state of cultural capital (1986:243-245). This form of cultural capital refers to long-lasting dispositions of mind and body, to being cultured. It is exactly a deficiency in this type of capital which Wolbert's informant believes the term Almanyali evokes.

The middle classes in Turkey resent the relative economic prosperity of almancis, which has been achieved in a short space of time despite their obvious deficiency in cultural capital. They stress almancis' rural origins and the way they have acquired their wealth in order to exercise social closure against them.[29] The motive is to deny legitimacy to the way almancis have acquired their economic capital and consequently to their attempts to achieve upward mobility and claims to be included in the ranks of the middle classes in Turkey.

Strategies of Social Mobility

German Turks, being aware of their insufficient cultural and symbolic capital as almancis in Turkish society, develop strategies to overcome the deficiencies hindering the upward social mobility they aspire to, strategies which aim at converting their economic capital into cultural capital.[30]

> ... there are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access without secondary costs; others can be obtained only by

> virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) which cannot act instantaneously, at the appropriate moment, unless they have been established and maintained for a long time. (Bourdieu 1986:252)

Education, the most invaluable asset in cultural capital, belongs to the former category. Economic capital gives relatively direct access to educational qualifications. Almancis, conscious of this capacity that economic capital has, put great emphasis on the education of their children.

The ambitions and high aspirations of both Turkish families and their children with regard to education has been documented (see Wilpert 1980; Stölting 1991). Despite their low chances of success, institutional obstacles, and language difficulties, aspirations remain high.

Especially for those Turkish migrants who are no longer workers in German society, educating their children has a high priority. The owner of a funeral home in Kreuzberg whom I interviewed about his business preferred throughout more than half the thirty-minutes' interview to talk instead about the importance of education in one's life, and about the education of his daughters. Obviously this issue is of great importance in his life.

> "Until they go to school, my children know nothing about kindergarten. They have nothing to do with it. Nothing can take the place of a mother, that's what I think. They don't learn German, but they get to know a mother's affection. I did the same thing with my older girl. And now with the younger one. School is different. That's very important. At our house,...it starts at the breakfast table. There's a blackboard next to the kitchen table. In the morning while they

eat breakfast, I stand at one side and teach them their ABC's. We do lessons at breakfast. The older one has got it all there. She's as sharp as a knife. And I pay attention to everything personally. Next week, we're going to Czechoslovakia with my daughter, for a week at a tennis camp. I have everything under control, everything planned out."

He is not the only one in this group of Turkish migrants who is willing to invest money and energy in his children's education. Saliha says she hired a tutor to help her son with his homework, starting from primary school. She does the same for her daughter, who is now attending the third grade.

However, a majority of Turkish migrants who have high expectations from the education of their children are also aware of the dim chances their children have in completing their education or getting qualifications in Germany. The new trend is to send their children to Turkey to be educated.[31] With their income and savings in German marks, they can afford the prestigious schools in Turkey where children are taught in German.[32] Although this practice is still not widespread, it is a desire shared by many Turkish families in Berlin.[33] There are even migrant families who decide to return to Turkey in order to provide a proper education for their children. In fact, this strategy of using education to move upwards into the social position in society to which their economic capital entitles them but which fails them because of their insufficient cultural and symbolic capital is widely practiced by returnees.

"A good education is used as a 'magic potion' against the Almanyali stigma" (1989:7) says Wolbert, who argues that "returning migrants' success in transforming economic capital into the cultural capital of a certain educational

standard is one way for these worker families to be able to survive and regenerate in desirable positions in their home society" (ibid.11). Investment in higher education is an important part of returnees' reintegration strategies (ibid.12).

Unlike educational qualifications, economic capital fails to give instantaneous access to other forms of cultural capital, namely those which presuppose a process of embodiment, incorporation (Bourdieu 1986:244). The conversion of external wealth into an integral part of the person requires "a labor of inculcation and assimilation across time" (ibid.244) and it "always remains marked by its earliest condition of acquisition" (ibid.245). This quality of the embodied state of cultural capital reinforces its symbolic value. "Because the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1986:245). Language in general, differences in dialect referring to class or region, and/or body gestures are important aspects of such forms of embodied cultural capital.

It is notable that it is exactly on these points that almancis are picked out by members of the middle class in Turkey. Mualla owns a manicure and pedicure shop in a middle-class neighborhood in Istanbul. Housewives, bank employees, constitute most of her customers. The almanci family living on the same block are often a subject of conversation in the shop. Mualla, who is personally not in good terms with this almanci woman, starts the conversation:

> "You wouldn't believe what we saw. First get your language straight. This is Turkey. Citizen, speak Turkish! They've earned so much money, but their

language is a mess. You won't get far with your money here. Isn't that so [looks at the other customers].
Customer:- What's happened to them? They became somebody and came back.
Mualla:- If you could become somebody just with money, everything would be easy."

Mualla's remarks problematize the language of almancis in two ways. Her comment "This is Turkey; citizen, speak Turkish!" is an allusion to almancis' general practice of mixing German words into their Turkish such as "Ach, so", "Tschuss". Then, she underlines the rural, mostly peasant origins of the almanci family by saying "but their language is a mess (dilleri dangul dungul)".

Mixing foreign words into spoken Turkish has always been practiced by the elites (who have mostly been educated in foreign schools) in Turkey right from the Ottoman period. The almanci woman's practice of mixing foreign words into Turkish would not have occasioned such criticism if she had belonged to the elite in Istanbul. But she does not. In fact, her pronunciation immediately points to her still fresh rural origins. According to Mualla and the other customer, she is culturally out of place, but she has money and instead of living among the "uncultured", can afford to live in their neighborhood. The whole emphasis in this conversation is along the same lines with which the almanci informant of Wolbert complains about the almancis' image in society: they have money but know nothing and are uncultured. Their perceived deficiency in this form of cultural capital is used to deny the validity of their economic capital.

Almancis and Middle-Class Milieus in Turkey

Another strategy the almancis employ in order to convert their economic capital into cultural capital is to

transplant themselves into middle-class milieus in Turkey.

The almancis' acquisition of apartments in middle-class neighborhoods usually causes hostility against them. One resident of a middle-class neighborhood in Istanbul, on seeing the almancis living on the same block coming home in their Mercedes, remarked,

> "You can see the neighborhood has gone downhill. All these almancis have bought apartments. The streets are full of Mercedes. And just look at what gets out of them. They sling their sacks over their shoulders and carry them like that...Morning, noon and night they clean and wash windows. Well, they don't belong to any milieu or anything, what else can they do?"

Here the allusion is again to their lack of manners, to their rural origins, which given away by their bodily gestures, and basically to the discrepancy between these and their economic status, symbolized by their Mercedes car. Their isolation in the neighborhood is acknowledged and seen as normal.

Unlike other forms of capital, which can be transmitted through gift-giving, purchase or exchange, the accumulation period of the embodied form of cultural capital covers the whole period of socialization (Bourdieu 1986:246). This is one of the reasons why Turkish migrants and returnees are keen to socialize their children in a cultured milieu.[34] Being part of a "cultured milieu" is an important issue. For those almancis who resent the hostility they have to confront in Turkey because of their deficient embodied cultural capital, this is especially important for the socialization they aspire to for their children.

Both German Turks and returnees aim at transplanting themselves into middle-class milieus which are perceived to be more cultured than those they are already in. To pursue this objective, they develop certain strategies. Settling in middle-class neighborhoods is one. German Turks prefer to invest in housing in neighborhoods which they believe are urban middle class in Turkey.[35] This is also true of their investments in holiday resorts. They gradually sever their ties with their villages. The connections and friendships they develop in their new social environment during their annual izin acquire a more important place in their lives than their former relations with their co-villagers or with their villages. Special attention is paid to developing the former.

At the Eryilmazs' Berlin apartment, their neighbors in Cumali and photos taken with them during izin, are always a topic of conversation. Without having met or even seen them, I came to know a lot about these people from Cumali and their relations with each other. The Eryilmaz family are very keen on taking presents to them and finding the things they ask them to obtain in Berlin. Quite often, after a family member arrives at their Cumali apartment, he or she will call Berlin to give a list of things to be taken to the neighbors. They meticulously collect these items every time. This was not the case with the presents for their village. When going to their village they of course take presents with them, but the talk in Berlin is always about the presents for their friends in Cumali.

Mustafa's son and daughter both got engaged in Turkey during izin. The fiancés were both from the Cumali neighborhood (Banu's was also a Hemseri). The engagement ceremonies took place in their Cumali apartment, and instead of a hemseri, two different neighbors, a judge and a lawyer, who are always referred to by their professional

titles instead of their names, slipped the rings on the bride's and the groom's fingers and announced the engagement. In contrast, at the engagement ceremony of their oldest son in Berlin, it was a hemseri who slipped the rings on his fingers, and he was never mentioned on any occasion in a conversation.

Buying apartments in middle-class areas, furnishing them fully and preparing them for their dubious return, and spending their izin there have also an impact on the manipulation of migrants' social origins. Ümit, twenty two years old, was born and brought up in Berlin. After we met, he asked me where I was from in Turkey. When I told him that I was from Istanbul, he said, "we could count as hemseris."[36] After a while it was clear that he did not know much about Istanbul and its districts, not even about the area where his parents - who are still in Berlin - have an apartment (he was not able to give me proper directions to his parents' apartment in Istanbul). His parents came to Germany from a city in the Black Sea region of Turkey, but eight years ago they bought an apartment in Istanbul to settle in after their return. Since then, they have been spending their izins there. Ümit has been there only very briefly. After the whole story about Istanbul came up in conversation, he said laughingly, "Actually we belong to those who became Istanbulis afterwards." The importance of this apartment not only in his parents' but in Ümit's acquisition of a "new" origin in Turkey is noteworthy.

Izins spent in this new milieu function as rehearsals for the anticipated and desired new life-style and social position in society. Those who never go to a restaurant in Berlin or only very rarely enjoy excursions to restaurants with their new friends in Turkey. The photos from their izins indicate different practices than those associated with Berlin. Even dress is different in these photos. Like

the others, Nurgül showed me some photos of her izin. There are some shots of the table, focusing solely on the food at get-togethers with their neighbors and friends in Turkey. Although it is possible to find all the ingredients of the food on these photos in Berlin, I have never seen them consuming them. Nurgül and her relatives, who were also present on these occasions, had difficulties remembering the dish names and describing them. One of them reacted to my persistent questions about the food on the photos by saying, "Stop asking what is this? What is that? I don't know. I saw this for the first time in Cumali. We do not cook them here..."

Transplanting themselves into middle-class neighborhoods in major Turkish cities and establishing friendships and connections there during their izins are part of German Turks' strategies in order to overcome their "deficit" in cultural and symbolic capital in the Turkish context. The fully fledged forms of this effort are to be observed in the practices of the returnees.

After her return, following her marriage in Turkey, Banu directed all her energy towards establishing a middle-class life-style there. After ten years working in a factory in Berlin on a conveyor belt she now enjoys being a housewife in Turkey. Despite complaining about inflation in Turkey, her basic complaints are related to the difficulties in transplanting herself into a - in her words - kaliteli bir cevre ("a genteel milieu") in Turkey. Her ambitions in this endeavor are above her husband's capacity, both economically and culturally. What keeps her mostly occupied is her two and a half year old son, and she invests all her energy and money in establishing herself in a genteel milieu and in securing a good education for her son. Despite her husband's objections, she wants to join a relatively fancy sports club in Istanbul and is ready to pay a large sum of money from her

own savings from her days as a migrant worker for the privilege.[37] "The atmosphere is very important. For one thing Orhan [the son] needs it, and I'll also make a good circle of friends out of it", were the reasons she gave for her persistence.

Banu saw other means of integrating herself into a better milieu. To my question to her mother on the phone in Berlin as to how Banu was doing, she answered, "what should she be doing? She's happy. She is having "reception days" [gün]. They all get together. Work, work; there is no end to it. It's here. Our daughter's become high society, Ayse".

In fact, Banu is not alone in her attempts to integrate herself to the middle classes of her neighborhood by means of "reception days". Güns are important strategies for the returnees in their efforts to reintegrate themselves into the ranks of the middle classes in Turkish society (Wolbert 1989). The ambitions and partial success of almancis in moving up by means of their economic capital in Turkish society face resistance from the middle classes in Turkey. This resistance reflects the social closure the middle classes seek to exercise against the almancis. The dismissal of returnees as "Germanites", argues Wolbert (1990:293), "does not appear to be a response to their intolerable cultural differences, but a reaction to people with similar orientations and strategies reinforcing the struggle for social power." Once the hostilities German Turks face in Turkish society are approached from within this perspective, the emphasis shifts from their alleged alienation from their culture (on the basis of a Turkish culture they presumed they once possessed and have lost in course of time), to their place within particular social classes in Turkey and their relationships with them.

The social space of German Turks consists of an interplay of their social positions in two different societies and characterized by a severe deficit in symbolic and cultural capital in regard to both societies. However, their "cultural" markedness and inferior social status in German society as an undesirable foreign group give prominence to Turkey, in which the fluidity between the social classes compared to Germany is higher, as a more feasible place for the desired upward mobility. The conversion of their economic capital into cultural and symbolic capital seems to be more realistic in Turkey than in Germany.

The persistent presence of Turkey in migrants' lives in Germany has to do more with their quest for social mobility than with their "traditionality", the immutability of their belonging to Turkey, or the question of whether they will return to Turkey or not in reality. The complex nature of Turkish migrants' social space opens up for them a space which is defined by relatively weak social-control mechanisms, which in turn gives way to an increased freedom of manoeuver, to instrumentalize, decontextualize and juxtapose practices and elements from different cultural traditions, histories and languages.

Turkish migrants' life-styles, their encounters with each other and their relations with Turkey can only be understood within the framework of their quest for social mobility and the peculiarities of their social space. Without taking the characteristics of this social space and their quest for social mobility into account, it is not possible to understand the dynamics of German Turks' life-styles, nor of their encounters and relationships with Turkey.

NOTES

1. There are 192 such shops which form the largest share of Turkish small businesses in Berlin and are in fact part of an enclave economy in this area.

2. Düsmanlik means hostility in general. Bu düsmanlik (this hostility) refers in this context to Ausländerfeindlichkeit, i.e. "hatred of foreigners."

3. This was before violent attacks against foreigners and refugees began in earnest in 1991, but still after the fall of the Wall.

4. For examples of landlords' refusal to rent their apartments to foreigners, see Kleff 1984:175.

5. Although I learned afterwards from his mother that his education had not been free of problems and that she had hired teachers at DM 20 an hour so that Hüsnü could keep up at school. She seems to have forgotten all the troubles of that period, probably because of his eventual success, which she stresses all the time with the words Gymnasium'u schaffen yapti (finished Gymnasium).

6. This is made clear and explicit in Bourdieu's own definition of class: "... a class or class fraction is defined not only by its position in the relations of production, as identified through indices such as occupation, income or even educational level, but also by a certain sex ratio, a certain distribution in geographical space (which is never socially neutral) and by a whole set of subsidiary characteristics..." (1974:102).

7. For Bourdieu's use of classes as status groups, see Joppke 1986:56-61; Brubaker 1985.

8. Bourdieu is not unique in his conceptualization of classes as internally structured, something which does not necessarily require a 'revision' of Marxist definitions of class. Poulantzas, for example, uses a Marxist formulation to analyze class as internally structured phenomena (1973). In the structural determination of classes, which refers to their place in the ensemble of social practices, including political and ideological relations, he stresses the need "to refer to political and ideological criteria which have their own autonomy in differentiating various strata within the classes" (1973:35-36), and the coincidence of these with important economic differences which transform class fractions into social forces. The concept of social categories is the clear expression of an attempt to integrate non-economic factors into the analysis of classes and class relations within a Marxist framework. In

their determination, political and ideological criteria play a very dominant role such that "despite the fact that they belong to various classes they can present a unity of their own." (ibid.40)

9. In the FRG approximately 35,000 Turkish firms employ over 110,000 people. In Berlin, according to official figures, about 3500-4000 businesses run by Turks (most of them being Turkish restaurants, Imbißes, groceries and travel agencies) employ approximately 10,000 people (mostly Turks) (Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats 1991:35).

10. The only significant difference among these groups is in regards to house and apartment ownership (German workers 44%, guest workers 3.5%, Turks 1.2%) (Bröskamp 1991:28). Given the migrants' tendency to invest in housing in their home country, this difference is most probably due to their reluctance to declare that they have houses in Germany.

11. For a different view of the effects of citizenship on the migrants' incorporation into the host society, see Soysal-Nuhoglu 1991.

12. Even though the language competence of the second and third generations, in comparison with the first generation, has significantly improved, it is not possible to see a similar trend in respect of the educational qualifications of the younger generations (Stölting 1992).

13. One should view even this figure with some reserve because what Turks consider to be contact with Germans can, in most cases, hardly be counted as stable.

14. This is a common problem for young Turks. In Berlin, they are not welcome or even allowed into most discotheques. This issue is an important source of conflict for young Turks.

15. For a selection of these jokes, see Toelken (1985).

16. It should be noted that hostility arising out of religious differences between Islam and Christianity have had a considerable impact on Turks' undesirability for both Germans and other major migrant groups in Germany.

17. For a clear and explicit expression of the perceived distinctness of Turks from other major groups of foreigners in Germany, see the Heidelberg Manifesto (1982) mentioned above.

18. Although the hemseris of the bride and groom do not feel obliged to pin gold on the bride any more, the amount of gold Turkish brides receive in Germany is higher in comparison with Turkey. In Germany, it is a case of a smaller group giving a larger amount of gold.

19. This case was not unusual. In all my flights to Turkey with Turkish migrants (at least fifteen times) the migrants were strikingly better dressed than they were in Berlin.

20. It is not unusual to save dresses, pants, shirts etc. that have been bought in Germany for wearing in Turkey for izin.

21. I think the pride of some German Turks in their denunciation of everything related to "Turkish culture" and some Turkish migrants' links with marginal but prestigious German groups might be seen as manifestations of this awareness. The Christian basis of anthroposophy has proved to be a very good means whereby some educated German Turks can distance themselves from the associations in Germany of Turks and "Turkish culture" with Islam. They seek social recognition in German society via marginal but nevertheless "cultured" German groups. This strategy, however, requires a high degree of cultural capital and can therefore only be adopted by a very few Turks. The most widespread form that this attempted disassociation takes is to over-emphasize contacts and friendships with Germans, to shop in German shops, etc. Nalan's answer to my compliments on her dress at the henna night before her wedding (a party celebrated by the female friends and relatives of the bride) illustrates this. To my remark, "Nalan, your dress is beautiful", she answered, "We bought it from a German boutique", as if this was a natural explanation of its beauty.

22. Still 61.% of Turkish labour force is in manufacturing industry (Yurtdisi Isci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlügü 1992:12).

23. Judging by some surveys conducted on this topic, the percentage of those who seek self-employment might reach over 70%. See Songül (1980:46).

24. The average weekly gross income of Turkish male workers is DM 848. This figure for Turkish female workers is DM 620 (Bundesarbeitsblatt, Nr.12/1991, cited in Yurtdisi Isci Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlügü 1992:15). On the basis of these figures, the average monthly gross income

of Turkish workers in Germany can be calculated as DM 3,229.

25. In contrast to the "Westernized" menus of the chic cafés in Istanbul, Burcu offers cig köfte, lahmacun. In Burcu, bands play mostly popular Turkish music together with some popular pieces from other countries, but traditional Turkish folk music with davul zurna is an integral part of the music offered at weddings at Burcu.

26. The word Mustafa uses for the arrangement of the chairs is dizmek, which means "to line up chairs." This kind of seating arrangement would be very odd at upper middle-class weddings in Turkey.

27. Later that evening, I asked them whether they had heard of anything like it before. The response was, "No, but why not?"

28. They prefer to be addressed or referred to as "Turks in Europe" or "European Turks". Given Europe's positive connotation in Turkish society, in which, "the West" represents the modern and civilized world, the desire is to replace the negative connotations of almanci or almanyali with the positive ones of being an European.

29. The middle classes are not the only ones who resent the almancis. Their fellow-villagers and relatives who did not or could not go to Germany also show hostility to them. However, my emphasis here is on the hostility of the middle classes, because almancis usually plan not to return to their native villages but take up residence in Turkish cities. The latter form of hostility is more significant.

30. Although this conversion is theoretically possible in German society where they are living, in practice it is difficult. German Turks themselves are aware of the barriers against them such as hostility towards foreigners and their children's poor chances of completing higher education. After all, the majority are workers in Germany. For those who have already moved up economically in German society, the deficiency in symbolic and social capital and the increasing hostility against foreigners and Turks make Germany a relatively unsuitable place for such conversions to take place.

31. There are no accurate figures, thus it is difficult to estimate the popularity of this practice among German Turks. However, news about second-generation German Turks

sent to Turkey to be educated appear occasionally in German editions of Turkish newspapers.

32. In addition to the few colleges where education has always been in German, some lycées have been opened in Turkey basically for the children of returnees, where the curriculum is also taught in German.

33. It may be that no plans have been made and no suitable information gathered, but people very often express their desire that their children have such an education. Tülin, eight years old is jumping up and down on the couch. Her grandmother tells her off a couple of times, but she does not seem to pay any attention. Then she spills water on the table. Her grandmother gets furious, but Tülin runs to her, embraces her, and kisses her as a way of apologizing. The grandmother, softened, by this says, "be nice, my girl. I'll send you to those good schools in Turkey. You won't be ruined here [Germany]." I heard this wishful thinking many times. Two years after this conversation, Tülin is still in Germany. The family do not have much information about ways of getting her into these schools, but the desire is still expressed frequently.

34. Mustafa wished to send his two-and-half-year-old grandchild in Turkey to a kindergarten in Istanbul, which they had heard taught in foreign languages and had both primary and secondary schools. After asking some questions, it was clear to me that what they were referring to was Papillon, an exclusive private kindergarten run by French people which accepted either French children or those who had already learnt French. Only members of the high bourgeoisie in Turkey manage to get their children into this kindergarten. Although they were not well informed, they said that they would manage to get him in somehow. To my comment, "It's very, very difficult", the grandfather answered, "After you've paid the money, what other difficulties could there be! Education is very important. Whatever she [his daughter] does, she's going to send the child there."

35. In the beginning, they tended to invest in their villages or towns, but later, shifted their investments in housing to the middle-class districts of big cities.

36. It is important to remember that he was born in Berlin.

37. These are her savings and the family allowance she managed to get from Germany, despite residence in Turkey. She returned to Germany briefly for the birth of her child.

CONCLUSION

German Turks have experienced displacement within the guest-worker system in Germany. The new sense of place, "home" and self-images that have resulted from their dislocation have been shaped by the ambiguities, inconsistencies and insecurities this system has introduced into their lives in Germany. As a consequence of the double-bind situation of their displacement, their new sense of place - as can be seen from the phenomena of gurbet and izin and the sentiments surrounding them - did not take the form of a new homeland replacing the original one. Instead, a new sense of place shaped by having more than one "home" has evolved as well as an identity grounded in more than one location. As is shown by the distancing nature of the words gurbetci (one who is away from home), almanci and almanyali (one living in Germany, Germanite, German-ish,) which are used to refer to Turkish migrants, the latter are construed as a "footloose" group who are simultaneously insiders and outsiders in both German and Turkish society.

The physical proximity of Turkey and the extensive networks of communication between German Turks and Turkey and the Turkish media in Germany also play a role in the formation and maintenance of the liminal situation of German Turks. The structural and classificatory ambiguity and confusion of conventional categories that characterize German Turks' liminality open up new spaces for them to articulate new aspirations and forge new identities and utopias.

In the official discourses of both host and home countries, the German experience of Turkish migrants is expected to have transformational consequences for their lives in general. In the face of this image of their

experiences in Germany and their rapid internal stratification (the resulting upward social mobility) within the Turkish community - which the first generation experienced and witnessed in a relatively short space of time - German Turks have also developed a vision of this period as a process of becoming in which their aspirations are realizable.

The contention of Turkish migrants that they are somehow outside the conventions and protection of both Turkish and German society, resulting from their legal and social position being fragmented between two societies, unfolds into a self-image as self-made men. In the context of the liminality following their particular type of displacement, they construe a self-made man identity and a vision of their experiences in Germany as the chance of their lives to realize their increased aspirations.

A severe deficit in symbolic and cultural capital characterizes the social space of German Turks in both German and Turkish society. Consequently, there is a structural mismatch between the aspirations and expectations shaped by their - more or less achieved - economic mobility and their actual chances of upward social mobility. This mismatch largely hinders the upward social mobility they desire. In the context of their inferior status as a culturally marked foreign group in Germany, Turkey has become prominent as more feasible than Germany as a place where social mobility might be realized.

This study has examined the persistent presence of Turkey in Turkish migrants' lives in relation to German Turks' quest for upward social mobility rather than the immutability of their belonging to Turkey or to the questions of their temporariness or permanence in Germany. Turkish migrants' life-styles are shaped in the context of

their complex social space. This takes the form of the interplay of their social positions in two different societies and the strategies they pursue to change them, rather than coherent webs of significations embedded in a reified ethnicity and/or an immutable "Turkish culture".

German Turks' liminality and self-made man identity, together with the image of their German experience as the opportunity of their lives, establish the bases for the development of their ability to take what seems fitting and to leave the rest. Elements and practices from very different sources are uprooted and syncretically recombined and reset.

This study is about first-generation Turkish migrants' emerging self-images and the dynamics of their encounters and life-styles. Members of the second generation negotiate and transform their parents' sense of place, identities and life-styles, which are very much shaped by the nature of their displacement and incorporation into the host society. Relations with other migrant groups, German Turks' prominent images in public, and the discourses and patterns of their incorporation into the host society all play a role in the articulation and establishment of the second generation's more fragmented and creolized identities, tastes and life-styles. However, the identities and life-styles of first-generation German Turks remain active (negatively and positively) in the structuration of the second generation's identities, life-styles, and sensibilities. The former establish the social milieu of the latter's socialization and thus become a necessary component of the second-generation's store of knowledge and dispositions, one of many sources shaping their sensibilities, identities and life-styles.

It is highly unlikely that we will see a major change in the social exclusion of German Turks in Germany in the near future. Although the future generations' relations with Turkey will assume different forms from those of the first generation, Turkey will retain its presence in their lives, at least in the form of an inverted relation with "Tradition".

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APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1a:

"Easter has become circumcision season" "A circumcision festivity with traditional drum and horn at Kreuzberg" (Hürriyet April 14, 1993, the Berlin Supplement).

Appendix 1b:

"And this is a circumcision with Santa Claus" (Hürriyet April 14, 1993, the Berlin Supplement).

Hürriyet
Türkiye Türklerindir
14 Nisan 1993 Çarşamba
Kurucusu: Sedat Simavi 1896-1953

Aileler sünnetçi kapısında ve hastane koridorlarında sıraya girdi

Ostern sünnet mevsimi oldu

■ Alman doktorların sünnet edip, edemeyecekleri ayrı bir tartışma konusu olurken, hastalık kasalarının da masrafları üstlenmemeleri şikayetlere yol açtı.

■ Türk Sağlık Elemanları Derneği uyardı: "Çocuğunuzu sünnet eden kişinin uzman olmasına dikkat edin"

■ Din Hizmetleri Ataşesi, sünnetin dini ve sıhhi yönden büyük önem taşıdığını vurguladı.

Süleyman SELÇUK'un haberi 3. sayfada

KREUZBERG'DE DAVUL ZURNALI SÜNNET Berlin'deki Türk toplumu açısından çözüm bekleyen sorunlardan birisi de sünnet olayı. Bu konuda yeterli bilgilerden yoksun olan yurttaşlarımız bu konuda kendi başlarının çaresine bakmak zorundalar. Kreuzberg'de, sünnet çocukları davul zurna eşliğinde, at üzerinde gezdirilerek ananeler taze tutulmayı özen gösteriliyor.

BU DA NOEL BABA'LI SÜNNET Çağın ve yaşadıkları ülkenin şartlarına ayak uyduran yurttaşlarımızdan bazıları da, olayı Alman eş ve dostlarına yansıtmak için çocuklarının sünnet düğününe Noel Baba getirtiyor.

APPENDIX 2

In each news item illustrated here, the bride and groom - second generation or not - are referred to in relation to their "home" city in Turkey. Moreover, hemşeri relations are particularly emphasized.

Appendix 2a:

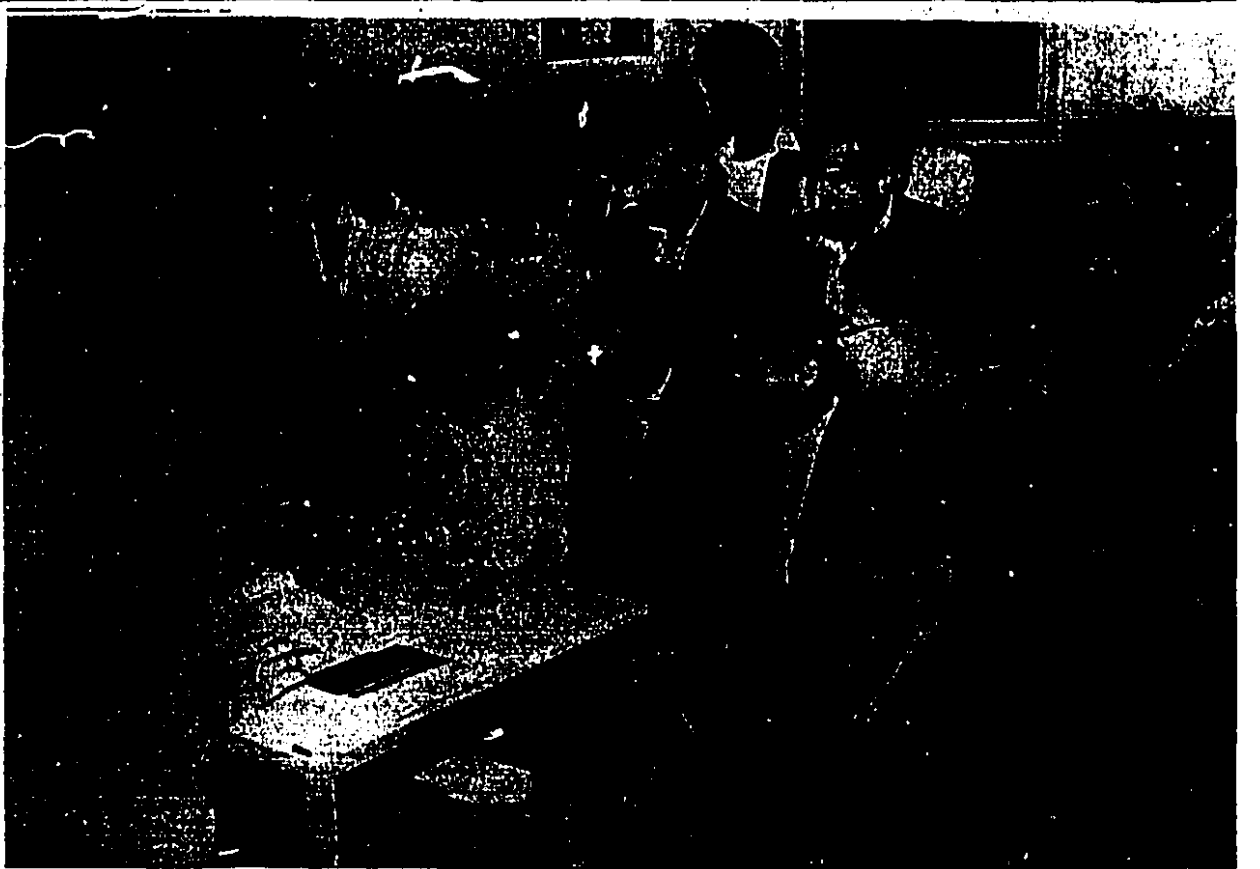
Tercüman, May 29, 1987 the Berlin Supplement.

Appendix 2b:

Hürriyet, July 19, 1990, the Berlin Supplement.

Appendix 2c:

Hürriyet, May 26, 1990, the Berlin Supplement.



Görücü usulü ile tanıştılar

Ankara'lı Sıdıka Kaynar ile Afyon'lu Bayram Bey ailelerinin daha evvel tanışmaları ile görücü usulü ile birbirlerini istediler. Büyüklerden evet cevabı aldıktan sonra Berlin Başkonsolosluğu'ndaki görkemli bir nikah töreninden

19 Temmuz '92 Hürriyet

MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI * MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI * MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI * MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI

Umutspor Voleybol takımının güzel başkanı Seyhan evlendi

Umutspor Voleybol Takımının güzel başkanı 27 yaşındaki Samsunlu Seyhan Özbek, bekarlığa veda etti. Berlin Teknik Üniversitesi ekonomi öğrencisi olan Özbek, aynı üniversitede elektroteknik bölümüne devam eden 29 yaşındaki Karslı Gökhan Partar ile evlendi. Berlin Başkonsolosluğu nikah dairesinde yapılan törene çok sayıda Umutsporlu veleybolcu arkadaşları katıldı. Güzelliği ve üzerindeki şık kıyafetiyle dikkat çeken genç başkanın nikah şahitliğini Sema Özbek ile Tamer Bayrı yaptılar.

Başkonsolosluk makamı nikah dairesi oldu

Türkiyemspor'un eski başkanı ve tanınmış işadamı Hikmet Ceylan, gönlünü kaptırdığı 19 yaşındaki Ankaralı manken Nuray Güner'le evlenmeye karar verince Berlin Başkonsolosluğu makamı nikah dairesi oldu. Başkonsolos Akın Emregül'ün kendi makam odasında kıydığı nikaha, Konsol Mehmet Koza ile THY Berlin temsilcisi Cahit Sarayla da şahitlik yaptı. Akın Emregül'ün espirileriyle evliliğe evet diyen mutlu çift, balayılarını geçirmek üzere damat beyin Leipzig'de yeni satın aldığı otelin yolunu tuttu.

Kuaföre aşık oldu

Antakyalı 19 yaşındaki şirin ve güzel Nazan Aydın, kuaförde tanıdığı 21 yaşındaki İzmirli Ali Alkaya'ya aşık oldu. Nazan'ın saçını yaparken çok büyük özen gösteren Ali, espirileriyle de genç kızın gönlünü çalmasını bildi. Kuaförde başlayan aşk, iki genci kısa zamanda Berlin başkonsolosluğuna getirdi. Aileler de bu hayırlı işe rıza gösterince, Nazan ve Ali mutluluk içinde nikah defterini imzaladılar.

Balayı Amerika'da

Berlin'in renkli simalarından işadamı Veli Mete'nin oğlu Ali Mete, Nevşehir–Hacıbektaş'lı Berrin Babaoğlu ile dünya evine girdi. Berlin başkonsolosluğunda yapılan nikah törenine Başkonsolos Akın Emregül ve çok sayıda Berlinli işadamı katıldı. Genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini Sultan Bayrak ve Selahettin Baliyemez yaptı. Düğün hazırlıklarına başlayan genç çift, balayı için de şimdiden, Amerika'ya gitmek üzere yer ayırttılar.

Hemşeriler akraba oldu

Çorumlu 19 yaşındaki Yücel Şahin ve 18 yaşındaki güzel hemşerisi Tülay Özbek, Berlin başkonsolosluğu nikah dairesinde attıkları imzalarla dünya evine girdi. Genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini, Azmi Arıcı ve Mehmet Kara yaptılar. Nikahtan sonra düğün hazırlıklarına başlayan Yücel–Tülay Şahin çifti, balayı için Türkiye'ye uçacaklar.

Berlin ziyareti mutluluk getirdi

Ailesiyle birlikte Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş yapan 17 yaşındaki Sebahat Bozkurt'un Berlin ziyareti mutluluk getirdi. Teyzesini ziyaret eden Sebahat, hemşerisi 21 yaşındaki Gökmen Duru'yu bir aile ziyaretinde Sevg. dolu bakışlarıyla Gökmen'i kendisine aşık eden güzel Sebahat, başkonsolosluğunca kıyılan nikahla, Berlin'e tekrar temel attı. Nikah şahitliğini Bülent Oğut ve Orhan Orukçu yaptılar.

MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI MUTLULUK FOTOGRAFLARI

Gelin Duisburglu

Berlin'de terzi olarak çalışan 22 yaşındaki Eskişehirli Remzi Yavaş, Duisburg seyahati sırasında tanıdığı hemşehrisi Hülya Aran ile nikahlandı. Çok sayıda davetlinin katıldığı nikah törenirde genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini Mehmet Timur ve Mesut Yavaş yaptılar.

Gözlük almaya gidince tanıştı

Eczacılık bölümünde öğrenim gören 22 yaşındaki Artvinli Atakan Aydın, gözlük almak için gittiği gözlükçüde 22 yaşındaki Konyalı Ayşe Kocabaş ile karşılaştı. İlk anda Ayşe'nin Alman olduğunu sanan Atakan, Ayşe Türkçe konuşunca şaşırdı ve " Ben sizi alman tahmin ettim. Ne güzel Almanca konuşuyorsunuz" diyerek sohbete başladı. Gözlükçü de başlayan arkadaşlık 1 yıl kadar sürdü ve birbirlerini seven ve ömür boyu mutlu olacaklarına inanan gençler, Başkonsolostukta biraraya gelerek evlendiler.Genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini Ahmet Şahin ve Abdullah Tüfekçi yaptılar.

Kız Kalesi'nden nikah masasına

Tatil yapmak üzere Türkiye'ye giden 23 yaşındaki Adanalı Mustafa Tasdemir, Kız Kalesi'nde gezerken, Ankara'nın güzel kızlarından Bilgi Şimşek'i gördü. Bilgi'nin güzelliği karşısında büyülenen Mustafa, ne yapıp yapıp kendisiyle konuşmaya başladı. Her ikisinin de Berlin'den olması üzerine sohbete başlayan gençlerin dostlukları Berlin'e döndüklerinde de devam etti. Birbirleriyle ömür boyu mutlu olacağını inanan genç çiftler, attıkları imzalarla hayatlarını birleştirdiler. Genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini Kazım mete ve Duygu Bingöl yaptılar.

Koblenz'e gelin gitti

Gümüşhaneli 22 yaşındaki Haydar İnci, amcasının kızı Nurcan mutlu ile dünya evine girdi. Genç çiftin nikah şahitliğini Kazım mutlu ve Sünbül Mutlu yaptılar. Türkiye'den kağıtlarının geç gelmesi üzerine bir ay önce muhteşem bir törenle evlenen genç çiftler, Berlin Başkonsolosluğu nikaün dairesinde attıkları imzalardan sonra Koblenz'e gittiler.

Siemens'den dünya evine

Siemens fabrikasında çalışan Adanalı Cabbar Yalvaç, aynı işyerinde çalışan Hülya Akyol'a gönlünü kaptırdı. Kısa sürede başlayan dostlukları, aşka dönüşünce Berlin başkonsolosluğu nikah dairesinde biraraya gelerek, dostlarının huzurunda nikah defterini imzalayarak hayatlarını birleştirdiler. Çiftin nikah şahitliğini Aydın Yalvaç ve Abdurrahman Erdoğan yaptılar.

Nişanda tanıştılar

Erzincanlı Filiz Özbey'le, Sivaslı Şabahattin Ak, Sivaslılar'ın nişanında tanışıp,daha sonra birbirlerine yönül verdiler... Bu sıcak aşkı zaman içinde pekiştiren çift sonunda Berlin Başkonsolosluğu'nda nikah kıymaya karar vererek dünyaevine girdiler.

APPENDIX 3

In all the mini-surveys on next page, taken from the German edition of Turkish newspapers, the information about the person surveyed covers only his/her name, his/her "home" city in Turkey and his/her age.

Appendix 3a:

"Mini-Survey: How do we celebrate Bayram? (Hürriyet, May 29, 1987, the Berlin Supplement).

Appendix 3b:

"Mini-survey: Do izin expenses put a burden on your family budget?" (Hürriyet, July 19, 1990, the Berlin Supplement).

Appendix 3c:

"Mini-survey: What have you done during your vocation?" (Hürriyet, August 22, 1991)

MİNİ ANKET

Bayramı nasıl kutluyoruz?

"Türkiye'deki bayramlara hasretiz. Burada öksüz gibiyiz"

Gurbette bayram işte geçiyor





FAHRETTİN ERDEM (Kars-26 yaşında)


19 Temmuz 1990

İzin masraflarınız aile bütçenizi etkiliyor mu?





Tatilde ne yaptınız?





VOLKAN IŞIK


APPENDIX 4

Appendix 4a:

Interior of Malta Pavilion in Istanbul.

Appendix 4b:

Interior of Burcu, a wedding hall at Kreuzberg.


HOŞ GELDİNİZ