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THE TURK(O-GERMAN)ISH AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN (GUEST-)WORKERS/IMMIGRANTS IN THE WORLD-ECONOMY: FROM LABOR MIGRANTS (OF THE THIRD WORLD) TO UNDERCLASS MEMBERS IN (ETHNIC/RACIALISED) HARLEM-GHETTOS (OF THE FIRST WORLD)

VOLUME I

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ÖZER BOSTANOĞLU

56570

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ

FEBRUARY 1996

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ABSTRACT

THE TURK(O-GERMAN)ISH AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN (GUEST-)WORKERS/IMMIGRANTS IN THE WORLD-ECONOMY: FROM LABOR MIGRANTS (OF THE THIRD WORLD) TO UNDERCLASS MEMBERS IN (ETHNIC/RACIALISED) HARLEM-GHETTOS (OF THE FIRST WORLD)

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Supervisor: Prof.Dr.Gönül Tankut

February 1996, 809 pages

The dimensions of the globalization in terms of spatial and technological development do dictate and enable at the same time that the **resemblances** between the housing processes of the capitalist developed and/or developing countries be taken into account, too, as besides the very **differences** caused by discrete dispersal and growth processes witnessed in the historical socio-economic evolution of the housing articulation phenomena. The resemblances mentioned can be detected in such **social** contexts as **"racism", "ethnic minorities", "ghettoization", "slums",** and **"gecekondus" (squatter houses).**

According to a settled view, every scientific attempt aims to find out of the very **differences** within the topics to be handled. Hence, it could be asked whether it would be appropriate to look for **resemblances.** If they could be effective in making one start to **suspect** the existing theoretical paradigms, then, the search for the resemblances will be transferred into the realm of the search for the differences, **anyway.** This result reminds one of the **dialectic process** as a philosophical concept whereby the **poles of an antithesis** do **interpenetrate mutually** despite all their **opposition** to each other as being just similar to the exploration of the east while one issearching the west on the geographical space.

The effort to display the resemblances within the social contexts cited, would contradict the dominant urban research paradigm stemming largely from the **"Western-capitalist-white-developed- country(es)"** (or the **"First World")**. According to the proponent s of this**"liberal"** paradigm, the developed (capitalist) countries which have completed their industrialization processes have been able to **solve** their **urbanization** problems **apparently** and in **physical** terms by making use of time, **monetary sources, scientific-technological** and artisanal-aesthetical equipment. These **"evolutionist"** scholars from the **"pro-modernisation"** school state that the underdeveloped or developing countries (or the **"Third World") will** also pass through the **mentioned stages** and, then at the end, **solve** their problems.

However, the situation is **not** so simple as stated. Neither the Western developed countries have solved their urbanization problems; nor the Third World countries will be able to solve theirs in foreseeable future.

The Thesis aims at displaying the falseness of the liberal paradigm within the context of international labor migrations of world-capitalism, in general, and of Turk(o-German)ish minority in particular, while comparing the U.S. case with Germany (following America just a decade behind).

(Keywords: Global capitalism, international labor migrations, urban poverty, (ethnic/racialised) Harlem-ghetto, underclass, guestworker, racism.)

ÖZ

DÜNYA-EKONOMİSİNDE TÜRK(-ALMAN) VE MEKSİKA-AMERİKALI (KONUK-) İŞÇİ/GÖÇMENLER: (ÜÇÜNCÜ DÜNYA'NIN) EMEK GÖÇMENLERİNDEN (BİRİNCİ DÜNYA'NIN) (ETNİK/IRKSALLAŞTIRILMIŞ) HARLEM-GHETTOLAR(IN)DAKİ DİPSINIF ÜYELERİNE

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Şubat 1996, 809 sayfa

Küreselleşmenin bugün ulaştığı mekansal ve teknolojik boyutlar, kapitalist gelişmiş ve/ya da gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki **konut(lanma) görüngüsünde** tarihsel sosyo-ekonomik gelişimde varolan değişik saçaklanma ve büyüme süreçlerinin nedenlediği fiziksel ve teknolojik **farklılıkların** yanısıra, bu ülkelerin konutlanma süreçlerindeki **benzerliklerin de** öneminin saptanıp, açımlanmasını gerekli ve olanaklı kılmaktadırlar. Sözkonusu benzerlikler, **"ırkçılık", "etnik kümelenmeler", "ghettolaşma", "slum", "gecekondu"** gibi toplumsal oluşumlarda yakalanabilmektedirler.

Yerleşmiş bir anlayışa göre, her bilimsel uğraş, ele alınan konulardaki **farklılıkların** bulgulanmasını amaçlar. Dolayısı ile, benzerlikler bulmaya çalışmanın, bilimsel ele-alışa uygun düşüp, düşmeyeceği sorulabilir. Eğer bunlar, varolan kuramsal paradigmalardan **kuşku duyurtmayı** başarabilirlerse, o zaman benzerlik arama çabası, bir anlamda, farklılık arama çabasına **zaten** dönüşecektir. Bu sonuç, coğrafik mekanda sürekli batıya giderek doğuyu bulmak anlamında, felsefi söylem olarak **diyalektik süreçte bir antitezin zıt iki kutbunun birbirlerine geçişliliğini** anıştırır. Anılan toplumsal oluşumlardaki benzerliklerin ortaya konulması çabası, şimdiye kadarki çoğu **"Batılı-kapitalist-beyaz-gelişmiş ülke(ler)"** (ya da **"Birinci Dünya")** kaynaklı kentsel araştırma paradigmasının baskın özellikleri ile çelişebilecektir. Bu **"liberal"** paradigmanın taraftarlarına göre, sanayi devrimlerini tamamlamış bulunan gelişmiş (kapitalist) ülkeler; belli bir zaman, **parasal kaynak, bilimsel-teknolojik** ve sanatsal-estetik donanım sayesinde, **kentleşme** sorunlarını **görünüşte** ve **fiziksel** olarak **çözmüşlerdir. "Modernleşmeci", "evrimci"** bu görüş sahiplerine göre,azgelişmiş ya da gelişmekte olan ülkeler de (ya da **"Üçüncü Dünya") bu aşamalardan** geçecekler ve sonunda sorunlarını **çözeceklerdir.** Oysa gerçek hiç de savlandığı gibi basit **değildir.** Ne Batılı gelişmiş kapitalist ülkeler kentleşme sorunlarını çözmüşlerdir; ne de, Üçüncü Dünya ülkeleri, görünür gelecekte sözkonusu sorunlarını kolayca çözebileceklerdir.

Tez, anılan paradigmanın yanlışlığını; dünya-kapitalizminin uluslararası emek göçleri genelinde ve Türk (-Alman) azınlığı özelinde,

Amerikan örneğini (Amerika'yı sadece bir onyıl geriden izleyen) Almanya ile karşılaştırarak, göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

(Anahtar sözcükler: Küresel kapitalizm, uluslararası emek göçleri, kentsel yoksulluk, (etnik/ırksallaştırılmış) Harlem-ghetto, dipsınıf, konuk-işçi, ırkçılık.)

This work is dedicated to my dear parents..

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Thesis work has been prepared within nearly eight years since the first visit of the author (F.R.)Germany in 1987 and his stay there for five months (June-October 1987) with a stipendium obtained from the **"Konrad Adenauer Stiftung" (KAS)** as mobilized by the F.German Ex-Federal Minister of Spatial Planning, Building and Urbanism, Dr.Oscar Schneider to whom a special thank is forwarded. The author also wishes to thank Dr.Reinhard Daniel from the Lower Saxonian Ministry of Social Affairs (in Hannover) who had all the official responsibility of that visit covering a two months' stay in W.Berlin, a three months' one in Hannover and short-term visits to Frankfurt, Hamburg, Bremen and Bremerhaven. A due thank is also for Ingrid Rotmann from the KAS.

A very special thank goes to Dr.Cihan Arın who then was employedas an architect/academician at the Technische Universitaet (TU)Berlin. Being at the top of the "pioneers'" list researching theTurks' housing conditions in F.Germany thoroughly, he was one of the grand supporters of this Thesis work, too.

The author would like also to thank the officials of the **"Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowship Program"** for providing a stipendium for a stay in the U.S. during the academic year of 1990- 1991. Prof.Hans B.C. Spiegel from the Graduate Program in Urban Planning of the City University of New York (CUNY) should be thankfully mentioned for his

excellent "networking" efforts. Dr.Stephen Johnston from the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning of the CUNY was a brilliant academic advisor. Lionel C. McIntyre from the Harlem Urban Development Corporation was too kind to offer to the author a practice period of a month's duration at his Corporation located right in the middle of the district. James N. Gehlhar from the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, George H.J. Abrams from the National Museum of the American Indian (New York), Prof.Feroz Ahmad (the famous "Turkey" expert from the University of Massachusetts), E.W. "Bill" Dominguez from the County of San Diego, Robert Acker from the International Visitors Council of San Diego are all warmly greeted for their unforgettable helps.

If the turn comes to the "inside", the author firstly has to mention the excellent guidance, patience and enthusiasm offered to him by his Thesis supervisor Prof.Dr.Gönül Tankut (who was always reminding the author (when she was able to see him around, of course) of a "horse race" whereby the horses were stopping sometimes dead whenever they see the final obstacle!)

The author has also to spell the contributions made by the TODAİE in the periodical of which the author had published two articles ("Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya Yönelen Dışgöç Hareketi ve Yarattığı Mekansal Oluşumlar", **"Amme İdaresi Dergisi",** Vol.20, No:4, Dec.1987, pp.89-106; and "Federal Almanya'da Halk Katılımı ve Türkler",Vol.22, No:2, June 1989, pp.41-52) about the Turks in Germany which have been used

(with necessary modifications and supplementary updating texts, of course) in the Thesis work, too. (Another article by the Thesis-writer ("(Federal) Alman Kentleşmesinde Konut ve Türk Sorunu") published in the periodical **"Toplum ve Bilim"** (No:43/44, 1988/1989, pp.141-156) has been extensively used, too.)

As for the thanks going to the family members: Especially, I would like to mention the **"Familial Foundation(!) of** (my parents) **Saffet & Lütfi Bostanoğlu",** which being established upon their long years of both "brain-migration" and "home-missing" ("gurbet") experiences in Afghanistan and Haiti, "supported" heavily (i.e. financially, as well) my "extra" visits abroad, because the research about the Turks in Germany could not get enough (any?) material support from German institutes! Besides that, my mother's special foods and prays while being in the "camp"; Olca's wishful helps and patience support (also to and for our son Bener); Burcu's critical thoughts and elaborations; lastly but not leastly, the "infrastructural support" in Berlin provided by my relatives, the family of Ayşe & Saim Yıldız are very much worth of citing.

At the "technical side", Kürşad Arıgümüş has done much of the computer works related with the field survey. Konak Kırtasiye from Ankara has been very much helpful by other technical works. I owe a great thank to all persons mentioned and related. And as for the responsibility of failures allthroughout the Thesis work: It lies solely with me.

Özer BOSTANOĞLU
(Ankara, Or-An, 13th January 1996.)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS TOPIC(S)

1.1 LABOR MIGRATION PROCESSES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The world is undergoing immense and radical changes in the arena of international relations. The "classical" East-West political positions to one each other; the "cold war" between the antagonistic ideological camps and/or blocs; the "socialist" versus "capitalist" economic policies; the "state" versus "market" approaches, etc.; all of these once "hot" issues of discussions have lost importance. With the falling down of the "Berlin Wall" on 09.11.1989 and the following decay of the "Soviet Russian Empire", a "New World Order" has come into existence under the leadership of the United States (which has rather also been unable (or perhaps unwilling?) to stop immediately the regional wars going on such as the one in the Bosnia-Herzegovigna). Although the world is now in a more precarious situation than before the collapse of the so-called "Communist Bloc", an all-encompassing rhetoric of "globalization" is being (re)produced uninterruptedly nearly in every remotest part of the world.

To-day, as approaching to the end of the last decade of the twentieth century, an atmosphere of "more freedom", of "more tolerance to

oppositions and/or ethnic minorities" and of "lesser-and lesser armament" prevails to a much greater extent than before. Of course, a very promising and happy situation.

However, to-day also witnesses a severe and rather global economic crisis under the serious social and health effects of which mostly the so-called Third World countries suffer. No single day passes without news of famines, of mass-starvation possibilities in this and that (African) country and of child-deaths to be expected. According to the latest news (as announced in the Turkish newspaper "Cumhuriyet" of 30.12.1995, p.3), the World Health Organization (WHO) has called a "global urgency situation" with regard to the growing danger of "tuberculosis" (known also as the "poors' illness") which has arisen again from the grave and threatening now nearly 1,900 billion people, i.e. one third of the total world population!

Rural to urban migrations of desperate villagers in search for existence and/or living conditions elsewhere and to a great extent in big cities of their countries especially after the Second World War can not be "prevented". Rural masses flow into the big cities because cities are places for future hopes (1). However, the prevailing employment and housing conditions in cities of developing countries are rather far away from being satisfactory to meet the huge demand of the masses. So, the migrants to cities tried and still try to find the solutions (however disputable they may be) to their problems by their own ways and means creating "marginal sector employments" as well as their technical infrastructurally rather substandard

living environments and houses, i.e. shacks and gecekondus(2). This is the first facet of the medaillon.

On the other side of the medaillon, one observes the long migration waves, i.e. the international and/or even intercontinental flows of rather poor people into rich countries. The countries of emigration (or sender countries) are mostly Third World countries (orSouthern countries, underdeveloped and/or developing countries) whereas the countries of destination (or host countries) are for the most part developed, industrialized (Western) countries or some oil-rich Arab countries. (The migration to the latter ones should and will be differentiated from the ones to the former countries on the ground this Thesis work will embark upon.) So, the migration movements appear to be a function and/or derivative of underdevelopment.

Leaving his/her own place, land, home and migrating to somewhere else, be it another city, another country, is not a new phenomenon. It is as old as the man's history on the globe. However, the scale and extent of the migration waves althroughout history change according to the prevailing world division or labour which is rather imposed to the actors of this historical and international game. However "simplistic" at first sight it might read, it is, we believe, of great help to understand the international relations of our times in different areas of inquiry. First of all we need a "world-system perspective" to handle the topic.

Wallerstein's world-system perspective of underdevelopment departs from the assumptions below:

"1) Economic processes in the modern world take place within the framework of a system we may call the capitalist world - economy, and "underdevelopment" is therefore merely a descriptive term for that part of the processes (processes, not states of being) found in peripheral areas of this world-economy. 2) Neither the "development" nor the "underdevelopment" of any specific territorial unit can be analyzed or interpreted without fitting it into the cyclical rhythms and secular trends of the world-economy as a whole" (3).

He further argues that there came to be a European world-economy based upon the capitalist mode of production in the sixteenth century and that the distinctive feature of the capitalist world-economy is that economic decisions are oriented primarily to the arena of the world-economy, while political decisions are oriented primarily to the smaller structures having legal control, i.e. the states (nation-states, city-states, empires) within the world-economy. Even the modern class system began to take its shape in the sixteenth century (4). And where was this European world-economy? "There are no clear and easy lines to draw, but (..) it (is) most fruitful to think of the sixteenth century European world as being constructed out of the linkage of two formerly more separate systems, the Christian Mediterranean system centering on the Northern Italian cities and the Flanders-Hanseatic trade network of north and northwest Europe, and the attachment to this new complex on the one hand of East Elbia, Poland, and some other areas of eastern Europe, and on the other and of the Atlantic islands and parts of the New World (Peru, Chile, Brazil, etc.) (5)".

Wolf, however, criticizes Wallerstein while arguing for that the capitalist mode of production did not come into being until the latter part of the eighteenth century. He states that:

> "Before that time, European expansion produced a vast network of mercantile relations anchored in noncapitalist modes of production. The worldwide movement of commodities generated prices and money-begetting money, without as yet subsuming both means of production and labor power under capital. Only the conversion of means of production and labor power into factors to be bought and sold on the market created the all-embracing "self-regulating" market of the economists" (6).

Another criticism relating Wallerstein's theorization is being made on his insistence upon an "international bourgeoisie" (some parts of which labelling themselves as "national bourgeoisie") which renders the ("holist") system consisting of center-periphery and bourgeosie-proletariat dichotomies to function properly under the guidance of spatial hierarchy of the capital formation and accumulation process (7).

Against this claiming for being rather static, however, Wallerstein's emphasis laid upon thinking "spatial and temporal processes" (8) taking place in an entity within which there is anongoing division of labour (9) should be mentioned. As Frank from the "dependency school" had argued for that "(e)conomic development and underdevlopment are the opposite face of the same coin" and that "(b)oth are the necessary result and contemporary manifestations of internal contradictions in the world capitalist system" (10), the world-system perspective does not exclude the internal and dynamic factors of analysis units, either.

The "modernization school" theorists had assumed a world order consisting of independent nation-states relying upon two general categories of conditions, namely attributes of individuals (11) and attributes of the national society or economy (12) on their clues of which they were drawing conclusions relating to analogies in the mechanisms of the world whole. In this way, the neo-classical world-market conception was viewing nation-states as independent buyers and sellers of "factors of production" which were unevenly distributed throughout the world, i.e. over nation-states. An unrestricted access to the world market through trade, technological transfers, migration, etc. would allow each country to maximize its own national production and income as a result of the maximization of world production and income (13).

As contrary to this view, the dependency school has insisted upon relations which blocked national development and established a "dependence" among nation-states. Some nation-states were the advantaged ones (or "core" countries) and the rest the disadvantaged ones ("peripheral" countries) and/or metropole-versus satellite nations (14). These developments with inequalities among nations were all products of global capital accumulation process which is capitalistic in its nature since two centuries (15). And as Marx had stated all kinds of labour expropriation forms before the industrial revolution (and hence before the actual capitalistic accumulation process), whether it be the famous slave trade beginning from the XVth century onwards and/or famines, starvation of masses of rural

origin after the inclosure of their lands and lifes into the capital accumulation process, they all are related with the one and same process (16).

Slave trade was not confined to the Americas only. As Wolf states, the European peninsula had long supplied slaves, first to Byzantium and later to the Islamic world; in the Mediterranean, in Cyprus and Sicily, slave labour was employed to grow sugar cane and to work in the mines as early as the twelfth century (17). However, the extent and the scale of slave trade is markedly great in relation with the global capital accumulation process. The American slave trade grew gradually during the XVIth century in response to a Spanish demand for labour in the silver mines and on plantations, and a Portuguese demand for cutters and millers of sugar cane in the Brazilian Northeast. Nearly 275.000 slaves were sent to America and Europe between 1451-1600; in the course of XVIIth century, the figure of slaves exported from Africa to sugar cane cultivation on the islands of the Caribbean has reached a total of 1.341.000 (18). Another estimation relating to migration to America between 1619-1776 renders a figure of 10 million blacks from Africa and the figures of 250.000 whites in XVIIth and 1.500.000 whites in XVIIIth centuries (19).

The eighteenth century proved "the golden age" of slaving with over 6 million people being forcibly exported from Africa between 1701 and 1810. The main destination places of slaves were British-owned Jamaica and French-owned St.Domingue. Although Britain had abolished the slave trade in 1807, almost 2 million more slaves were transported from Africa to Cuba to a great extent between 1810-1870. "Clearly the eighteenth century

and the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the height of the slave trade; 80 percent of all slaves to reach the New World came between 1701 and 1850 (20)". According to some observers "the Negroe-trade and the natural consequences resulting from it" were an "inexhaustible fund" (21) and "the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion" (22).

The nineteenth century witnessed also white migration waves originating from Europe and ending in America and other continents, as well. Some 52 million Europeans migrated to other places between 1846-1932. At the end of these migration waves approximately one of every eleven persons on the globe was an European emigrant (23). Although some scholars insist upon the "voluntary" characteristics of these migration movements as opposed to "forced" movements of the slave trade epoch and/or including a punishment, oppression element (under a political regime, for instance) (24), it is not easy and appropriate to classify them under such a headline. If we recall the upheaval caused by the industrial revolution and capitalist capital accumulation process in the XIXth century in Europe and the impoverization of masses of rural origin flowed into the cities in search for surviving and the proletarianization process thereupon, then, it becomes too exaggerated to define them as "voluntary" movements. The different sections of the proletariat consisting of, for instance in XIXth century's London, industry proletariat, the workers in coal mines, the workers on the agricultural fields and the immigrants from Ireland (25) should give a clue to "economic forces" which were effecting the "voluntary" decisions to migrate.

As Worsley has put it, landless peasants have existed throughout history; but they had a place in the rural economy as smallholder and labourer until the rise of capitalism which has been separating them from the means of production -the land- and not only in terms of ownership:

> "So they quit the land altogether, or are driven off. (..) Beginning with the Great Transformation (the capitalist modernization of agriculture and the rise of machinofacture) the city has triumphed over the countryside, and the industrialized countries over the agrarion ones. In the world's first major capitalist country, Britain, there were already more people living in towns and cities than in the country-side as early as 1861. A century later, the flight from the land had been completed all over Western Europe: between 1957 and 1979 10 million of the remaining farm population left for cities. That flight is being repeated, now, in the Third World (26)".

Capitalism, the industrial revolution and the increasing need for labor were all parts of a combined and interwoven process. Wolf states that the units of production increased in size from the beginnings of industrialization in the second half of the eighteenth century thus accelerating the demand for labor. He went on saying:

> "In 1849 largest iron plant in the United Kingdom, at New Dowlais, had more than 7,000 workers (..). There were only 72 workers in the Krupp works at Essen in 1848, but nearly 12,000 by 1873; at Le Creusot in France, the Schneider company employed 12,500 workers in 1870, more than half the people of the town (..). (..) Intensified accumulation opens up new sectors of the labor market, or expands old ones; decelerating accumulation narrows work opportunities, or shifts them to regions of lower labor costs. As changes in capital accumulation occur, the consequent changes in the demand for labor alter, in turn, the conditions for the emergence and stabilization of different working classes (27)".

These different working classes (in terms of differing origins, points of entry into the labour force, composition, etc.) are making the human

web of migratory movements in XIXth century's history. Capitalism has always found labourers when and where there was a need for them. Migratory movements were carrying labour as a "free" factor of production process to market it where capitalism "forced" it. "The social history of industrialization is that of mass movements from country to town; international migration is a special case within this general pattern (28)". Most of the millions who crossed the Atlantic in the XIXth century to America from Ireland, Poland, Russia and Italy, i.e. from the poverty-stricken regions of Europe, were on "one-way tickets". They did not go back except a fixed sum of 30 per cent from North America and over 40 per cent from Argentina (29).

The migrants' movements were not the result of "a general population law" ruling everywhere and at all historical epochs in the same manner as Malthus had claimed for (30); but they were induced by the very law of capital accumulation process according to which the demand for labour is determined by the variable capital, i.e. capital in form of labour power which produces also the surplus. And what renders the capitalism to move to greater capital accumulation stages is its ability and necessity as well to reduce its variable capital part whereby giving way to a relative surplus population which is called as "industrial reserve labour army (31)." So, capitalism itself has created its own population and migration patterns.

Capitalism has induced three migration waves, each a response to critical changes in the demand for labour. The first of these waves was linked with the initial period of European industrialization beginning in

England. The specific characteristics of this wave was its rather short distance (10-30 miles) since the industrial development was itself to a great extent localized. A fixed part of this wave was consisting upon Irish immigrants who were migrating at an increasing rate in 1840's (32).

In 1851, according to Castles and Kosack, there were 727,326 Irish immigrants in Britain, making up 2.9 per cent of the population of England and Wales, and 7.2 per cent of the Scotland's population. They were concentrated in cities like Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow and they made a high proportion of the labour force in unskilled textile occupations and the building trades (33). They were living to a great extent under miserable and appalling living and housing conditions as Engels has described and were thus laying foundation to the development of the British industry at a high speed. Whatever their sheer sizes in different industrial cities (120.000 in London, 40.000 in Manchester, 34.000 in Bristol, etc.) they were making "the lowest class of the population (34)". They were frequently discriminated with regard to housing. "No Irish" signs were common for over a century (35).

Marx had put the situation of the Irish workers in relation to their English colleagues in a striking way so:

> "Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation (..). He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. (..) This antagonism is artificially kept

> alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers (..). This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organization (36)".

The second wave of labour migration under capitalism carried Europeans overseas and especially to the United States. Wolf states that this wave has carried 50 million people between 1800 and 1914 and that 32 million of them have been absorbed by the United States (37).

America, as mentioned before, was used to migration waves since especially XVIth century. The main aim by these waves was to conquer and to invade (38). The indigenous people (the Indians) were made forcibly to work in the cities and sugar cane plantations. But the labour need was not satisfied; and the slave trade from Africa has been initiated by the Spaniard and Portuguese conquerors. The Indians were soon to be stigmatized and discriminated by the conquerors as it was the case with black slaves. They were described as wild, barbaric people attacking innocent voyagers. According to some Spaniard scholars, the Indians were people endowed with a slave-soul and without capability of mind. There was as great difference between them and the Spaniards as between ape and man. All of these discriminations merged into the social stratification system originating from race differentiation which is observable even to-day in Latin American countries. This stratification system defines the Indians and blacks as the stratas at the very bottom (39).

Although the Indian slavery was "formally" abolished in 1542 except in frontier zones where rebellious populations refused to accept Spanish sovereignty, the prohibition of slavery to Africans was not

undertaken due to the ever decreasing numbers of natives (40). The estimated figures of the Indians were 4.5 million in Mexico, 800.000 in Mesoamerica, 6.785.000 in South America, 1 million in Brazil in the year 1492. (The figure for (total) America is estimated to-day between 10-100 million all be it, however unknown, with mulattos.) (41)

When the word comes to ranking of these labourers socio-spatially, Wolf summarized the situation as follows: "Towns and mines came to be ringed about by haciendas; the haciendas were in turn surrounded by settlements of the surviving native populations. This settlement pattern was oriented toward the mines; yet it was not merely geographic or ecological. It was organized by the political economy it embodied, in which each lower level yielded surplus to the level above it. Miners sold to merchants, who extracted high prices for European manufactured goods. Mine owners then pressed upon hacienda owners or managers to supply them with foodstuffs and raw materials at low prices. Hacienda owners and managers pressed upon the native communities, drawing their members either into dependent serf-tenancy on the estates or into seasonal employment at low wages. Within this hierarchy, the emerging Indian communities came to occupy the lowest rung. (..) The Indian communities (..) acted as reservoirs of labor and as sources of cheap agricultural and craft products. (..) They thus paid with their poverty for the system of imperial extraction (43)".

The migration wave from European countries to America has supplied the labor force necessary for the industrialization process in the

U.S.A. (44) which evolved into the hegemonic and mythical super power right after the Second World War. Among the immigrants were also the Irish people with a great percentage share present. (Almost 40 million U.S.A. citizens of Irish origin in 1989.) There were also famous presidents to meet among them, for instance, Kennedy and Reagan (45).

One of the efficient methods in the area of capitalist agriculture was the so-called "labor-repressive" commercial agriculture (46), a method in which agricultural production is based on a workforce tied to the land through violence, coercion, and law; in other words, where workers are not free to sell their labour (47). This "fascist" road to the modern world, in More's definition, with its "undemocratic" political measures and mechanisms can explain much of the "racial" experience in advanced capitalist societies. Montejano shows this to be the case in South Texas during 1920's generalizing his findings to Mexican Texas at that time. He states that:

> "In rural Mexican Texas at this time, we find a clear (..) racially based labor repression: more specifically, a situation where Mexican agricultural laborers constituted a restricted proleratiat. It may seem "paradoxical" that some condition of labor repression should exist until 1930 (and well beyond that point) in a subordinate region of a modern capitalist democracy. (..) (..) the development of labor- repressive agriculture in Texas (..) must be seen as the type of development made possible by racial domination in the internal peripheries of "core" states (48)".

Despite all the labor repression tools such as "vagrancy laws", local pass systems, manipulation of labor contracts (i.e. employment agencies going down to the border and recruiting Mexicans by making attractive but false offers), labour agency laws, etc., the migration of Mexican wage laborers could not be prevented. However, the rather separated, dual

development pattern with separate neighbourhoods, churches, schools, cemeteries has been created since then (49).

Los Angeles, the most important destination place for both legal and undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States even in the 1990s, has welcomed approximately 566,000 new-comers between 1970-1980, 64% of whom were undocumented immigrants mostly of Mexican origin (50). According to the 1980 U.S. census figures there were living in Los Angeles 2,966,850 persons of whom 1,419,413 (47.8%) were White; 816,076 (27.5%) Hispanic; 495,723 (16.7%) Black; 200,674 (6.8%) Asian and 34,964 (1.2%) "other" (51). The majority of Hispanics live in older areas of the city which are densely populated and heavyly industrialized. Their mean family incomes are 63% that of whites and lowest of all ethnic groups (52).

Worsley puts the topic in a clear-cut manner so:

> "The cycles of expansion and contraction built intocapitalism have also resulted in the periodic importation of massive amounts of labour into the heartlands themselves. In addition to the half million who crossed the U.S. border as legal immigrants from Mexico alone during every year of the 1960's, another quarter million entered illegally. During the1970's net immigration from all countries exceeded 7 million, with another 1.7 million from Puerto Rico (53)".

There are also nearly one million seasonal migrants going to the U.S.A. for a fixed period of six months. All of these movements are not a sign of invasion but a way the poverty and hunger have found out (54). At the other side of the problematic stands the American economic policy of growth which needs Negroe and Mexican labour without giving a hope for

"assimilation" for these social groups. The result will be, according to Blauner, that these groups will endure their ways of living and their disadvantaged positions in the society in the ghettos taking place at different parts of the cities (55).

The third wave of migrations, Wolf has mentioned, was carrying contract laborers of diverse origins to the expanding mines and plantations of the tropics. The wave has given way to some developments such as the establishment of a migratory labor force for the South African mines, the growth of the trade in Indian and Chinese contract labor and the sponsored migration of Italian labourers to the Brazilian coffee regions (56).

The South African capitalist development has begun with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the last decades of the XIXth century. Whereas in 1876 the higher-paid skilled jobs were monopolized by White diggers, after the war between Britain and the Afrikaners for political control in 1899-1902, by 1906 there were 18,000 whites, 94,000 Africans who were unskilled migratory workers,on contracts from six to eighteen months' duration, receiving only a tenth of the Whites' wages, and 51,000 Chinese indentured servants (57).

The "Whites" descending from the Dutchs who appeared in Southern Africa in the XVIIth century; migrant French Huguonets; Englishment coming especially after 1820's and some Germans, do make almost 20% of the population (58). However they have established a racist "Apartheid regime" (59) basing on and exploitating mainly the Black labor. Some scholars say that many South African politicians were very much

influenced by the Nazi movement in Germany in 1930's (60) and also by Nazis' discriminating policy against Jews (61).

The racist regime in South Africa has also created specific spatial configurations and settlement patterns. Wolf describes some characteristics as follows:

> "In the second decade of the twentieth century, the mines began to rely increasingly on the import of temporary contract laborers from the so-called Native Reserves. The Reserves consisted of territories set aside specifically for African occupancy. They were formed from a land area that consisted of about 13 percent of the total territory of the Union of South Africa, as well as the area of the British "protectorates" of Bechuanaland (new Botswana), Basutoland (new Lesotho), and Swaziland. These areas were expected to furnish the migratory labor for the mines, while providing for the families of the migrants and for old people. The Institution of the Native Reserves, however, formed only one component of a larger system of labor control, which involved simultaneously the organization of an African labor supply for white farmers and the denial to Africans of permanent legal residence in towns and cities. (..) Still another cornerstone in the policy of labor control was the "pass" laws which required Africans to carry residential permits, lodgers permits, certificates from their employers, and curfew passes, and which allowed the state to move Africans deemed supernumerary from one location to another (62)".

From this rather long but very illuminating excerpt, one can easily come to the very spatial foundations of "racial capitalism". There have been also enacted very special laws in order to establish the apartheid system, especially from the 1950's onwards. Among these laws, some were relating more or less directly to settlement policies, e.g.: "Citizenship Act" (which was foreseing a waiting period of 6 years for becoming citizen for a foreigner or alien); "Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act"; "Native Laws Amendment Act" (which was establishing labour agency bureaux for regulating black

migrations to cities); "Natives Amendment Law" (which was enforcing blacks to get special permits for living in a building where there were residing already five blacks); "Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act"; "Immigration Regulation Amendment Act" (which was preventing the Indians from bringing their spouses and children with themselves); "Motor Carrier Transportation Amendment Act" (which was enforcing apartheid in transport services); "Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill" (which was enacted in 1959 and which was reserving some 13 percent of the total land to Bantu people as "homelands" or "Bantustan"s), etc. (63).

It must be very clear from the foregoing discussion above that the South African regime has elaborated a thoroughly "racial capitalist settlement pattern" if one wishes to define it in a short way.

There are also political reasons behind importing labourers as it is the case in Malaya where the British had decided to maintain intact the Malay peasantry and its tributary relationship with village headmen and ruling nobles, so the need for plantation labour was met with indentured labourers from India and contract labourers from China (64).

In the 1980's there were living some 16 million Chinese ("Huagiao") in 9 Southeastern Asian countries (mainly in Singapore, Indonesia, Malaya and Thailand); whereas their figure is 400,000 in North, and 400,000 in South America; 150.000 in Africa; 160,000 in Europe and 55,000 in Soviet Union (65). The Chinese immigration between 1860-1925 was a result of international labor market (66) which was necessitating labor

especially after the abolishment of the slave trade in 1808 in great numbers, a demand which was giving way to the so-called "second slavery" (67).

Starting as early as 1860's, Italians migrated to work in France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Argentina, Brazil and U.S.A. Their number had reached almost 4 million between 1861-1911. Of them four-fifths were agricultural laborers and construction workers (68).

One thing must be yet clear: capitalist accumulation seeks concomitantly new and cheap labor in widely dispersed areas of the world while making use of state apparatuses and/or ideological, legal racial, ethnical, socio-cultural, lastly but not leastly spatial instances and particularities in order to exploit them as much as possible. These labor recruitment efforts are increasing and widening or decreasing in intensity according to the world capitalist economic system's expansion or contraction phases. Whether these cycle periods are of Kondratieffian (69) nature, consisting of A-expansion phases and B-contraction phases, lasting 40-55 years or whether they are of "logistics" nature in Cameron's sense enduring 150-300 years (70) should not be important at this point. What matters is the rather inherent characteristics of the capitalist system itself to create such cycles as Wallerstein states:

> "The basic contradiction of the capitalist system is found in the disjuncture of what determines supply and what determines demand. World production decisions are made on an individual basis. The sum of the activities of the individual producers/enterpreneurs constantly increases world production (..). However, expanding world demand is not a function of the decisions of the individual producers/entrepreneurs. (..) An economic system in which world supply expands more or less continuously but world demand remains relatively fixed for medium periods of time is bound to create a cyclical pattern of

production. Empirically the capitalist world-economy has in fact known such cycles (..) since its beginning (..)" (71).

As a result of the contraction phases, the producers look for reducing production factors' costs and hence the wages and seek cheap labour everywhere. "Free processing zones" of "the global factory" (72) starting as early as 1960's are deemed for exploitation of cheap labour in the Third World who are reserve labour army in accordance to the New International Division of Labour order (73). Also there appeared after 1960's some semi-industrialized countries in the new international order which have "planned" and realizedlabour export to developed countries, a process which had transformed the domestic "cityward" migration into an "international" one till 1973 (74).

During these labour recruitment processes, many types of working classes are created. A new emerging working class in especially European countries but also in countries on other continents, as well, is the "guestworker class" which has been increasingly equalized in last years with "Turkish workers" abroad.

1.2 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS (-PRACTICAL EXPECTATIONS).

Our aim in this Thesis work is to elaborate also the housing and/or settlement patterns of "Turkish (guest)workers" in the Federal Republic of Germany, in general and in (West) Berlin, in particular. This

topic seems to be interesting to work in and worth of to be taken under observance for several (objective and subjective, as well) reasons:

First of all, there are not (m)any research works made in this field of inquiry by Turks and/or at the Turkish universities although we have a great number of workers abroad. The main causes for this inertia may lie in the "inferiority complex" of our (and most other Third World countries') academic cadres for handling such social and economic issues met in First World countries which, as the common belief among most of us goes saying, have "solved" their socio-economic problems (like urbanization and housing) created at the end of the very industrialisation processes taken place to a great extent in the 19th century. (How is it possible for the Third World members, albeit academic, to even "question" the material conditions and/or socio-economic situations seen in the First World countries, in other words in "center" countries of the world capitalism regulating and/or shaping the (new) "World Order"?! Aren't we the developing countries which have to ask for (not the questions, but) the answers to be "copied", "imitated" and/or "reproduced"(!) from the already developed countries?! We should beg and get the expertise from them and not vice versa!) Secondly, the topic seems to be a hot issue including a conflict potential for Turkish politicians and officials and for European governments, as well, after the application of Turkish government for full membership to the European Union. A third reason is the necessary trial to challenge the "Western scientific and social way of thinking" which stands brilliantly in the foreground of the history of thought since centuries being supported by the "orientalist"

insights into the "Orient" such as: "West is medicine whereas East (or Orient) is ill"; "The West is the observer, judge, jury, as well, of everything what takes place on the stage of Orient" (75). However, there are "misunderstandings" about "East", even "manipulations and/or distortions" on the side of "West" in its handling the East (76)! As a fourth reason, The mythical propaganda of and/or for the "Western democracy" should be challenged, too. The "guestworkers" of Turkish origin and their living and housing conditions are a good laboratory for such an aim. The fifth reason for dealing with such a topic is that it provides for a good material to be used for comparative purposes on an international basis nowadays when whole nation-states covered under the roof of the United Nations are deliberately seeking for and/or propagandating for their already-found-out policies/solutions/remedies for their housing problems prior to the much-awaited international "Habitat II -Conference". This Conference to be realized in Istanbul/Turkey between June 03-14th 1996 will be an important turning point on the way taking to the ideal of "shelter for everybody, especially for the poors, including technical infrastructure and other services until the year of 2000" (as stated by "The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000" and accepted by the United Nations resolution with number 43/181 of 20.12.1988). The sixth and the last but not the least reason (which could be defined as the most subjective one, however it has repercussions and implications for rather whole Turkish society, as well) is the personal search of the Thesis writer who had been educated for seven years (after the primary school in a Middle-Anatolian town where his all family was living) in

one of the boarding-lycées of Istanbul ("İstanbul Erkek Lisesi") training (also) in German language with help of German teachers, after the essential cause for his being "sent away" to somewhere else far from his family and home (town where there were also Turkish secondary education facilities).. Especially the real connection of the imperial- styled building of his lycée which had been used in the late 19th-and early 20th centuries as the headquarters building of "Düyun-u Umumiye İdaresi" ("Administration of General Debts") established in December 1881 for (re)collecting the Ottoman debts by foreign officials from France, Great Britain, Austria, Germany, etc. for the mentioned foreign states, with his being introduced to German education in the same building after so many years(!) was an instinctive factor promoting him for his cited search. (Whether this connection was and still is an international semi- colonization politics' attempt, remains to be seen and/or verified in the rest of the Thesis work!) He should confess also, to be honest, that his maybe childish(?) fears in front of the colossal "cash register rooms" (supposingly for storing the collected Ottoman debts) which had several sequential iron-doors maybe 40-50 centimeters of thickness each(!) and were located on the ground floor which was everytime in deep darkness, could have also played another instinctive push factor for his search willingness of the topic, too!

The theoretical approach to be developed and used in this Thesis work will be based mainly on three view angles in accordance to the very topic. The topic includes three parts to be discussed:

1. International labor migration movements (the discussion of which has already been made in this chapter);

2. The settling down of the migration movement(s) on the host country's land and/or cities giving way to socio-spatial formations, i.e. "ghettos"; and

3. The individual's (in this case the guestworkers', the (im)migrants') interaction with these spatial settings; in other words his/her participation possibilities and degrees in spatial structures just around him/her.

As it is expectable, the three parts of the suggested theoretical elaboration model are closely interlinked with eachother. The consolidation process as a whole (consisting of three stages mentioned) is rather a long process necessitating several generations' life-spans. The sequential order of the stages determines also the consolidation level of the process.

The main thesis advocated in this work could be formulated so: The housing problem is rather a global phenomenon and is not limited to Third World countries. It is true that Third World countries are displaying very poor housing conditions as compared to Western societies. It is true that their cities are full of squatter housing districts. However, it is also true that Western welfare societies have also created their squatter housing districts in forms of guestworkers' ghettos and/or immigrants' ghettos. The reason behind this fact is inherent in the very nature of world capitalism. There are only degree differentiations between housing consolidation processes of Western and Third World countries. This is not to say,

however, that there are the same working and functioning mechanisms of capitalist housing markets established in different nation-states. The "articulation forms" of housing patterns in different countries should be handled separately and in a "per se" manner but without loosing the sight into the "essentially same" mechanisms of the world capitalism.

If we follow-up the reasoning of this work, we come across to the "liberal democratic societies" in which the individual enjoys great "freedom" and participates in a "democratic" and "civilized" manner in the whole functioning of society and at a local level, in the socio-spatial processes effecting directly or indirectly his/her own life. Apart from this, at least in some sections of society, especially in academic circles, there are voices to be heard of liberal and democratic-minded (Western) individuals who take positions against, for instance, harmful undertakings or projects in the very context of environmental health in some (Third World) countries. So, in a generalized way, it can be argued that the (Western) individual participates nearly everywhere of the globe (or at least (s)he thinks that (s)he has the "right" to participate in global socio-spatial matters). Then, one expects that the situation relating to the participation mechanisms and processes in his/her own country should be of a high quality level. However, the participation level of guestworkers in their immediate physical surroundings is very low, if not to say none. Immigrants dispersed in the Western city and housing networks do not enjoy participation rights, to a satisfying extent. Another thesis of this work is assuming therefore a direct proportionality

between the ghettos' consolidation processes and immigrants' enjoyment level of participatory rights and activities.

Both theses of this work will be accompanied by several prerequisites and assumptions to be verified by the field work. They will be presented in related chapters. However, at this point, we consider it appropriate to mention the theoretical framework of the study in a very short way as it is followed in the literature.

The first part of the topic, i.e. the international labour migrations are and will be viewed within a world capitalism perspective. The views expressed by the so-called "conflict school" the principal advocates of which are Rex, Nikolinakos, Castle and Kosack and Abadan-Unat, will be underlined in accordance to the global perspective mentioned (See Ch.6).

The second part of the topic, the typical socio-spatial formations created, i.e. the "ghettos" could be approached from a "Chicago Ecological School" angle, viewing the ghettos rather "natural" formations created by the "existence"-and "survival" struggles of competing individuals as "biological" creatures behaving "economically" under "social control". The key-words of such an approach would be "expansion", "concentration", "dispersion", "centralization", "invasion", "succession", "segregation" and "dominancy" (77). This approach could be labelled as "liberal" since it gives the main importance to individuals and/or groups albeit under social control.

Another scientific approach in this regard is the basically Marxist approach the proponents of which are Harvey, Rex, Castle & Kosack and

Arìn, among others. One of the key-concepts of this approach is the concept of "housing classes" as used by Rex and Moore (See Ch.2).

The third part to be discussed which designates the nature of relationships between the immigrants and their immediate physical surroundings, i.e. the participation aspects, has also different dimensions ranging from the socialization processes of individuals in and for democracy to the distinctive state and/or bureaucracy forms and apparatuses.

In this context mainly two argumentations on the integration level of (Turkish) guestworkers' settlements in post-industrial societies will be handled. The first argumentation developed by Köksal elaborating the matter in a rather ecclectic way considers the ghetto in welfare society as consolidated by the ghetto institutions (like immigrant bureaux with translators) created by the system's functioning and thus the integration level of the immigrants hindered by the very institutions as such if other social mobility canals are not open to immigrants (78). This approach could be named as "supported integrationism via dissolution of ghetto institutions".

The second argumentation developed by Arìn handles the issue rather in a historical-political perspective and proposes a socio-culturally pluralism only in a political arena endowed with egalitarian rights for everybody (79) albeit in a segregated physical settlement pattern. This approach could be labelled in a simplistic way as "segregated pluralism via interculturation instead of acculturation".

It is seen from the foregoing discussion that the problem(s)' formulation(s) can be compared with the ones met and made in the very

context of squatter housing in Third World countries, e.g. "gecekondu" in Turkey. Even if the Worlds are so far away from each other, they are displaying (at least) some resembling processes in socio-spatial matters. The would-be practical expectations should be related to the participatory model prerequisites in a (be it even post-industrial) capitalist city, hoped to be uncovered to a fixed extent, during the study.

1.3 ON METHODOLOGY

Methodology in sciences, especially in social sciences is rather a hot epistemological debate since decades. Whether every science should benefit from mathematical models in order to approach a "pure", "non-objectionable", "rational" way of solving problems as proponents state or whether science in its "positivistic" coverage is an "ideology" per se, are critical counter-positions.

Koyre has stated that the philosophers of XIIIth and XIVth centuries were very much alike their followers in XVIIth century than the philosophers of XVth and XVIth centuries. The "Zeitgeist" ("times-soul") is not an unimportant issue (80). Then, there should be no "more modern" way of "science making". Every epoch has its own dominant modernity form in scientific elaborations even in our "postmodern" days.

Some scholars of a particular historical period do favour to create all-embracing "grand theories" like Parson's "The Social System" developing "a structural-functional society" view and/or ideology, if one wishes to say so (81). Others insist upon "empiricism" (whether "abstracted" or not) (82). For

them, the world and science could only be understood in a "material" sense, i.e. with counting, with figures, with positivistic attitudes. Galileo had stated that the book called nature was written with the language of figures and geometrical forms. The observer could "read" this book (only) with this language (83). As contrary to this positivism, the scientific tradition named as "Hermeneotics" the main proponents of which (although with great differences between themselves) were Dilthey, Weber, the Frankfurt School, even (young) Lukacs, has argued for that without "Geist" there would be no way of "understanding" in an interpretitive manner ("verstehen") in historical and social sciences (84).

The "Vienna Circle" with its Neo-positivism called as "logical positivism" has assumed that the reality could be understood making use of some objective criteria to be developed without being effected thereby by the observer's subjectivity. Lakatos had classified the epistemological theories as "activist" and "pacifist". The logical positivism with its science-making way consisting of observations-hypothesis formulations in order to reach some general laws-verification of these laws again by objective observations was according to Lakatos' classification a pacifist theory (85).

Popper with his theoretical contribution of "falsificationism" (86) has opened a new debate while arguing for that a scientific theory is only valid until it is falsificated by the reality. There is no more place for the concept of "true" in science. The scientist can benefit from all kinds of knowledge, even from metaphysics. What is to be fighted against is not the metaphysics, but the "pseudo-science" under the name of "science". The

approach of "critical rationalism" will provide for the necessary impetus for scientific undertakings (87).

Kuhn with his basic concept of "paradigm(s)" (88) has pointed out to the existence of different perceptional and theoretical frameworks to be used while approaching scientific problems. As a "disciplinary matrix" accepted by a group of scientists and/or all members of a scientific discipline, the paradigm includes all values, perceptions, concepts and definitions used by this very group. Science proceeds only during "normal" periods in a linear and accumulating way. During these periods is the scientific paradigm "conservative". But during "crisis" periods new would-be solutions are developed for old problems or new problematics are formulated to be solved and a new paradigm created within this turbulent period gains dominancy marking so a "revolution" (89).

Lakatos who developed the concept of "scientific research programmes" has also given a great importance to the sociological environment of the place where science is being made and also to the psychological situation of the scientists while trying to create a normative methodology to be used in rational reconstruction of science history. He differentiates between "progressive" and "degenerating" programs which sometimes exist side by side. He also develops many rules concerning "scientific ethics". Insistence, honesty and modesty are some concepts of this ethics (90).

Claiming that Lakatos did not provide us actually with a method but only with some words resembling method (91), Feyerabend has stated

that there is not a "scientific method" and "a rational science" to be used everywhere. He goes on saying as follows:

> "Science did not progress in a "rational" way and could not have progressed in this manner. Rationality and clear rules would have annihilated the very same science rationalists regard as the only acceptable source of knowledge. More specifically, I argue that First World science contains ideas that arose from particular historical conditions and therefore lack universal validity. Examples are the idea of objectivity and the ideas that knowledge must be based on, quantitative considerations" (92).

According to him there is not a science as a closed box which is only to be approached by special experts and scientists. Everybody has the right and also the duty to intervene into scientific matters. Science has the only aim of making man free. The rigid form of science making in to- day's societies, especially in Western societies, is a sign of degeneration (93). "(W)e must therefore say that science has many forms, that each form has its strong points and its weak points and that a culture will use a form that succeeds in the areas it regards as important. (....) Every culture, every nation, can build a science that fits its own particular needs (I've underlined it, Ö.B.)" (94).

It is clear from the discussion above that there should not be any monopoly in scientific matters. (Social) Scientists should benefit from every source while trying to elaborate a matter. Especially in periphery countries, the scientists have to be more eager to learn as it is a well-known fact stated by Myrdal that our knowledge and ignorance repertoires are directed and defined rather in an opportunist manner (95).

In this study, the method to be used will be composed of mainly three dimensions as it is dictated by the very topic itself. The method will be a historically-, sociologically- and spatially-oriented method. The first two (or one in Abram's sense (96)) dimensions will be developed by the "secondary analysis", i.e. literature survey. The third dimension will be developed and used by the "primary analysis", i.e. field survey.

From "objective history writing" we want to understand the situation in which one gets rid of rigid cliches knowing the past and trys to grasp the past with a wider perspective under the spot-lights of present and future, as Carr has stated (97).

The spatial dimension is very important for (social) science research activities because it allows for a direct linkage to the practical life from the theory. The (city) planning researches should relate not only to land use forms and categories but rather to the whole social system (98). On the other side, there should also be made empirical researches not committing failures as not going beyond the limits of the observable (thing and/or process) as dictated by positivism, in order to attempt social change theorizations (99).

For a sounder spatial analysis to be done, there are some scholars like Larry Ford who suggests a "hybrid theory" to be used to study particular places. According to him, the hybrid theory is not an update of the "desk-drawer" approach (i.e., "a little of this and a little of that") used by some regional geographers earlier in this century. He says that attempts to describe the changing structure of any particular city should at least touch

base with a variety of theoretical approaches instead of using one to the exclusion of others and suggests three levels being "macro", "meso", and "micro". At the macro level a researcher might use macroeconomics, Marxism, or any other approach that considers the economic or social structure affecting the city (like capital accumulation process, capital circuits, international control(s) on capital flows, class, gender, and not the least racial divisions). At the meso level the researcher can add the crucial missing factor of "people -individual actors (i.e. "managers", "gatekeepers" as derived from the Weberian sociology's "institutional" approach) in the urban scene" purposely excluded by the macro level. Micro theoretical approaches which could be lumped together under the heading of "behavioral geography" and also recent offshoots such as "transactionalism" do focus upon individual decision making and perceptions. In addition to these theoretical approaches, one should recognize three levels of "place-specific" contingencies which can and do modify processes of change in cities. Those three contingencies are "microarchitecture / built environment", "mesospatial organization / morphology", and "macrophysical site".(100)

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CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRANTS AND GHETTOS IN (WESTERN) CITIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Western post-industrial city has left its very evolution in close dependence on the industrialization process almost behind. It has taken more than a hundred years for the metropolis to become "post- industrial" in a rather material sense. However, there is still controversy on the attained level of provision for "human and/or citizen rights" to everybody within the city boundaries of the western metropolis.

As to the question of what should one understand by the concept of "citizen rights" in a modern metropolis, it may be stated that the concept covers the freedom and right of the inhabitant of a particular city to benefit from all kinds of local governments' services distributed in that city. These services range from technical infrastructural services via various public accommodation forms to socio-cultural services to be rendered.

However, as Castells fittingly puts, "The city is a social product resulting from conflicting social interests and values" (1). Due to this fact and "because socially dominant interests have been institutionalized and resist change", grassroots mobilisation and demands which end in "urban social

movements" have tended to become the (only) means in transforming the city's role and structure in relation to and in providing for the citizen rights mentioned.

Castells further argues that although class relationships and class struggle are fundamental in understanding the process of urban conflict, they are by no means the only or even the primary source of urban social change. Among other sources of this change, one may count the autonomous role of the state which provides directly or indirectly goods and services for collective consumption; gender relationships; ethnic and national movements and different types of citizen movements (2).

This far-reaching argumentation is of utmost importance in understanding today's western metropolis which has become the fighting arena of many political and social movements especially after the Second World War. One of the aggravating phenomenons since then of the issue at hand is the existence and living conditions of hundred thousands of immigrants of another country's origin in great western cities. The majority of these immigrants consists of people mainly from Third World countries which were to a great extent ex-colonies of western industrialized countries. It can be said therefore paradoxically that the Third World natives are now in Europe (3) to earn their lives and to enjoy being "guest" to once their own (former) guests. The economical interests and international relationships on the globe are so interwoven at the end of the twentieth century that one cannot easily differentiate between "host" and "guest" countries, however.

There were living some eleven million immigrants in countries of Western Europe in the 1970s when the international migration movement has come to an end mainly due to the economic crisis of the world capitalist system felt starting as early as in the 1960s and taking its sharpest expression form in high-racketing of oil prices on the global market. The immigrants are not distributed evenly. Making up over 5 per cent of the total European population (in the 1970s) they were and still are mainly to be found in the most-highly-industrialized and fastest-developing countries, like Federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland, Britain, Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands. The immigrants totalling to 19 million according to some estimates in the 1980s, have in several countries a population share of between 6 and 10 percent. While, for instance, the immigrant population share in Great Britain in the 1970s was 5.0%, the figures for (F.R.of) Germany and Switzerland were 4.8% and 16.0%, respectively (4).

Although the total amount of active working "guest-workers" within the whole of immigrants in (F.R.of) Germany has fallen in absolute terms from 2.6 million to 1.8 million between the migration stop in 1973 and 1982, the total figure and percentage share of immigrants has risen from nearly 4 million to 4.6 million and from 6.4% to 7.6%, respectively, within the same period of time (5).

The case in (F.R.of) Germany is worth of considering because a fixed amount of 1,425,800 persons making up 32.7% of total immigrants in that country in 1984 were of Turkish origin (6). As of 1981, in some German

cities the percentage share of immigrants is well over 10%, e.g. in Berlin 12%, in Düsseldorf 14.8%; in Stuttgart 18.3% and in Frankfurt 23.2% (7). The Turkish migrants were making up 19.8% of all immigrants in Frankfurt in 1980 (8).

The immigrant groups in Western Europe have a wide variety of cultural, social and ethnic characteristics. Even within one country of immigration, the immigrants are extremely heterogeneous. However, they have many similarities emanating mainly from their socio-economic position in host country's social structure, such as subordinate position on the labour market, concentration in run-down areas and poor housing, lack of educational opportunities, widespread prejudice and discrimination from the indigenous populations and official authorities (9). Castles and Kosack therefore argue that immigrants should be looked at not in the light of their specific ethnic, social and cultural group characteristics, but in terms of their actual social position in the class structure of the immigration countries (10), i.e. the "socio-economic factors" rather than the "transplantation factors" should be given priority in handling the topic (11).

However, ethnic residential segregation is a very common characteristics of Western cities (12). The natural trend of the immigrants of same origin to come together in a culturally foreign country is aggravated and fostered due to concentration of the immigrants to several cities and to specific parts of these cities. These concentration locations include industrial regions, big cities within those regions and specific areas (like urban renewal areas) which exhibit a very low level of infrastructural service provision in

these cities (13). Then, the question comes to the relationship of both the existence of a specific population group, i.e. the immigrants in the Western cities who are living at relatively inferior standards to a great extent, on the one hand, and the socio-cultural and/or ethnical community formations and even ghettos segregated socially and spatially from the indigenous or original formations of the majority in those cities, on the other.

2.2 THEORIES ON RACE AND ETHNICITY

Abner Cohen states that an ethnic group can be operationally defined as a collective of people who share some patterns of normative behaviour and who form a part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system (14). Weber defines an ethnic group as a human collectivity based on an assumption of common origin, whether real or imaginary. Gordon and Boal argue that the basis for ethnic categorization can be racial, religious or national in origin or a combination of these categories (15).

In Nazi Germany, the Jews were declared to be a race, although many writers subsequently suggested that they were only an ethnic group. The earlier practice in the United States was to differentiate ethnically between new European immigrants and longer settled White Americans but racially between Blacks and Whites. The tendency later has been evolved into regarding all minorities, whether Black, Mexican- or Native-American, European, Latin American or Asian, as "ethnic". Black and Asian people in the United Kingdom were called as "immigrants" whereas immigrants from

Europe, Ireland and the White Commonwealth were not. Especially after the 1960s, Blacks and Asians have been referred to as "ethnic minorities" along with other "visible" groups like the Cypriots. It seemed to be a little bit confusing. Some biologists commissioned by UNESCO have concluded that the human species had a single origin and that the so- called races of mankind were only statistically distinguishable groups with a predominance of certain physical indices, but without any behavioural or psychological differences at all. Therefore the notion that "race" differences could "justify" "unequal treatment" was rejected (16).

Then, some theoretical attempts have been made in order to elaborate with the topic. Geertz has developed the so-called "primordial" view stating that one has to assume the "givens" of social existence like immediate contiguity, live connection. Being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, following particular social practices; i.e. congruities of blood, speech, custom, etc. (17). Some anthropologists have argued, however, against this view with the notion of "situational ethnicity" claiming that ethnicity functions primarily as a resource, even a vehicle of class in macrosituations. Opposing this theory, Rex states that the situational ethnicity proponents are not much concerned with political issues of class struggle and racism. He instead makes an appeal for a structural theory dealing with the macro-issues of the relations between classes, races and ethnic groups (18).

One of the most challenging structural theories in this regard is the theory of Warner (19) which says that White America had a status order

in which individuals moved, subject to some restrictions on mobility, from the lower, through the middle to the upper status groups (i.e. "classes"). Blacks, too, had their status systems. But the relation between Black and White was one of "caste". According to Cox, however, the relation between Black and White is one of class (20). Another challenging notion in this matter is the "theory of plural society" the principal advocates of which are Furnivall (21) and Smith (22). Furnivall has stated that in Burma as in Java, European, Chinese, Indian and native people mix but do not combine and live side by side, separately within the same political unit, meeting only in the market place (23). According to Smith, the emphasis should be laid upon the fact that in a plural society, suchas the Caribbean, there are several different societies juxtaposed each with its own institutional sets composed of family systems, law, education, religion and economic organization and bound together politically by the State. Rex in a summarizing effort, says that what is required is "a theory of colonial society (I've underlined it, Ö.B.) literally based upon political economy" because race and ethnic relations and political and economic relations interact (24).

2.3 ETHNICAL SEGREGATION, COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION AND GHETTO FORMATION

The immigrants in the Western cities, be they be understood as an "ethnic group" (which is according to Narroll: largely biologically self-perpetuating; sharing cultural values; making up a field of communication and interaction; being identifiable as a category (25) or be

they be understood as "underclass" (whether in Myrdal's sense: "unemployed and gradually unemployable persons and families at the bottom of a society" (26) like Blacks in the Northern American cities "left in ghettoes to rot" or in Rex and Tomlinson's sense: "minorities, who do not share in this welfare deal, but who, instead of forming an inert or despairing social, residue, organize and act in their own "underclass" interest often relating themselves to colonial class positions" (27)) are facing different attitudes and behaviour of and by the indigenous people. They are discriminated against in almost every sphere of social life. They are getting the worst and the most inferior jobs on the labor markets. Their children can not get the educational services as the native children do, a situation which makes the cycle of "being immigrant" for next generations an enduring and vicious fact and process, too.

The immigrants' housing conditions which are very bad to a great extent, indeed, do reflect their inferior socio-economic positions in these welfare societies very aptly. Castles and Kosack argue that the housing conditions for immigrants are much worser than the conditions of the indigenous populations due to some reasons such as: a) Discrimination (many landlords refuse to rent accommodation to immigrants and many house- owners refuse to sell property to them); b)Immigrants come mainly to the already overcrowded conurbations, for this is where jobs are available; c) Immigrant workers belong to the lowest income groups and therefore have little money available to spend on rent; d) Immigrant workers with dependents at home countries have to send regular remittances for their

support; e) Immigrants are not accustomed to spending a high proportion of their incomes on accommodation; f) Immigrants are newcomers with little knowledge of prevailing conditions and prices, and also lacking the local contacts to obtain housing (28).

Discrimination against immigrants which seems to prevent them from access to decent housing is a social reality comparable to an iceberg as far as the social life with its all kinds of linkages interwoven altogether is taken into account. "In official usage" writes Worsley: "neither their social nor their national origins were emphasized; rather, they were given a supra-ethnic, supra-national collective and purely economic identity, that of "guest-worker", a term which, for all its clinical neutrality, soon acquired, in popular usage, a connotation of stigma. On the streets, more racist categories could be heard: "Wog" in Britain; "snake-eater" or "camel-rider" in Germany; "spic" and "greaser" in the USA. Yet overt and organized racism as a generalized practice of hostility in every domain of social life has remained a minority reaction. Massive institutionalized discrimination (racialism) was perfectly compatible with the absence of, or overt, organized mass racism (29). Rex makes a comparison between South African society where the rights to the franchise, to jobs, to education and to housing are allocated on a racial basis and Western Germany where a part of its working population is classified as "guestworkers" and concludes that this latter situation is the same kind of "indirect discrimination". So far as that part of the population is concerned, government policies are racialist (30).

The discrimination "practice" seems to have some ethnical favorings. For instance, the Turks in (F.R.of) Germany are found by the Germans as the most antisympthetic ethnical immigrant group according to a survey made (31). Public opinion says that the Turks are the hardest immigrant group to integrate because:

- Turks have a cultural background unfamiliar to Europeans,
- Their religion is different; they are Muslims, and they live and judge according to a different system of values,
- The number of Turks in the (F.R.of) Germany is increasing although recruitment has been stopped (32).

A study made in (F.R.of) Germany has indicated that: "Foreign workers'" behaviour in the West Berlin housing market is restricted by the limited resources of the market itself and, more importantly, by the discriminatory dual operation of the distributive system impinging upon these migrants, which redefines their role to accord with the maintenance of the duality in the labor market. (....) The politico-legal discrimination of the public sector can be amply demonstrated and the price discrimination documents the widespread existence of private prejudice (33).

According to a classification made by Castles and Kosack relating to housing forms of the immigrants, there are mainly three types of housing for them, being (34):

i) Special housing for immigrant workers: Hostels either financed and built by (making use of) public (resources) or by private company (resources) (Heims in (F.R.of) Fermany; Fonds D'Action Sociale

(F.A.S., Social Action Fund) hostels in France); housing provided solely by the employers (most group accommodation provided by employers for immigrant workers consists of wooden huts; dormitories are usually shared by at least four men, more often six or eight, often sleeping in double- decker bunks; heating and cooking is done by means of coal stoves; communal washing facilities are often primitive and sometimes outdoors);

ii) The private housing market which discriminates against immigrants as discussed above and which lets them only in the direction of concentration locations mentioned before in. (The parts of towns where immigrant people settle usually lie in or near the centre. These areas are the most dilapidated ones and lack, due to overcrowding, the necessary communal facilities like schools, hospitals, libraries, social centres and the technical infrastructural services such as (hot) water, (inside) toilets, (central) heating, etc., which make up collective consumption services in a city.

As more and more immigrants are forced due to the private market and public policies to settle in these areas, these poor housing areas turn into proper slums. The immigrants are in some cases accommodated in multioccupied furnished lettings, known in Britain as "lodging-houses" which are generally older properties, lacking modern facilities, in areas being deserted by the better-off sections of the English working class. In France the private market has no other alternatives to the immigrants to offer but "attic rooms" provided for maids in the houses of the Paris bourgeoisie; all sorts of old buildings inadequately converted and used for lodging large numbers of immigrants; Hotel Meuble or Hotel Garni type of

accommodations with very poor facilities and lastly, but not leastly, bidonvilles or squatter houses comparable to the ones in Third World countries);

iii) Public housing. (Sozialwohnungen in (F.R.of) Germany and Switzerland; Habitations à Loyer Modéré (H.L.M.s, low rent dwellings), Cites de Transit (transit centres on the way from bidonvilles H.L.M.s.) in France; council houses or flats in Britain) (Although there seems to be equal rights for the immigrants to make an appeal for public housing as the natives, the reality turns out to be in most cases that the system on the paper being not so proper functioning as foreseen.)

Some scholars argue that the concentration of immigrants in certain areas is not so serious if one compares it with the black ghettoes in the U.S.A. (35). However, "even within this short period of history, most European cities housing migrant workers have managed to secure residential segregation" (36). "There are streets where a majority of the residents are immigrants", a fact which reveals "a dangerous tendency towards segregation and towards ghettoes, if not stopped (37).

Rex claiming that the residential segregation is one important consequence of housing-class-struggle, says the following:

> "Insofar as minority people are forced to live together, communal ethnic ties will be strengthened by daily interaction. (....) Generally, residential segregation is a powerful force against class integration. It fosters instead the "de facto" differential incorporation of the minority workers who (....) belong to separate communities" (38).

This insight gains due importance as far as the other wellknown view of the same scholar is remembered stating that there is a class struggle over the use of houses and that the differential access which individuals had to desirable housing divided men into "housing classes" (39).

Gordon states that a series of sub-societies are created by the intersection of the vertical stratification of ethnicity with the horizontal stratification of social class. He calls these sub-societies "ethclasses" and says that the ethnic group is the locus of a sense of historical identification while the ethclass is the locus of a sense of participational identification. With a person of the same social class but of a different ethnic group, one shared behavioural similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but of a different class is the situation reverse. The only group which meets both criteria is the ethclass (40).

Boal asserts relating to the spatial effects caused by an ethnic group's entering into an urban residential matrix that if the group has very few differences from the host society, rapid "dispersal" into the urban spatial structure is to be expected. If ethnic group-host group differences are initially important, the ethnic group will display "spatial concentrations" which can be called as "colonies". The life periods of the colonies are dependent upon the inherent cohesion factors emanating from the ethnic group and external pressures from the host society. Whenever the dominant factor is internal cohesion, the spatial concentrations are to be called "enclaves". Whenever external factors limit the dispersal of the spatial concentrations, the latters are to be called "ghettos" (41).

Morrill makes the explanation more imaginable while putting the emphasis on the Black ghetto as follows:

> "The ghetto has been described (....) as the geographic manifestation of a social phenomenon- the physical as well as social segregation of a group discriminated against by a more powerful one because of its real and/or perceived differences. The Afro-American and also the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American are the most recent targets of this process and are the present occupants of the ghettos (....). It is popular among certain White groups to argue that since earlier occupants-the Irish, Italians, or Polish immigrants-have been rather thoroughly assimilated into the wider culture that the Black ghetto, too, is but a passing phenomenon. However, for good reasons, especially the sheer physical distinction of blackness and subsequent partially isolated cultural development, time may not erase this ghetto" (42).

Esser pointing out to nearly the same dichotomy between "ethnical colonies" and "socio-spatial differentiated formations" states that if the external pressures including existing prejudices, stigmatizations and discriminations on various markets of scarce goods against immigrants endure and the total figure of the inhabitants reaches a fixed amount, then, the breeding place for a ghetto is ready. However, he asserts that there is not an expectation for Turkish colonies "to institutionalize themselves" everywhere in (F.R.of) Germany except for two regions: West Berlin and Ruhrgebiet (43).

2.4 CONCLUSION

It remains to be seen in due course of time; but there are some signals pointing out to the direction of ghettoization in the case of immigrants' housing in Western cities (44). As Arın has pointed out very clearly, the Turkish migrant population, belonging to the working class and to

an ethnically, socially, legally and politically discriminated against group, is living in lodgings of the city which have traditionally been marked by negative features, i.e. small flats with poor sanitary equipment in houses in bad condition, inadequate supply of social infrastructure, parks and facilities for recreation, etc.. These areas are often urban renewal areas. The concentration of the Turkish migrant population in poorly equipped housing areas is the continuation of the historical concentration process of lower social classes and underprivileged minorities who have constituted the population of the same housing areas since the "economic revolution": Kreuzberg (W.Berlin) for example was founded as a housing area, as a "Ghetto" for workers from Pomerenia and Silesia (45).

According to Harvey, the only "ghetto eliminating policy" would take into account that poor groups must, of necessity, live where they can least afford to live. Therefore, the policy would presumably supplant competitive bidding with a socially controlled urban land market and socialized control of the housing sector (46).

In the capitalist economies, however, such interventionist mechanisms for controlling the land market and/or the housing sector are regarded as "disturbances" of the very system. Because of that reason, it is possible to conclude here with a rather pessimistic view in relation to the disappearance of the immigrants' ghettos in Western cities. To the contrary, more ghettos will be created in, at least, foreseeable future. The political rights of immigrants should be strived for in order to resist their inferior

position in social structure which reflects itself onto the physical space as ghettos in order to alleviate their socio- spatial problems.

Let's move to the (North) American scene in order to observe immigrants and ghettos more closely on the spot.

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8. Hartmut Esser, "Auslaendische Bevölkerung und Grosstaedtische Entwicklungen", (in) Die Staedte in den 80 er Jahren, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp. 117-146) p.133 (Table 7).

9. Castles and Kosack, op.cit., pp.4-5. (9) We think that at this point of discussion an explanation of "prejudice and discrimination" would be beneficial. The term "prejudice" refers to an attitude or some other similar internal state or disposition, feeling, or opinion toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group. As contrasting to this, the term discrimination refers to an overt action (toward people because they are members of a particular racial or ethnic group.) The prejudice usually is thought "to precede, lie behind, or be the cause of discrimination". The theories of prejudice are three in number: a)The "cultural-transmission theory" states that children learn prejudice in much the same way they learn to speak a language (the "stereotype" functional within this theory could be described as "a largely false belief concerning the characteristics of the members of a racial or ethnic group"); b)The "frustration-aggression" theory says that frustration always leads to aggression (if the frustrating person is not a suitable target, one seeks a safe, convenient substitute target called as a "scapegoat"); c)The "group-identification theory" states that "ethnocentrism" automatically

brings to the differentiation of "in-group" or "we-group" as against "out-group" or "other-group". The theories of discrimination are also three in number: a)The "situational-pressures theory" says that people's "preaching" may not always correspond to their "practicing" and that there frequently is a discrepancy between the creed and the deed. And whether people discriminate or not may depend more on the characteristics and demands of the existing social situation than their actual prejudice levels; b)The "group-gains theory" states that the members of the more powerful groups enjoy greater privileges and higher social status than those in the less powerful groups (i.e. a system of ethnic domination and subordination had been born); and c)The theory of "institutional discrimination" says that the individual prejudice is not a must to keep the system of discrimination intact; there is also the situation whereby a carefully articulated interrelation of the barriers created by each institution does function to form a powerful web of discrimination. (See for these and more on the topic: S. Dale McLemore, Racial and Ethnic Relations in America (Second Edi.), Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1983 (1980), esp.pp.107-138.)

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31. Şen, op.cit., p.4. Stölting argues that the substance of the prejudices towards Turks is identical with those the English had against the Irish people in the 19th century or which they have today towards the Westindians or toward the Pakistanis or which the French have towards North-Africans. The prejudices in Germany do not only correspond to the former hostility towards the Poles but also correspond to the prejudices of middle and upper classes against the lower classes in their own country. See: Erhard Stoelting, "Hostility Towards Turks", (in) Turks in Berlin-Mexicans in Los Angeles (Proceedings of an International Conference, 1986) (Edi.: Sozialpaedagogisches Institut Berlin), Berlin: SP1, 1986, (pp.

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37. Rex, op.cit., p.71.

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CHAPTER 3

HISPANIC AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN MIGRANTS IN THE U.S.(SOUTHWEST)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this part of the Thesis, I'll endeavour to handle a very heterogenous demographic population group, the so-called "Hispanics" living in the U.S., in general, and concentrated as they are in the southwestern region and/or "Sansan" (San Francisco-Los Angeles-San Diego) megalopolis(1), in particular, with the aim of rendering an(other) solid ground to compare different ethnic labor migration processes witnessed rather at a global scale.

There is a wide-spread view held by at least some students of international labor migrations claiming that there are close similarities with regard to the migration processes taking part in the U.S. Southwest between the U.S.A. and Mexico on the one hand, and in Europe, between Germany and Turkey, on the other. In 1986, for instance, a conference was organized in (West) Berlin under the heading of: "Turks in Berlin -Mexicans in Los Angeles / What can we learn from one another?"(2) Then deputy mayor of the

city of Los Angeles Mrs.Davis who was personally of Mexican origin had stated the following:"All too often in examining domestic issues we tend to isolate ourselves from universal and historical cause and effect. The parallels to be examined at this conference should be based first on examining the differences, thereby recognizing the inherent similarities of "Turks in Berlin and Mexicans in Los Angeles."(3) The Berlin Commissioner for Alien Affairs had replied with a sanctity: "(..)Los Angeles is our only twin city(..). We are apprentices at this meeting and our American guests (..) from Los Angeles, are in many respects our teachers (..)."(4)

Let's begin with the gargantuan task of learning ahead, while trying to find out differentiating similarities and/or resembling discrepancies regarding the cases mentioned above.

3.2 HISTORICAL SETTING OF HISPANIC MIGRATION TO THE U.S.

Hispanics are those people whose birth or officially declared ancestry defines their origin in Spain or Latin American countries. The U.S. Census adopted the term of "Hispanic" (coming originally from the Latin word "Hispania" designating residents of the Iberian Peninsula) in 1980, in order to classify those who are: i)Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Chicanos; ii)Puerto Ricans; iii)Cubans; iv)Central and South Americans; and v)Other Hispanic. Of the Hispanics living in the U.S. in 1980, a total of 14,6 million, 60 percent were Mexican, 14 percent Puerto Rican, 6 percent Cuban, and the rest of 20 percent from Central- and South America (with a small percentage share from Spain). They are heavily concentrated in some parts of the United States.

Over 75 percent of the Hispanics recorded in the 1980 census, were living in solely four states, namely: California, Texas, New York, and Florida. California alone sheltered a fixed share of almost one-third.(5)

In 1988, the respective figures for Hispanics living in those four states were: 34%, 21%, 11%, and 8 percent. The majority of Hispanics in California (85%) and Texas (90%) were of Mexican-; whereas the majority in New York (60%) were of Puerto Rican-; and the majority in Florida (70%) were of Cuban origin. In 1988, according to the Bureau of Census, there were altogether 19,4 million Hispanics, making 8.1 percent of the total population. This estimation does not include the 3,4 million Puerto Ricans living on the island; but it does include an estimated 1,3 million "undocumented" aliens, coming mostly from Mexico. So, the "actual" Hispanic population in 1988 was around 24 million and in 1990 24,5 million. Greatest Hispanic concentrations on the American space in 1990 are met in the following nodal cities: Los Angeles (6 million), New York (2,7 million), Houston (1,3 million), Chicago (1,28 million), Miami (1 million), and San Francisco (1 million). By the year 2000, Hispanics are expected to become the largest minority group in the U.S., with a total population of 31,2 million.(6)

Although Spanish as a common language apparently seems to combine them, Hispanics do have a great diversity among themselves. Most of the Spanish-speakers are not immigrants; there are Spanish-speaking Californians, Texans or New Mexicans whose ancestors lived in the Southwest long before their respective states have been conquered and annexed by the U.S.; they are (as "racially" regarded) whites, blacks,

mulattoes, and mestizos; full-fledged citizens and unauthorized aliens; economically oriented immigrants and political refugees; they have come from many different countries including Mexico, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Cuba, Guatemala, Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Dominican Republic, Spain, and Argentina.

Most members, at least 60 percent, are of Mexican origin, consisting of native-born Americans and immigrants; another 13 percent have come from Puerto Rico (and are U.S. citizens by birth); the third sizable group is Cubans with a 5 percentage share.(7)

According to Portes, ethnic groups in nation-states do come into being mainly through three alternative ways, namely: a)Conquest; b)Immigration; or c)Political negotiations and settlements conducted and agreed upon by some spatially contiguous nations to create a common nation-state. Ethnic communities in the U.S. have emerged through either conquest or immigration; Spanish- origin groups per se came into being rather through a mix of both conquest and immigration, i.e. their migration flows reflect, "almost mirrorlike", the expansion of the United States into its immediate periphery causing the social and economic fabric constructed under the Spanish colonial domination (starting as early as the very beginning of the sixteenth century) to be ruined away, a great social turbulence making concerned Hispanics more open and vulnerable to American hegemony, than ever before.(8)

It is a very astonishing story, how the U.S. almost two hundred years ago with its states forming no more than "a loose chain of territories wedged between the Atlantic Ocean and the Allegheny Mountains" and with its population in 1790 less than four million (3,172,000 whites and 757,000 nonwhites, mostly blacks) could destroy Spanish America with a population (at the end of the eighteenth century) of seventeen million (containing 3,25 million whites, 5,5 million mestizos (of Spanish-Indian lineage), 7,5 million Indians, and 0,75 million blacks).(9) However, if one takes into account the internecine disputes of the Spanish empire basing on a harsh imperial rule generating different forms of colonialism, seignorial in kind with its all sorts of evils, shot through with caste privilege, and widely dependent on peonage, the vulnerability of the system makes itself manifest. The socio-economic hierarchical structure was consisting of the following layers (from top to down): i)The "peninsulares" (Spaniards from Europe generally holding the highest positions in church and state); ii)The "criollos" (whites born in the colonies including landowners, businessmen, and professional people); iii)The "mestizos" (children of unions between whites and Indians, usually illegitimate and performing jobs depending on wage such as craftsmen, soldiers, foremen, petty traders, and laborers; and thus forming the bridge between Spaniards and Indians); and lastly iv)Indians ("underclass of outsiders", although they did most of the unskilled labor on the haciendas).(10)

Even though there is no much room here to handle the settlement history of the Americas in detail, it deserves to be mentioned while passing

the tragical fate of the Indians who are actually the "real" inhabitants of this continent since their arrival in North America (originally from Asia during the Pleistocene age via the Bering Strait land bridge) as early as 10.000 B.C.-50.000 B.C., perhaps even earlier. Early Indians have dispersed eastward along the river valleys of the Great Plains, westward around the heel of the Rockies to Southern California, or southward into Meso - America (including Mexico). Later migrations to the "New World" occurred after the final submersion of Beringia. Eskimos, Aleuts used wooden dugouts and skin boats to cross the Bering Sea.(11)

The total number of these"hosts" as "native Americans" was only 1,364,033 (omitting Eskimos and Aleuts) in the 1980 census!(12) Some scholars do estimate their population figure in 1990 as exceeding two million (13) whereas others claim that it must lie around 1,960,000.(14) Half of them were living in the West, 26% in the South, 18% in the Midwest, and 6% in the North. Only four states in 1980 had Indian populations more than 100,000 which were: California (198,275), Oklahoma (169,292), Arizona (152,498), and New Mexico (107,338).(15) The respective figures for the year 1990 were as follows: 242,164; 252,420; 203,507; and 134,355. (16) Native Indians (17) who were forcibly removed from their original habitats and/or lands by white settlers and "dumped" into "reservations" after being defined by the Supreme Court as "domestic dependent nations" in 1831, do provide for the best example of "internal colonialism".(18)

Yet, another illuminating example is displayed by Puerto Ricans.

3.3 THE PUERTO RICANS IN THE U.S.

When Columbus discovered the island of Puerto Rico in 1493, there were living some 50,000 "Tainos" indians on the island. After the death of the majority of the natives from a combination of smallpox and exhaustion by the year of 1530, Black slaves were introduced into the island.(19) In 1846, out of the total island population of 440,000, some 51,000 persons were designated as slaves mostly pressed to work on sugar, and tobacco plantations. Slavery as a racially deep-rooted, and socially dividing institution was abolished juridically only in 1873. Spain granted Puerto Rico which was at the last calculation a long-neglected outpost of the (Spanish) Empire its independence in November 1897. In April 1898 the U.S.Congress declared war on Spain; in April 1899, after the Treaty of Paris ending the war, Puerto Rico became "the first real colony" of the United States used mainly as a base for U.S. naval operations and military exercises taking place in the Caribbean.(20)

North American colossal influence on the island's primitive economy basing on agriculture which could not have been made to prosper under the Spanish hegemony to its full potential extent possible (21) and on its people's social way of living has made itself apparent in the displacement of former (mainly dispossessed) peasants from their workplaces and subsistence farms to the cities (in order to find a job for making their living). The U.S. capital has poured into new sugarcane plantations and mill costruction, a development at the end of which most agricultural workers

including day laborers ("jornaleros"), tenant farmers ("agregados"), (and also small farm owners) started to pauperize and to proletarianize. The so deeply transformed and radically reconstructed agricultural structure has given way to rural-urban exodus, (labor) migration, and urban unemployment.(22)

The Jones Act in 1917 has provided for the islanders U.S citizenship along with the obligation of performing military duty in the armed forces. It is not an exaggeration to claim that the provision of the citizenship status to the Puerto Ricans was to a great extent an outcome of the need for military personnel (in the U.S. army) during World War I. Although the Puerto Ricans had migrated to the U.S. right after the colonization, the process did not gain a big impetus until 1930. There were living some 1,600 Puerto Ricans in the mainland in 1910; by 1920 the figure was around 12,000; by 1930 around 53,000; and by 1940 over 70,000.(23)

The inflow of Puerto Ricans has accelerated after World War II (as it is the case in many parts of the capitalist world) due to mainly three reasons: 1-The continuing industrialization and urbanization processes of the island under U.S.auspices displacing subsistence peasants; 2- The disappearance of the barrier of a long and expensive sea journey by boat (taking five days and costing $150) with the advent of inexpensive air travel (lasting only seven hours and costing $64); and 3-The speed-gaining and widening activities of the labor recruiters for the expanding U.S. economy which was generating a huge demand for low-wage unskilled labor. Thus, between 1946-1964, during the so-called "Great Migration" period, a sum of

615,000 migrants arrived in the mainland, i.e. an annual average of 34,000.(24)

The Puerto Ricans were heavily concentrated in New York, and especially in East Harlem (between 96th and 125th Streets, and from Fifth Avenue to Third Avenue), thus turning it to "Spanish Harlem". Just as the Jews residing in East Harlem and then moving out along the IRT subway to the East Bronx, the Puerto Ricans, too, have migrated in the same direction (and to the West Side, to Washington Heights, to Chelsea, to the Lower East Side of Manhattan (redubbed "Loisaida"), to Queens, and to Newark and other communities in New Jersey, as well) but only right after the saturation point was hit with regard to the old-law tenements of East Harlem, the vacancy rates of which (in the middle thirties) were a sheer 15 percent!(25)

The Puerto Ricans have to a great extent felt and experienced discrimination and residential segregation based on their ethnicity, employment and racial particularities. The great majority of the Puerto Rican newcomers after World War II began on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. Many of them have started to work in the garment industry, in small manufacturing, in restaurants and hotels, in the electronic equipment factories, and in other light industries. Many worked as bus boys, messengers, dishwashers, carwashers, and also as cranberry-pickers, and as roughest-work- doers on New Jersey truck gardens and chicken-farms.(26) Whereas they do seem specially adapted to fit into American multiracial society, containing persons of every possible color and shape (i.e. men and women of European (usually of Mediterranean) appearance; "trigue/tnos"

("wheat-colored"people with light brown skins); "gente de color" (dark or black-skinned) Puerto Ricans), the stark truth has proven to be just the opposite of the expectations.(27) Although they are (at least juristically) U.S. "citizens" and therefore also entitled to vote, i.e. to take part in the local and general political decision-making processes, as contrary to the would-be predictions, the social and cultural links between mainland- and island-based Puerto Ricans are close and complex. There is a continuing flow of passengers between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. "A great part of the movement between New York and San Juan consists of people going back and forth for visits, to take care of sick relatives or to be taken care of, of children being sent to stay with one family or another".(28) Glazer succinctly describes the unique character of the Puerto Rican migration to New York City and settling down process in the form of an artificial transplantation as follows(29):

> "Something new perhaps has been added to the New York scene-an ethnic group that will not assimilate to the same degree as others do but will resemble the strangers who lived in ancient Greek cities, or th e ancient Greeks who set up colonies in cities around the Mediterranean."

Coupled with displacement caused by urban renewal activities and outlawing of subdivided apartments and brownstones converted into single-room and rooming houses(30), which were for Puerto Ricans a major place of residence in the 1950s, and also under the pressure of the tight Manhattan housing market, vast numbers of the Puerto Ricans became literally "homeless" on a permanent and/or temporarily basis! Some of them migrated into new neighborhoods cited above and apartments in the Bronx

and Brooklyn. Some others have searched for boarding possibilities in one of their relatives' and/or friends' houses. Quite ironically, "slum clearence" schemes proposed and undertaken at a large scale especially in the 1960s and 1970s and "improving a neighborhood" meant very often "moving out those who are most crowded, have the least room, and whose resettlement offers the most difficult problem for themselves and city agencies."(31) The Puerto Ricans were not an exception in that sense, either, providing, to the contrary, a very vulnerable urban population group. As witnessing to this fact, the Puerto Rican housing quality is as poor today as it was some 30 years ago. Almost one-tenth of all Puerto Rican households in New York City lived in uninhabitable quarters in 1981, which is twice the rate for blacks and three times that of whites.(32)

In a thoroughly elaborating effort with regard to Puerto Rican housing conditions (in New York City), Sanchez states that both nationally and in New York City, Puerto Rican employment and income levels have (over the years since World War II) actually declined relatively, e.g. in 1979, the median family income of all Puerto Ricans in the U.S. ($9.855) was much lower than that for Mexican- Americans ($15.171), blacks ($12.674), or whites ($21.904), whereas the Puerto Rican unemployment rate nationally was also one of the highest during 1980, i.e. 13.7%, as compared to 10.3% for Mexican- Americans, 8.4% for Cubans, 6.3% for whites, and 14.5% for blacks.(33) After recalling the thesis saying that (because) housing opportunities are related exclusively to personal income, these reported declines in Puerto Rican employment and income levels would produce

similar declines in Puerto Rican housing conditions, Sanchez points out that the topic of housing in capitalist societies cannot be reduced to simple economic transactions where individuals exchange value for equal value. For instance, although 16% of Puerto Rican households were overcrowded in 1980 (i.e. more than 1.01 persons per room), this figure was a substantial improvement as compared to the 40% figure in 1956. This improvement can be attributed to the fact that more than a million whites have left New york City between 1950- 1960 and that in this same period, over 77,000 public housing units have been constructed which were available to Puerto Ricans and blacks.(34) However, one area of housing that has worsened for Puerto Ricans is the ratio of rent paid to income: In 1980, the median rent- to-income ratio for Puerto Rican renter households (in New York City) was 36%, compared with the 28% ratio for all renter households in the city; the same ratio in 1960 was for the Puerto Ricans 20%, whereas the figure for all NYC households was 18 percent. So, over the years, "Puerto Ricans have had to devote progressively greater shares of their income for rent as their relative economic situation has declined".(35)

Another fact with regard to Puerto Rican housing is the general government withdrawal of fiscal and program support for the infrastructure and public service needs of their settlement areas (together with the areas of black settlement), with a belief (since the early 1970s onwards) that those areas considered not profitable for capitalist investment were in decline and therefore not worthy for public expenditures. The result of this (disguised) "official" policy has been the acceleration of the destruction process of (mainly

old and dilapidated) housing stock inhabiting Puerto Ricans, blacks, and other low-income urban residents.(36) If one points out, ironically enough, to the fact that dilapidation and destruction processes "create" another public housing stock for blacks and/or Puerto Ricans in the form of the so-called "in rem" units (i.e. those units taken by the city as a result of abandonment, tax relinquency, and foreclosure), of which some 112,000 were in the city's hands in 1981, and more than 78 percent of them were occupied by the mentioned low-income groups, the tragical dimensions of the situation will be visualized more clearly!(37)

3.4 THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS:BEING (UN)DOCUMENTED BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Mexico before the Spanish invasion in the 16th century was a land living in isolation from the rest of the world and populated by various Indian tribes among which the **"Mayas"** were the chief and dominant ones who had established a great culture starting from the 1500s B.C. first in the southern parts of Meso-America; then in Chiapas (southern Mexico), Honduras and Guatemala regions (between 300-900 A.D.); and lastly in the Yucatan region (of Mexico) (between 900-1200 A.D.). The **Aztec Indians** who were known as **"Mexica"** had gained control of central and southern Mexico after conquering the indigenous tribes by the 1100s and had created a great and monumental **("Aztec") Empire** (between the years 1100-1500) which still causes its students feel astonished. The Aztecs being skilled astronomers, artists,

engineers, and architects, built pyramids, aqueducts (some of which are still in use!), palatial homes, parks and zoos.(38)

The Mexicas were a "Chichimec" people speaking a Nahuatl language who had migrated into the Valley of Mexico from the north (and arrived in the region as soon as 1168) like the **"Toltecs"** before them who had managed to become dominant in the early 10th century and who were known as the master builders of their times erecting palaces with colonnaded and frescoed halls, tall pyramids and masonry ball-courts in their cities like "Tula". The Mexicas founded supposedly in the year 1325 two settlements on swampy islets in Lake Texcoco, having no other choice left in the fierce competition for territory: "Tlatelolco" and "Tenochtitlan". After a while, however, Tenochtitlan conquered and absorbed Tlatelolco. The residents of Tenochtitlan, the "Tenochas", have started to call themselves as "Aztecs" after the legendary "Aztlan" from where they were supposed to have come. Tenochtitlan soon became an Aztec city of many hundreds of monumental buildings interconnected by an elaborate system of canals. Its population counted 300,000 when the Aztec empire was comprising five million people altogether.(39)

In 1521, a **Spanish** explorer, Hernan Cortés, was welcomed very warmly by the Aztec chief Montezuma who was under the influence of a centuries-old legend predicting the arrival of Quetzalcoatl, the fairskinned and bearded serpent god who was banished from Mexico, but who was expected some day to return. Cortés conquered Mexico rapidly benefitting from the chaotic mental turbulence created by the very myth(!) mentioned and also by

the horses(!) of the Spanish soldiers, animals unknown in Mexico at that time, and claimed the land for the Spanish Crown.(40)

The Spaniards have established a new socio-economic system andğor mode of production basing upon the (peaceful and forceful, as well) inclusion of several racial groups making rather a vertically departmentalized hierarchical structure according to which there were mainly four "castes" as mentioned before: i) The "peninsulares"; ii)The "criollos" (or "Creoles"); iii)The "mestizos"; and iv)The "Indians".

As religion and government were closely interlinked with eachother in Spanish society, the conquerors have engaged into the creation of a captive labor force consisting mainly of Mexican- Indians and Africans (who had accompanied the Spanish on their exploration of the West). The church had the task of converting the Indians to Roman Catholicism. But this was not the sole function of the clergy. The church also founded schools, hospitals, and introduced to the Indians better farming methods; thus created a captive labor force in service for them. The labor force had to build and also live in villages called as "congregaciones" and support the community with its (newly) taught skills. Apart from this, Spain lured by the mining and agriculture potentialities located farther north (in the area that is now the southwestern United States) encouraged its colonization efforts further via another way of granting successful conquerors and settlers the right to Mexican- Indian labor. Under this "encomienda" type of colonization, the settlers (known as "encomenderos") were obliged to provide their workers with food, clothing, shelter, and health care, although it was not the case in most instances. In the

16th century, a new, and a more brutal system called "repartimiento" was invented, according to which the Indians were assigned to work on some (Crown) projects for a specific amount of time, and in return of which they were entitled to be paid wages, fed, and housed. However, all these administrative and governmental constructs had proven to be inefficient labor supervision measures; the Mexican-Indians were not better off than slaves in most of the times. A combination of Spaniard mistreatment and European diseases obliterated more than two-thirds of them, over the course of the 16th century, thus giving way to the emerging domination of "mestizos" (people of mixed Mexican-Indian and (European) Spanish blood) as the ancestors of today's Mexican- Americans.(41)

The Mexican-Americans have other identifiers, as well: "Chicanos", "Latin(o) American(o/a)", "Spanish American", "Hispano", "Spanish surname", "brown", "La Raza", "paisano", and "Mexicano", among others. The term "Chicano" is preferred by the younger members of the group and also by those who favor cultural pluralism, secession or separatism and who reject "the cold and materialist Anglo culture" while preferring instead the "family warmth and solidarity"(42), whereas the "Mexican-American" is preferred by aged persons and by those favoring Anglo conformity. The terms "Hispano" or "Spanish American" define those persons in northern New Mexico and Colorado who prefer to trace their ancestry to the Spaniards.(43)

Galarza et al. have given a detailed account of the Mexican-Americans in a very contrasting and colorful way as follows which seems to be worth of being cited in a lengthy form (44):

"The(se) people (..)are as old as the Spanish conquests of the 1500's before there was a British Jamestown and as recent as tomorrow's immigrant who will walk across the border, visa in hand, to join relatives in East Los Angeles or Denver. They are as rural and roote d as a mountain villager of Trampas, New Mexico, and as mobile and urb an as a United States congressman. Their early ancestors contributed to the area, and consequently to American culture, the domesticated animals of the region: horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. They brough t the fruits and most of the vegetables that have made agribusiness wh at it is in the Southwest today. They brought the knowledge (..) to extract the minerals (..). The livestock industry and its (..) cowboy mystique are their legacy. Irrigation and (..) water laws derive from them. Christianity came with them. Some say they were greedy and undoubtedly many were (..). Their treatment of the Indians was harsh and exploitative, but as often as not the Indian was incorporated in to the society (even through marriage), rather than killed, driven off, or corralled in reservations. Racism was not one of their contributions to this land. Later ancestors, colonists of a differen t type, brought to a newly-unified country the brawn and muscle needed for its development. They were poor and they lacked sophisticated skills. Yet they built the railroads (..). Their sweat developed the vast agricultural lands. Their labor constructed the houses and publ ic buildings. (..) And out of ground that had once been theirs, they created the West- for the use, profit, and enjoyment of others."

The claim that "racism was not one of their contributions" should be viewed cautiously. However, while comparing the relationships between the Spaniards and the Mexican-Indians on the one hand, and between the Anglo-Americans and the American-Indians on the other, McLemore states that the two expanding colonial powers (consisting of the Spaniards moving in south-north direction from the 16th century onwards and the English moving in east-west direction from the 17th century onwards) which would one day come close to eachother and collide (!), were handling the Indians in a radically different manner: The Anglo-Americans who were relying heavily on a "private, profit-sharing method" (to promote exploration and colonization),

had developed a hostile Indian policy of "exclusion and extermination", whereas the Spaniards who were relying for their colonization efforts more strongly on the crown and church, had developed an Indian policy of both hatred and love for the Christianized Indians, i.e. they were aiming at bringing the Christianized Indians into their colonial society "peacefully if possible but by force if necessary". In the last case, the Indians were thus bound to the Spanish masters and the land in a form of human slavery, but they also were (Christian) human beings accepted as an "integral, if lowly (actually "at the very bottom of the society") part of Mexican society".(45)

Portes & Bach among others have argued for that the heavy presence of Mexican descent population throughout the American Southwest is a phenomenon which has not predated the conquest of the region by the U.S., but that followed it: "Mexican immigration is unique in that it came to populate a region that belonged previously to the immigrants' country of origin".(46) **Mexican-Americans** are one of the three of America's minorities **forced to join American society- together with the American-Indians and black Americans- but** besides this, they have been **conquered on their own land** undergoing "a process of colonization quite similar to that experienced by the native populations of Africa".(47)

A sequence of revolts witnessed between 1810-1821 has prepared the grounds for Mexican independence from Spain. But during those years, both countries had seemingly ignored the northern territories where the Anglos who were regarding the Mexicans as "a backward people in a backward land" had started to invest for the future with a great eagerness. By

the 1830s a total of 30,000 Americans had settled down in Texas, also benefitting from the land grant issued by the Mexican government to lure Anglo settlers. This (government's) colonization program caused a paradoxical end- situation, namely, by 1835, the Anglo-American immigrants outnumbered the Mexicans in Texas by about 5 to 1. At the end, Texas broke away from Mexico in 1836 and became an independent nation. In April 1846, a battle between Mexican and U.S. troops occurred north of the Rio Grande (river). The conflict was involving not only the disputed land between Mexico and Texas, but all of Mexico?! And in February 1848, Mexico surrendered and accepted the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo according to which the Rio Grande was established as the boundary of Texas, over one-half of the Mexican territory - including what are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and parts of Arizona - was ceded to the U.S., thus leaving the today's southwestern region to Anglo-Americans, as well, turning the Spanish-Mexican-Indian group of that region into a conquered group in their own land!(48)

The members of this conquered group were given the right to choose between two alternative ways. They could either "retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States". As a result of this provision, approximately 75,000 Mexicans have obtained American citizenship, property rights, the right to religious freedom, and the right to maintain their culture and traditions.(49) Unfortunately, the paperwork is not enough to make the promises reality. Gonzales states that following the military defeat of their country, the Mexicans were treated as a "conquered

and defeated people"; their constitutional rights were ignored, their land was taken from them, and thus, "they were relegated to the lowest level of social existence", until the time when the introduction of railways into the region and the development of a agricultural and cattle industry in the U.S. Southwest have had accelerated the discovery of the Mexican worker as an ideal source of cheap labor.(50)

In order to racialize their past and future exploitation activities and wishes, the Anglo-Americans had started to fabricate their stereotypes and/or stories relating to the Mexicans as early as right after the Texan independence. In an account stemming from 1837, an Anglo writer describes the Mexican situations in a way helping to mold the "the sleepy Mexican under his wide-brimmed sombrero" stereotype, as follows(51):

> "The Mexican of San Antonio, of a dark eye and hair and a thin, bronzed complexion, is inferior in stature and physical development in every particular to the Anglo- Saxon. (..) The people are cowards, and like all persons of this description are cruel to those within their power. (..) The Mexicans love to talk(..).(..)The life of the Mexica n here is one of unconcerned indolence and ease.(..) The small quantity of corn (..) produced from a little piece of ground, and (..) his animal food (..) there is no necessity for much bodily exertion. Fro m eleven o'clock A.M. to four P.M., the doors of the houses are usually shut, and the inmates lie (..)upon the floor(..). When the heat (..) has abated, the streets are again thronged with (..) Mexicans. The evening is spent by a large portion of the population at the fandango, a kind of Spanish waltz."

Rios, while embarking upon the popular Mexican stereotype existing across the length of the United States, says that the symbol of the Mexican is the "peon" asleep against the wall of his adobe hut or at the foot of the saguaro cactus, wearing only sandals. He is assumed to be lazy and given to putting things off until "mañana" (tomorrow). His burro awaits him.

And at some point in his life, the peon wakes up, takes a drink of tequila, puts on his sombrero, and emigrates to the United States -of course by swimming the Rio Grande! In the U.S. the peon becomes immediately "sinister"; he is now described to be proud and hot- blooded, easily offended, very jealous, a drinker, a brawler, a knifer, promiscuous, cruel, a flashy dresser, a good dancer, and a "Latin lover" or a "lousy lover"!(52)

As it is put forward by Noel, if there are three conditions met, i.e. if one group has greater power than another, if there is competition for rather scarce resources, and if ethnocentrism prevails, then a system of ethnic stratification inevitably will arise.(53) McLemore says that all of these three conditions were present in the case of the borderlands between Mexico and the United States.(54)

A combination of racialized social (re)production of ethnic clichées and stereotypes on the one hand; and some economic and governmental developments such as the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the termination of Chinese immigration movements (to California with the Immigration Ban of 1858; and to the U.S. as a whole with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882), the completion of the transcontinental railroad (1869) (serving to transport agricultural products from California to the East), the construction of massive irrigation projects implemented because of the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902, and lastly, a lot of construction activities of diversified types like canals, dykes, reservoirs undertaken in the "new" U.S territories(55), all have created a huge demand for Mexican ("idle" and "lazy"(!)) labor. Thus, the great migrations of the Mexicans to America(!) have

started. Or, if you wish, they rather have been made to migrate into the Americanized economic depths of the prospering world capitalism.

As Portes & Bach have said, the Mexican labor immigration movements until the beginning of the 20th century were taking place outside of administrative controls "as a gradual drift northwards of agricultural laborers in search of temporary employment". The economic devastation wrought by continuous political instability especially (from the 1860s through the turn of the century) and also the construction of the national railroads in Mexico had contributed their shares to this labor flow.(56) The Mexican laborers who were actively recruited by the southwest growers (of citrus, melon, tomato, cotton, spinach, onion, vegetables, forage crops, sugar beets) and railroad companies while being offered "free rail travel" and "wage advances" as incentives (57), were also escaping from poverty and starvation at home. U.S. census figures show a surge in the total Mexican-American population from approximately 75,000 in 1890 to 562,000 in the year 1900.(58) After 1910, the Mexicans had another reason for escape, i.e. the Civil War. During the Mexican Revolution (1910-1924) some half a million Mexicans fled their country; and overall 715,000 Mexicans had left for the United States.(59)

The migration traffic across the border was free before the Great Depression (i.e. the stock market crash of October 1929) has had it be felt(60); and the Border Patrol was not established until 1924. The "National Quota Act of 1924" which had established quota restrictions on European immigration and excluded the Japanese, had left the entry for Mexicans free (under existing visa conditions, of course). The law had contained also

provisions making it possible for a Mexican immigrant to work on the American side of the border during the day, but to stay at his residence in Mexico during the night.(61) After these administrative measures had been introduced, thousands of Mexicans started to cross the borders as "illegal immigrants" ("indocumentados"). They found different ways to cross the poorly guarded 2.000-mile border. Many were aided by American employers wanting a steady supply of low-cost (Mexican) labor for their farms and factories. As Catalano described succinctly, the Mexicans were very vulnerable in those transactions(62):

> "Some employers hired professional smugglers who forged documents to bring in illegal immigrants. The smugglers, termed "coyotes", turned the workers over to an "enganchista", or labor contractor. Occasionaly, employers would report illegal immigrants to immigratio n officials after the work was done and before the wages were paid. As illegal immigrants, the Mexicans had no legal recourse."

Both World War I and II periods have proven to be the times for the Mexican labor to be called upon, whether it be legal or illegal. When the World War I broke out and as thousands of young men marched off to war, the U.S. Food Administration asked the Department of Labor to ease the restrictions limiting migrants to agricultural works, as a result of which many Mexicans began to enter (even) skilled professions like mechanics, machinists, etc. Many industries located in midwestern and northern cities (Chicago, for instance) drew large numbers of Mexicans, too.(63) Between two wars, however, the Mexicans were hit seriously by the "Repatriation Program" (of 1929) which encouraged Mexicans, even if they were American "citizens", to accept the "voluntary repatriation". Whereas in 1930 there were

approximately three million Mexicans in the U.S., almost half of them returned to their country between the years of 1929 and 1939.(64)

With the entry of the United States into the World War II in 1941, there emerged e new and immediate labor demand for shipyards, industrial plants, automobile and truck assembly lines, weapons factories, bomber factories, and agricultural industry. However, Mexico did not allow its citizens to go to the United States, because the war had also created labor shortages in Mexico, as well, and because Mexico's government had lost its faith to the U.S. as a "good neighbor". Thus, instead of permitting an unrestricted flow of its workers, Mexico agreed in July of 1942 to send "braceros" (farmhands) there on certain conditions such as: The braceros were to receive free food and transportation; they also were not to be given workplaces presently filled in by American residents; and they were to receive some guarantees with regard to wages, working conditions, and living quarters. It was also agreed that only a limited number of workers could be employed within a given year; and that selected Mexican officials could investigate any complaints. Over 167,000 agricultural workers had been recruited under the program between 1942-1945. When it was terminated finally in December 1964, it was calculated that five million Mexicans had participated in this transborder labor exchange program. However, the real figure of workers participated is much more than this, because the bracero program has stimulated the flow of "indocumentados", including also the so-called "campesinos" (Mexican farm workers) who were selling their labor for less than the braceros.(65) According to some writers, the program has been of great benefit to large-scale

American farming enterprises, on the one hand, and to Mexico's economy, on the other, which had received about $318 million from the remittances and savings of braceros between 1942-1947, a total sum contributing probably around 1 to 2 percent a year to Mexico's annual income.(66) Another advantage gained by the Mexican government during this program had been the possibility for it to protest formally the acts of discrimination against "not only their citizens in the United States but also against Chicanos"; e.g. the Mexican government had protested in October 1943 "the segregation of children of Mexican descent in certain Texas schools" and ended the bracero program there.(67)

Aiming at "providing a means for Mexicans to earn wages without allowing them to become permanent residents", the bracero program could not reduce the number of the illegal workers. "Mojados", who are also called "wetbacks" (because they were commonly swimming the Rio Grande in order to gain entry into the U.S.), had been both the cause and target of law strengthenings by Congress in the "Operation Wetback" campaign of 1954, at the end of which in one year more than a million and within 5 years, 3,8 million indocumentados were expelled from the United States.(68)

Garcia y Griego points out to the widely accepted belief in the policy circles and in the popular press that the average annual net undocumented Mexican immigration in the 1970s and even late 1980s has approached 500,000 and that the bulk of supposedly 4 to 12 million undocumented aliens in the U.S. was composed of Mexicans. He also

underlines the general expectation that the supply of emigrants from Mexico will grow in the 1990s, too (maybe at about 200,000 per year).(69)

Cornelius in his turn says that the Mexican migration to the United States usually has been analyzed from a "supply-side" perspective, i. e. giving more attention to the higher-paying job opportunities in the U.S. economy rather than investigating the large and growing "demand" for Mexican labor in the same economy. According to the supply-side proponents, he goes further by saying, "the presence of a large, predominantly undocumented Mexican labor force in the United States is an artificial and pathological phenomenon: a cancer that can and should be cut out of the economy, through government actions (e.g. employer sanctions legislation)". Basing upon the field survey data (of 1983-1984) relating to 177 immigrant-dependent-firms producing different types of goods and services in California's three largest metropolitan areas (San Diego, Los Angeles-Orange County, and the San Francisco Bay area) with ten or more employees making substantial (i.e. at least 25%) use of Mexican (and other foreign-born) labor, Cornelius states as follows(70):

> "(..)the "Mexicanization" of certain jobs, firms, and industries in recent decades is an integral part of much more fundamental processes of economic and social change in the United States and in the U.S. role in the global economy. (..)The available data also suggest that reliance upon Mexican labor to fill low-skilled, manual-labor jobs is not simply a matter of U.S. capitalism seeking to protect its profits. The demand for Mexican labor in the U.S. economy is selective."

Tienda also stresses the inevitability of the Mexican migration to the U.S. by saying(71):

> "After forty years of steady development, Mexico-United States migration is now so institutionalized, so widespread, so much a part of family strategies, individual expectations, and community structures, in short, so embedded in social and economic institutions, that the idea of controlling it is probably unrealistic. Migrationis inherently a social process(..)."

This inevitability and/or uncontrollability may seem to be paradoxical if one reads a U.S. Congress (Dillingham Commission) report (of 1911) about Mexican migration prepared some 80 years ago(72):

> "Because of their strong attachment to their native land (..)and the possibility of their residence here being discontinued, few become citizens of the United States. The Mexican migrants are providing a fairly adequate supply of labor (..) While they are not easily assimilated, this is of no very great importance as long as most of them return to their native land. In the case of the Mexican, he is less desirable as a citizen than as a laborer."

Cornelius again draws our attention to the very fact that the impacts of U.S.-bound labor migration upon Mexico (although in eight key sending states of Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Durango, San Luis Potosi, Baja California, and Chihuahua concentrated, which account for 70 percent of all illegal migration) are strongly felt in a socio-economically and socio-spatially interlinked chain consisting of (after the mentioned "states",) regions, "municipios", towns within municipios, and families within particular localities; and that most of those units have a long (50- 60 years') tradition of worker sending to the United States.(73)

Portes & Bach do support the existence of this "impact- chain" in form of a cyclical migration pattern which in last years has started to incorporate also a labor-market shift "from a temporary rural labor force to a

lower-tier urban proletariat (in the competitive sector of the American economy)" as follows(74):

> "Temporal labor migration to the United States is deeply embedded in the social and economic fabric of remote Mexican rural communities. Remittances sent by migrants provide means both of consumption and resources for investment in agricultural land and even industry. But if remittances are central to the economic life of these communities, so too is the eventual return of its migrants."

The eventual return of the migrants (of the Los Altos de Jalisco region, for example) from the U.S. is within a time span of six to eight months, as Cornelius found out(75), however, the migration process itself never ends!

If we share the view that "immigration, because it represents the movement of a work force, is above all an economic phenomenon" as Calavita has stated(76), then, what are the mechanisms behind the endurance of these labor migrations taking place between Mexico and the Southwest region (of the United States)?

3.5 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE SOUTHWEST U.S. WITHIN GLOBAL CAPITALISM

3.5.1 Theoretical Reflexions on Global Restructurations

The labor migration movements witnessed in the U.S. Southwest region are a direct and inescapable socio-economic phenomenon of the today's international division of labor (IDOL), a rather globally structured mechanism of the capitalist world-economy having also very great socio-spatial imprints upon the geographical areas and specific locations in

discussion. Here I'll dwell on the IDOL in a more concentrated way in order to deepen and to shed more light on the theoretical analysis introduced in Chapter 1 while making use of the Southwest U.S.

As it will be remembered, the modern capitalist world- system in the Wallersteinian sense(77), includes three types of country: 1-"Core" countries (which make up the leading industrial members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), thus including North-west Europe, North America, Japan and Australia, and thus excluding Greece, Portugal, and Turkey); 2-"semi- periphery" nations (consisting of the middle-income OECD members like Ireland and also newly industrializing countries (NICs) such as the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, and Singapore, which are dependent on core countries for capital investments); 3- "periphery" countries (i.e. poor countries and most of the oil exporters of the developing world).

According to Wallerstein, the modern world system has emerged between 1450 and 1600 in Europe as a capitalist world economy having a logic aiming at continuously expanding like much as previous world empires (such as the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and China)(78):

> "The capitalist world-economy which came into existence (..) is a network of integrated production processes united in a single division of labor. Its basic economic imperative is the ceaseless accumulatio n of capital, made possible by the continuous appropriation of surplus -value, which is centralized via primitive accumulation, the concentration of capital, and the mechanisms of unequal exchange. It s political superstructure is the interstate system composed of "states", some sovereign, some colonial.(..) As the world-economy has expanded over historical time in consequence of its internal needs, it has "incorporated" new zones into the world-economy's division of labor.(..) In zones like the Caribbean, North America, or Australia, the indigenous polities

(and large parts of the population) were destroyed upon incorporation, and new colonial states were established, often with the help of European settler populations."

In the late 1960s, and the 1970s, some scholars have started to talk of the so-called "new international division of labor" (NIDL) (paralleling the discourse created and/or supported by the world-system theory). The proponents of the NIDL thesis are holding that the international division of labor means that " different forms of control over labour for different types of production in different regions of the capitalist world economy"(79) and that there exists an historical and an analytic contrast between a "classical"-, and a "new" international division of labor in the sense that the classical one existed when a few industrial countries (of western Europe, the U.S. and Japan) producing capital-, and consumer goods were confronting the vast majority of underdeveloped countries which were integrated into the world economy as producers of raw materials.(80) In contrast to this, the authors argue that the NIDL comes about when the profitable production of manufactures for the world market becomes possible not only in the industrialized countries, but also in the developing countries, and when, apart from this, commodity production is subdivided into fragments which can be assigned to different parts of the world which can provide the most profitable combination of capital and labor.(81)

Hill claims that in the 1960s, the industrialized countries of the world began to meet severe problems of structural unemployment, underutilized plant capacity, stagnating domestic investment, capital flight abroad, and fiscal crises of the state; and that the poor and export-dependent

nations have been locked into a trajectory of deepening rural poverty and expanding urban slums. The NIDL is both a response to and a mirror of these world events.(82) In an effort to summarize the trends which have created the crisis of the 1970s, Hamilton has identified seven such trends: 1-A slowing down of economic growth and steadily falling profits, particularly in the industrial core countries; 2-Rising levels of inflation reducing profits and hampering capital accumulation; 3- Increased international monetary instability caused and perpetuated by: a)under- or over-valuation of exchange rates as a result of the transition from fixed exchange rates to floating ones, and b)increasing indebtedness among NICs and some underdeveloped countries following immense borrowing from the "petrodollar" surpluses created in the OPEC countries; 4-The introduction of new social values associated with social welfare and environmental protection which also raised some industrial costs; 5-Feedback effects of new innovations and technological changes in the fields of energy-saving and microelectronics reducing the demand in "traditional" sectors (such as steel, electro-mechanical products, etc.); 6-A resurgence of political volatility diminishing the extent of world trade activities; and lastly 7-An increasing intensity of international competition induced by the postwar liberalization of trade, and the spread of industrialization to the periphery. (83)

As tensions have had started to arise between the developed-, and developing countries due to the very economic strategies (such as the export-led industrialization policy) followed (by many Third World countries), and as for instance underdeveloped regions have had become increasingly

competitive in the production of labor-intensive goods because of the existence of comparatively very low wages (and while international costs of transport and communications have dropped continuosly), the developed industrial economies have implemented some counter-policies within the scope of the NIDL, as follows(84):

1- The first policy is the "high tech" option aiming at increasing the productivity in order to maintain high wages for workers, and large returns for investors and firms through the development of new and more sophisticated technology;

2- The second policy is outright "protectionism" seeking for "orderly marketing arrangements", measures against real and/or imagined export subsidies or dumping by developing world;

3- The third policy is to try to adapt to the changing pattern of international comparative advantage by integrating production operations across national boundaries according to the complementarities between factors of production in developing and developed world (i.e. performing unskilled assembly in low-wage areas, and the more skilled jobs in developed countries).

According to Glickman(85), during the 1950s and 1960s, labor was imported from the periphery and semi-periphery to the core countries, capital-intensive exports were sent from the core to the semi-periphery and periphery, most trade and foreign investment flows were of intra-core character, and low-cost energy was imported from the peripheral oil-producing countries. However, after 1974, the following new trends were detected: As

economy was worsening, most labor migration movements ended, foreign direct investment (FDI) increased from the core to some NICs, more labor-intensive imports came from the NICs to the core, and high-price energy was imported to the core countries. FDI did not go to the previous labor exporters; capital exports went to some NICs, where there were cheap labor pools to exploit in assembly operations, especially in the semiconductor, textile, clothing, and shoe industries. Auto, chemical, steel, and rubber operations have been relocated from developed nations for marketing purposes or to supply other overseas operations and functions. The globalization of automobile industry(86) and a similar globalization of the semiconductor industry(87) helping to the widely usage of the concept of the "Global Factory"(88) (established while benefitting from the improvements in communications technology and changes in business organization) are thus to be considered within the very scope of the NIDL.

The mentioned globalization and restructuration processes within the framework of the NIDL have affected both the developed and developing worlds in differing dimensions and to varying extents possible; however, there were detected some very clear socio-spatial happenings, cases, events, movements and flows (of persons, businesses, and informations) which caused new transformations of the human settlements' spaces taking place all over the world. At the end of these rather instability generating entropic happenings, there appeared the world of modern capitalism which is both "a worldwide net of corporations and a global network of cities"(89), comprising, on the one hand, "world (command) cities"(90) such as New York, London,

Tokyo, Los Angeles, Paris, etc. which house concentrations of (multinational) corporate headquarters, high-level corporate services (like international law, accountancy, etc.), producer services, banking, research and organization activities, and, last but not least, government; and the so-called "dependent urban structures"(91) located mostly (but not solely) in Third World (or if one prefers to use the term of the "New World Order" (coming into being after the very recent collapse of the U.S.S.R. communism in 1991) discussions, "Southern") countries, on the other.(92)

Thus, a socio-economic and a socio-spatial "hierarchical configuration" on a rather world scale has made itself apparent at the end of the twentieth century. Smaller cities of the hierarchy do perform roles as production -, consumer -, and service centers. "The higher a city is in the hierarchy, the more control it will have over its own economic destiny."(93) The originally simple-formulated **"rank-size rule" of Zipf** (1941) (saying that a city's rank in a system of cities when multiplied by its population will equal the population of the largest city) has been used in discussions of "systems of cities" and/or of **"urban primacy"** with some modifications introduced due to the very existence of development/underdevelopment discrepancies.(94)

Being both a response to and a mirror of the current economic crisis of world capitalism which makes itself appear as capital flight abroad, foreign investment, multinational corporate competition, global interdependence of production efforts, and labor migration movements, the NIDL has started to create diverse socio- spatial effects. But before going into

a detailed discussion of these effects, a short analysis of the crisis will be beneficial to the understanding of the matter.

James O'Connor defines the current crisis of world capitalism as "an interruption in the accumulation of capital" and cites the "capital restructuring" in advanced societies as a tool in preventing, postponing, and/or displacing the mentioned crisis.(95) Different aspects of the crisis, i.e. the "structural" crisis which is an historical period in the development of capitalism accommodating a transition from one accumulation model to another; the "sectoral" crisis which is engendered by unevenness (in the development pace and among economic sectors or among geographic regions) producing processes of the multi-locational capital sectors such as global industry, finance and business services, causing thus a concentration of investments in some regions of the advanced capitalist world, on the one hand, and a shift of investments to peripheral locations on the globe in order to match advanced technologies with cheap labor, on the other (a process at the end of which some older industrial areas in developed societies suffering rapid disinvestment are entering into a serious decay); and the "spatial" crisis which is an end-product of the mentioned (under-, or) disinvestment and decay, or very rapid population growth.(96)

According to Smith(97), local spatial crises are not limited to older manufacturing cities; the U.S.Sunbelt region (including the Southwest region) is a very informing case in that sense. The rapid population growth and presumed prosperity of the Sunbelt attracting both people from the Snowbelt region (including the declining older manufacturing centres of the

northeastern and midwestern regions), and immigrants from the Third World countries fleeing economic and political condititions in their respective countries(98), have engendered local crisis situations and dimensions, thus, for instance, have opened the way for the intensification of the pressures on municipal budgets.(99) It should also be added that besides the facts underlined above, the region's older manufacturing sector providing a great employment potential was losing over 100,000 jobs in its industrial sector. In California, 979 manufacturing plants were closed down between 1980-1982 due to the restructuration processes.(100)

Generally speaking, the capitalist city has undergone through a series of innovative urban restructurings that have reshaped it over the past two centuries: 1-The first restructuring had occurred between the years of 1830-1850, and had transformed the mercantile capitalist city into the classical competitive, entrepreneurial, and extraordinarily centralized industrial capitalist city of the mid-nineteenth century, the best examples of which (in the U.S.) are New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago; 2-The second restructuring which had begun in the 1870s, and which had lasted for more than two decades, had decentralized industrial production and employment while concentrating financial and commercial capital in the skyscrapers of the expanded central business districts of corporate capitalist cities like New York and Chicago; 3-The third restructuring process witnessed through the Great Depression and World War II years, had caused many of the trends shaping the corporate capitalist city to become magnified: Increasing oligopoly in financial control and corporate organization; industrial decentralization;

suburbanization and metropolitanization; the further packing of the inner cities with racial and ethnic minorities (after the suburbian exodus of the white middle classes); and also the powerful expansion of the state in every economic sector. The end-product of these diverse trends has been "an even more sprawling, polycentric, politically fragmented, and bureaucratically planned urban mosaic" at a metropolitan scale which is the locus of mass production and mass consumption and which is described (after its most expansive industrial production system by the economists of the so-called Regulationist School) as "Fordist", or alternatively as "Keynesian" (pointing out to the state-managed "social contract" and "welfare" systems) (the paradigmatic cities of this period were no longer New York and Chicago, but Detroit and Los Angeles which were "the two fastest growing and and most autocentric metropoles of the mid-twentieth century"); and 4-The fourth and last restructuring process which has started in the late 1960s with a series of urban explosions within virtually all advanced industrial countries and which has been motivated by the deep worldwide recession of 1973-1975, has opened the way for the so-called "post- Fordist", "post-Keynesian", "post-industrial", and "post-modern" urban transformations.(101)

While mentioning from the current capitalist economic restructuring as a techno-economic process including the widening use of new information technologies in manufacturing, agriculture (through biotechnology), and service sectors and thus making their productivity levels increase, Castells & Henderson do describe major policy measures around which the "new model

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of economic development" (which equates itself with the fourth urban restructuring mentioned before) comes into being as follows(102):

> "1. Inflation is controlled through fiscal austerity, monetary restriction and policies aimed at the partial dismemberment of the welfare state. 2.Labour costs are reduced by means of forcing down wages while at the same time reducing expenditure on working conditions and social benefits.(..) 3. Productivity and profitability of companies are increased by (..)reductions of working time, technological innovation, and speed-ups of work. 4.Industrial sectors are restructured. This results in massive disinvestments in those sectors, regions and companies that have become less profitable, and investment in new products and activitie s, generally in high-technology manufacturing, corporate services, (..)consumer services, and real estate. A major development within industrial restructuring (particularly in Europe and Latin America) is the shrinkage of the public sector and the associated "privatization " of state assets. 5.There is tremendous growth of the "informal economy"(..).(..)(..) today a key element of all economies, not only for the survival of the poor(..) (but also, (..)the "super-exploitation" of the workforce) and for the transfer of value from the informal sector to large corporations via subcontracting (..). 6.There is an increasing internationalization of the economy, taking advantage of the most favourable locations for production, managemen t and control of the markets (..). This is a common strategy for both companies and governments (..). 7. Finally, there are attempts by core economies to control world prices of raw materials and energy (..)."

It is seen from the lengthy excerption above that the cited policy measures are of an all-embracing nature taken and planned for facilitating the restructuration process of the global capitalist mode of production which has entered once again into a severe crisis in the 1970s.

A shocking feature of the modern crisis is the **"informalization"** of even the (First) World's core countries' metropolitan cities as it is pointed out in the last excerption under point 5. According to a thorough study made by Castells and Portes (103), the informalization of the economy, being rather a "fundamental politico-economic process" of income-generation activities

characterized by the central specification of "unregulatedness" (by legal and social institutions of the society), affects various elements of the work atmosphere. First, the "status of labor" might be affected in such a way that labor may be undeclared; paid under the minimum wage regulations; or made use of it under unallowable circumstances. Second, the "conditions of work" might be affected, so that public hygiene, health, and safety conditions of the society, in general, and the specific locations, in particular, could be endangered by the very economic undertaking. Third, the "form of management of some firms" might be affected in a manner whereby (at least) some firms engage in systematic fiscal fraud.(104) There is a general agreement on the side of the majority of western scholars in believing that while criminal activities and underreporting of income are present in (their) advanced societies, informal sectors are not!(105) Portes and Sassen-Koob do claim that explaining the informalization activities in the core countries as a result of the Third World immigration to these countries and/or of the propensity of the immigrants to replicate their survival strategies (which are necessarily of a "backward economy nature"), may resolve the tension between the informal sector's existence and prevailing conceptions of advanced economies.(106) However, there is a growing and convincing scientific information about the essential role played by the conditions of advanced capitalism itself in the informalization of the core economies.(107) Notwithstanding this fact, one should add that one of the guiding principles in investigating the matter shouldn't be forgotten: "The processes and profile of

the informal economy are historically specific, depending upon the relationship between the state, capital, and labor in each country".(108)

Castells(109) states that the capitalist restructuration processes follow the sequential social logic composed of stages as described: i)(Existence of) Historical events acting on their own specific contradictions; ii)A structural crisis of the social system, thereupon; then, either iii)A social transformation (when the system changes its goals or structural principles of performance to become actually a different system); or iv)A social restructuring process (when the system changes the institutionalized means by which it aims to achieve its systemic goals). Thus, the crisis of the global capitalism necessitates a new restructuration process in order to stabilize itself at another systemic point, as it had happened before with the crisis situations during the "laisser-faire model of the pre-Depression (of the 1930s) era" (giving way to the so-called "Keynesianism" and/or "state-regulated capitalism" creating an "ever- expanding welfare state"), and also during the "post-World War II model of capitalism" which is in quintessence an "industrial mode of development" based upon energy, displaying its very crisis peak levels in the oil shocks of 1974 and 1979. The "new model of capitalism" (mentioned above) started to be searched after in the 1980s, makes great use of the new informational technologies building on the sequential discoveries (in microelectronics) of the transistor (1947), the integrated circuit (1957), the planar process (1959), and the microprocessor (1971) on the way to computers which have revolutionized information processing. The resulting articulation between the restructuring of capitalism and the "informational

mode of development" has created three major organizational characteristics, namely: a)There is now a growing concentration of knowledge-generation and decision-making processes in high-level organizations (in core centers); b)There is now a growing "flexibility" of the system and of the relationships among its units; and c)There is now a shift from "centralized" large corporations to "decentralized" networks made up of a plurality of sizes and forms of organizational units.(110)

3.5.2 THE SOUTHWEST U.S.: THE PLAYGROUND OF THE WORLD- ECONOMY

The Southwest ("Sunbelt") region has been one of the pioneering geographical areas in the U.S. to display the differing dimensions and configurations related with the above-mentioned socio- economic and socio-spatial restructuration processes. The Southwest is defined as a region including the San Francisco Bay basin; the central valley of California; the Los Angeles metropolis; the Salt River Valley of Arizona; Denver County; the upper Rio Grande, loosely embracing southern Colorado and northern New Mexico; south central Texas centering in San Antonio; and the Border.(111)

The history of the Southwest has always been a history of its cities, as Abbott has stated it for the American West.(112) Since the beginnings of Spanish settlement in the seventeenth century, an "oasis civilization" created by Spanish pioneers has existed in that part of America, the main cities of which were Santa Fe (1610), Paso del Norte (1659), Albuquerque (1706), and

Tucson (1776).(113) When the railroads have arrived the cited towns in the 1880s, they all have started to gain considerable population. The contact with the outside world through railroads, including the transcontinental routes operated by the Southern Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroads, has introduced links to the national economy and enabled the towns to expand as trade-, tourist resort-, health-, and distribution centers of their regions. The desert communities thus stimulated farming, mining, and livestock-raising pursuits in their region by providing local markets, and national and international transportation outlets. Copper, cotton, cattle were among the main trade commodities of the region.(114) While the urban centers were entering the motor age with all types of vehicles like automobile, bus and truck in the 1920s, and thereby witnessing a residential and business dispersal and/or suburbanization/decentralization movements, the social structure of the region was also changing radically, as Luckingham puts fittingly(115):

> "As the oases developed, they became increasingly attractive to Anglo elements, and as they assumed power in the regional centers of the Southwest, they utilized Mexicans as an underclass to help them realize their goals, including economic growth. Having achieved a dominant position in each community, the Anglos (..) dictated the terms of ethnic arrangement (..). For the majority of Hispanics, as well as the less numerous blacks and Indians, upward mobility proved elusive and poverty remained a problem."

Galarza et al. do summarize the tapping of the Mexican labor in a more descriptive way so(116):

> "The demand for sheer Mexican muscle to lay tracks and maintain rights-of way lessened gradually until, in the 1950's, it was no longer a predominant factor in the labor market. Thousands of immigrants still made a living in (..) mining; but many times those thousands left the pits and the smelters to seek work in the

> expandi ng fields of large-scale farming. These fields were staked out over a very large territory: Michigan, Oregon,central California, the Imperial Valley, Colorado, southern Texas, the midwestern states, an d the Great Lakes region.(..) Packing sheds and canneries drew Mexican workers another step upward and outward. In the two world wars shipbuilding, aircraft construction, and finally electronics drastically changed the economic landscape. Accompanying all this, the building of new tracts, subdivisions, and elite residential zones provided jobs for the increasing numbers of urban Mexican-Americans."

As Mohl has said, one of the "most dramatic" demographic and structural shifts in American history occurred in the years since 1940 with the growth of the sunbelt cities.(117) Abbott who has made a thorough analysis of the region has identified two distinct growth regions - a seven-state sunbelt Southeast, and a ten-state sunbelt West. These regions have experienced population increases, expansion in government employment, urban and metropolitan growth, and rising per capita incomes since 1950. According to Abbott, the growth patterns have began during World War II, at a time when the federal government built military bases and training facilities in the South and Southwest. There were concentrated in those regions defense industries like shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture, as mentioned before. New federal contracts and wartime migration have eased the development of boomtowns of Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coastal cities, so that by 1980 five of the nation's ten largest cities - Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, San Diego, and Los Angeles - were located in the Southwest region.(118) Population growth and dispersal led the sunbelt cities to massive annexation efforts: Between the years of 1950-1980 Houston grew in area from 160 to 556 square miles, whereas Oklahoma City's area enlarged from 51 to 603 square miles.(119)

Los Angeles County contains a population of 8,7 million people in 1990, of which a fixed part of 3,5 million resides in the city of Los Angeles. It is the second-largest city in the nation and has registered a large population gain in the 1980s and 1990s: The increase rate is 15.4% between 1970-1980 and 17.2% between 1980-1990. The total area of the city is over 464 square miles, thus making it one of the physically largest cities of the nation. The classical "central city - suburb" distinction does actually not apply to Los Angeles, because the city contains areas similar to traditional suburbs, and the city itself surrounds several smaller cities.(120) The Los Angeles urban region consists of a conglomeration of cities and built-up areas filling almost a 60-mile-radius circle around its nominal urban nucleus (which is the civic center of the City of Los Angeles) and extends over all or some part of five counties (i.e. Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura). Soja says that with a total population of nearly 12,5 million and its gross regional product which would rank Los Angeles fourteenth among all the countries in the world (just behind India and the Netherlands and just ahead of Australia and Mexico in GNP), Los Angeles has been the "premier growth pole of industrial capitalism".(121)

In order to understand the population expansion since the Second World War in the Southwest region, one only needs to remember some demographic figures and facts relating to the past: In 1960, the highest estimate for the number of persons of Mexican ancestry (Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surname) in five southwestern states (i.e. California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas) was only 3,5 million.(122) And according to the

1980 Census figures, the Mexican- American population was comprising a total of 8,7 million (excluding undocumented aliens); the 1988 Census has displayed the Mexican- American population figure as being 12,1 million, i.e. 62.3% of the total Hispanic population. The Mexican-Americans represented 23% (6,081,000) of the population of California in 1986. In Texas, they make up 21% of the population (2,985,000); New Mexico has the largest proportion of Mexican-Americans (37%), but it is only 2.7% of the total ethnic cohort (477,000). Los Angeles has "the largest population of Mexicans outside of Mexico": An estimated 1,5 million in 1989. (The total number of Hispanics in Los Angeles is over 2,5 million.) San Antonio has the second largest share of the Mexican population (448,000), followed by Houston (373,000), El Paso (282,000), Riverside-San Bernardino (252,500), Anaheim-Santa Ana (232,000), San Diego (228,000), Dalls-Fort Worth (225,000), McAllen- Pharr (221,000), San Jose (177,000), Phoenix (177,000), and Albuquerque (112,000).(123) One of the basic socio-spatial facts about the Mexican-American population is its concentration in specific locations of city geographies. "The polarizing effects of migration patterns, jobs, and related factors produced clusters within clusters".(124) Their median age is 23.9, compared to the national average of 32.2 years (in 1988); and as a result of their higher fertility rates, and the large number of immigrants in their population, the average family size among Mexican-Americans is one person larger than the general population (4,06 as opposed to 3,10).(125)

The Mexican author Carlos Fuentes says that "the first Byzance of the 21st century will be Los Angeles where one not only speaks English, but

also Spanish, Koreanish, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Chinese".(126) Los Angeles is a city of striking contrasts, imbalances, and huge per capita income differences between races, classes, ethnicities, and genders. Economically the city has emerged as a "world metropolis" and/or "global city" with a diverse industrial base. It is considered by some scholars the leading capital of the Sunbelt as New York plays that role for the Snowbelt (or Frostbelt). It is actually more than that. Sassen states(127):

> "(..)New York City and Los Angeles. These are the two major producers of financial and other advanced services in the U.S. They also conta_in two of the largest downgraded manufacturing sectors of any city. And they are major recipients of the new immigration. Yet in the middle of the 1970s each of these cities was a consummate instance of what are usually seen as two very different configurations: the declining Frostbelt and the ascendant Sunbelt. Within the national economy the_y each do indeed contain distinct trends of decline and growth associated with each of these regions. However (..) what comes to th e fore is their role as centers for the servicing and management of th_e vastly decentralized manufacturing sector and for the globalization of economic activity generally. This role would also explain why both have been major recipients of direct foreign investment in banking a nd other advanced services over the last few years, particularly from Western Europe and Japan. Western European and Japanese manufacturin g is becoming decentralized in ways akin to those of the U.S., includi_ng redeployment of plants to select less developed countries and to the U.S."

Some have argued, as Saltzstein and Sonenshein mention, that Los Angeles will become "the hub of a new commercial empire" by linking the rising economies of East Asia with parts of Latin America and the United States.(128) This is to be seen in future, but what is palpable today is the fact that Los Angeles has become an increasingly "polarized city" both socially and spatially in a booming economy, and a "global city" at the same time. Citing New York and Los Angeles as the "propulsive heartlands" of Boswash

(i.e. stretching from Boston to Washington, D.C.) and of Sansan megalopolises, respectively, Soja further states that(129):

> "Since the 1960s, there has also been a deep restructuring of the longstanding international division of labor between First, Second, and Third Worlds, based largely upon an unprecedented internationalization of the production of goods and services.(..) A global network of specialized World Cities quickly took shape to service and sustain this expansive internationalization. In the deindustrializing North Atlantic Basin, domestic deregulation allowe d New York and London to retain (and even expand) their preeminence as global financial centers. In the Pacific Basin, Tokyo and more recently Los Angeles (superseding San Francisco) also became dominant nodes in the premier circuit of World Cities. Today, these four financial(..) capitals of global capitalism, span and scan the globe in a 24-hour sequence of shifts, assisted by a constellation of regional command centers and amazing new technologies of information(..)."

Although Los Angeles has become a world financial center, the money flows directed to its inhabitants do not almost always witness this growth in an equitable and fair manner. Soja adds that although there has been a massive deindustrialization in Los Angeles, primarily within what was the largest Fordist industrial complex in the western United States, there has also been a significant reindustrialization with expansive growth in both high technology (aerospace, electronics) and low technology (apparel, furniture) industrial branches. He, however, claims that rather than reducing poverty and income inequalities, reindustrialization appears to have aggravated both, thus causing, for instance, the black population of Los Angeles falling into the ranks of the so-called "underclass" in great numbers.(130) What had in the past been the second largest automobile industry in the country has been reduced to a single plant in Van Nuys, still threatened with closure. Apart from this, a tyre manufacturing industry (second only to Akron which is the center

of the nation's rubber industry and which had lost some 16,000 manufacturing jobs and 40,000 inhabitants during the 1970s) disappeared entirely, along with most of the southern steel industry. From 1978 to 1982, within only four years, some 75,000 jobs were lost due to plant closures and indefinite layoffs. These events have had devastating effects on the socio-economic conditions of at least some members of the worker class, as Soja describes(131):

> "In adjacent Watts, economic conditions have deteriorated more rapidly than in any other community within the City of Los Angeles and are n ow worse than they were at the time of the black riots in Watts in 1965 . In the fifteen years after the riots, the area of predominantly blac k south- central Los Angeles which contains Watts lost 40,000 in population, its labor force was reduced by 20,000, and median family income fell to $5,900, $2,500 below the city median for the black population."

One has to remind while passing that Los Angeles has witnessed once again a new rioting in April/May 1992 caused seemingly by the police brutality and discrimination against a black car driver, Rodney King, and the unfairness of the judge system as a whole, thereupon, during which 53 persons have died, 2,400 were injured, 16,900 (among them arsonists ("incedarios"),and looters ("saqueadores")) were arrested by Los Angeles police authorities, some 5,500 fires were detected in the city landscape creating a property damage of nearly $785 million, 10,000 businesses were shut down (many never to reopen), total jobs lost were estimated between 25,000-75,000 (132). However, the real cause was, as many have realized, the "two Americas" divided and separated by class, race, ethnicity, and

gender. An author, Lacayo, from the "Time" magazine has stated the following (133):

> "In the past two years, welfare rolls in Los Angeles have climbed to historic levels. Nearly 1.4 million Angelenos, a seventh of the county's population, depend on one or more of the county-administered relief services: Aid to Families with Dependent Children, general relief, food stamps or the California state version of Medicaid. The contrast between South Central L.A. and Simi Valley is typical of th_e city- suburban divide. South Central, a largely black and Hispanic neighborhood of 260,000 people, has long been one of the poorest sections of the city. While there are pockets of prim bungalows sprinkled among the rundown commercial streets and crime-infested housing projects, the average income is just $10,000 per adult. More than a fourth of the area's families are below the poverty line. Meanwhile, Simi Valley-80% white, 13% Hispanic, 5% Asian, only 2% black- is a pristine bedroom community of just over 100,000, where the average price of a home is $230,000."

Davis has given the police records of the rioters' composition being as 45% Hispanic, 41% black, and 12% white.(134) It is clear that the last Los Angeles riot is a poverty-induced social and racial explosion, as it was the case with ghetto disorders andğor uprisings of the 1960s, as well.(135) According to Soja, again, the reindustrialization process of Los Angeles region has been impressive, too. Between 1970-1980, the region expanded its jobs by over 225,000, when the U.S. as a whole experienced a net increase of (only) less than a million manufacturing jobs. Most of these newly created jobs were concentrated in two different segments of the economy, the first in aerospace and electronics, the second a rising garment industry(136):

> "It has been estimated that of the approximately 125,000 jobs in the garment industry, about 80 per cent are held by undocumented workers and more than 90 per cent by women. Unionization rates are low (..). Sweatshops which provoke images of nineteenth century London have become as much a part of the restructured landscape of Los Angeles as the abandoned factory site(..)."

Scott says that "specialty craft industries", of which garment ("SIC 23", i.e. apparel and other textile products) is an important part, are "unusually well represented" in Southern California (defined as the great conurbation stretching from Santa Barbara through Los Angeles to San Diego). These industries are labor intensive, given to product differentiation, and also fragmented into many flexibly specialized but interconnected establishments. The ensemble employed 327,309 workers in 1985, an increase of 81.3% between 1970-1985. Scott further explains that(137):

> "The centralized and agglomerated locational pattern of craft industries is exemplified by women's dress manufacturers in central Los Angeles(..). Clothing manufacturers cluster together along with associated trades: cutting and sewing contractors, button and thread suppliers, sewing machine repair shops, and so on(..). All of the major craft industries in Los Angeles have a similar social division of labor and locational agglomeration in specialized industrial districts. Around each individual district is typically a residential zone that houses a high proportion of its workers. (..)most of the craft industries of Los Angeles depend largely on low-wage immigrant and female workers."

The immigrant and female workers mentioned above are located in the lower segment of the Southern California's dualistic labor market, and have no legal resident status, to a great extent.(138) Whereas in 1970, 219,314 manufacturing workers were of Spanish / Hispanic origin making 19.8% of the total manufacturing labor force in Southern California (and 63,865 blacks comprising 5.8%), in 1980, 424,482 Hispanic workers were making 29.7% of the total manufacturing force (of which a fixed part of 5.7% was filled by 81,297 Asians and Pacific islanders, and an other 5.9% by 84,088 blacks). The number of female workers increased from 27.9% in 1970 to 32.5% in 1980.(139)

It is seen from the foregoing discussion, that the political economy of the Southwest U.S. is very much influenced by the global capitalism, on the one hand, and it also contributes to and articulates with it uninterruptedly, on the other. We can argue therefore that the U.S. Southwest has gained in the last years the status of being the spectacular ("postmodern") showplace of the capitalist world-economy.

3.6 THE SOCIO-SPATIAL PATTERN OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN (MIGRANT) SETTLEMENT:

The socio-spatial settlement pattern of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest region could be investigated from different perspectives. It is for once a geography which was founded and developed by the Mexicans and/or Mexican-Americans during the course of the history. A great Spanish/Hispanic architectural and spatial settlement pattern is inherited from the past dating back as early as the very beginning of the 16th century. Although the white (Anglo-American) culture has been of enormous influence in shaping especially the CBD's in modern metropolitan areas with their high-rise buildings and skyscrapers as symbols of corporate and financial capitalism, the U.S. Southwest has been, generally speaking, able to maintain its historical heritage to a great extent. Secondly, it is a region of migration movements of Mexican-Americans who in search of their living make from themselves the great human migration stock the history of Americas has been witnessing since decades, and even centuries. These movements are having an imprint on the American space at a rather large scale. Thirdly, the

Southwest is the region of the meeting of two big and at some politico-economic instances, at least, qualitatively different socio-spatial settlement systems: The U.S. and Mexico or the First and Third Worlds of the international arena.. The interpenetrating socio-economic and socio-spatial effects and/or influences between the mentioned systems are to such a degree that it would not be wise and just to omit them without a notice. Before going into some detail about the spatial configuration in the Southwest, it would be useful to consider the U.S. settlement system in general in a quick manner.

Mitchell claims that "no other land mass, except perhaps Australia, has undergone such a dramatic cultural replacement and transformation in such a short time as North America", going through the "Europeanization" period in the later 16th and in the 17th centuries with its settlers who were geographically and socially very mobile, and evolving into a process of "Americanization" set in during the 18th century as colonial-born generations had started to lose their ties with the mother country.(140) The Americanization has meant "frontier expansion" and/or "westward movement" until the officially declared "closing" of the frontier in 1890, when "no new agricultural areas remained to be occupied". And soon, North American society deviated from its European counterparts by its being less hierarchical and more egalitarian (excepting the native Indian or the imported African) and has given birth to two forms of society: "A largely free-labor, mixed-farming system in the North and a more stratified, slave-labor, and staple-farming

system in the South", the expression of both of which on the ground was broadly similar in the form of dispersed farmsteads.(141)

Since the settling of America took place within "an atmosphere of economic and social liberalism, of relatively unrestrained individualism, of the perception of vast amounts of land and resources, and the expectation of continuos growth", eased by the "Homestead Act" of 1863, and the development of railways after 1840 (facilitating urban growth, agricultural exports, and industrialization), there is the very privatism of the isolated homestead established in the American settlement pattern from the very beginning.(142) Also, it is easy to conclude that there is the extension of that idea in the skilled and professional middle classes' suburbs of low-density, single-family homes which have been so typical for the American city within the last sixty years or more.(143)

Mainly due to the above-mentioned "dispersedness" character of the settlements, there is no historically ingrained administrative building block like the "Gemeinde" or "Commune". The American settlements are perceived generally as "places", rather than as "government units" or "areas". Units of settlement are underlain by, but do not correspond with the basic system of non-incorporated local administration- i.e. the "county" ("parish" in Lousiana, and "borough" in Alaska) and "township". The county has functions such as roads, policing (sheriffs), public health, courts, and (limited) zoning. The powers of the townships are even more limited, and concern mostly schools.(144) According to the "1976 Statistical Abstract of the United States", there are 78,218 local government units, of which almost 66,000 have

property-taxing power. "School districts" account for 16,000 units and "public school systems" for over 17,000. The remaining total includes 3,044 "counties", 18,517 "municipalities", 16,991 "townships", and 23,885 "special districts" (which are organized in urban areas for purposes of sanitation or transit control).(145)

The most striking contrast in U.S. urbanization is, in the opinion of Morrill et al., the fact that a high proportion of the population resides in a few largest settlements (74% in 314 metropolitan areas in 1980), whereas there are still a large number of smaller settlements. Apart from this, the hierarchy of places within the fully integrated American economy, starting from the isolated tavern, drive-in, and service station along the highway, through the village, town, and small city retail centre, to the city, and then metropolitan wholesale and retail centre, is a well-ordered system consisting of eight levels culminating in the dominant financial capital, New York. If one lists the U.S. settlement hierarchy, it seems as follows(146):

Table 3.1: The U.S. Settlement Hierarchy:

Level:	City:	Number:
	St.Louis, Houston and Miami	6
	ii)(of intermediate importance) Seattle, Portland, Denver, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Tampa, New Orleans and Pittsburgh	8
	iii)(of lesser importance) Phoenix, Salt Lake City, Milwaukee, Charlotte, San Diego and Buffalo	6
5	..... Small to medium-sized metropolitan areas (of the South, for instance, which has	8 (Top)
	..... New York	1
7	..... Los Angeles and Chicago	2

7(-)	..... San Francisco, Boston, Detroit, Dallas-Fort Worth, Atlanta, and Philadelphia	6
6 (Regional metropolis)	..... i) (of high importance) Minneapolis, Cleveland, Baltimore-Washington, no single dominant metropolis)	
	Total:	29

Another classification relating to the American urban system which is a clear reflection of the definite shift to an advanced economy has been provided by Noyelle and Stanback who did study some functional characteristics of 140 largest U.S. cities in the mid-1970s. They concluded that a three-tiered urban hierarchy is emerging, consisting of(147):

> "1 First-tier cities, characterized by large concentrations of national and regional headquarters of large corporations (..). They include the "national nodal centres" of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and San Francisco, together with "regional nodal centres" (e.g. Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Denver and Seattle), and "subregional nodal centres" (e.g. Memphis (..)).
> 2 Second-tier cities tend to have a narrower range of service activities.(..)These "functional nodal centres" are heavily concentrated within the old Manufacturing Belt.(..) "government/ education centres" as a distinctive sub- group(..).(..)Washington, DC,(..)Albany, Austin(..)
> 3 Third-tier cities (..) much smaller in size(..)Four subcategories(..):
> a)"resort/retirement/residential centres", such as Anaheim,(..), Las Vegas(..),
> b)"manufacturing centres", such as Gary, Binghampton(..),
> c)"industrial/military centres" such as (..), Norfolk, San Diego(..)
> d)"mining/industrial centres" such as Bakersfield(..)."

The newcomers to the country have taken up residences in separate parts of the nation and/or in spatially separate districts within its urban centres. This separating/segregating oneself from the rest of the society/population under the influence of the self- respect -, cultural maintenance-, and/or physical protection instincts aggravated by the

socio-economical, socio-cultural, and socio-psychological imbalances existing between the majority and the racialized minorities in the urban environments is still a mode of behaviour functioning in the very making of American cities. Morrill et al. state with regard to this phenomenon the following(148):

> "The segregation of non-European groups (both racially and culturally) has been more prolonged and acute. Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Afro-Americans have maintained their sub-cultural identities partly because of their social and spatial separation from the rest of American society.(..)(..)the complex Latin American group(..)Puerto Ricans,(..) Cubans,(..) Mexican Americans (Chicanos), located mostly in the Southwest(..) Many have become segregated into their own urban ghettoes (called "barrios" by the Chicanos), and often are more socially, economically and spatially separated than many Afro- Americans."

Again, Mitchell, touching upon the topic of socio-spatial segregational concentrations in the U.S. says that "(i)f the expression of social segregation in rural life became symbolized in southern slave quarters and in western Indian reservations, it was represented in the urban centers of the Northeast and Middle West by the inner city immigrant ghettos and slum quarters that formed in the late 19th century."(149)

Thus, the segregationğseparation andğor concentration of some specific racialized population groups at some special locations within especially metropolitan cities is one of the main urbanization trends in the U.S. just as the other two trends, i.e. "decentralization" and "demetropolitanization" at the national scale, are. While claiming that the Sunbelt cities have proved attractive to industries, Gordon puts the matter relating to decentralization in this way: "There was consequently no identifiable downtown factory district (..) Automobiles and trucks provided the

connecting links, threading together the separate pieces. The corporate city became (..) The Fragmented Metropolis."(150) However, as Castells argues, there are also different (and sometimes opposite, although mostly meagre in size to combat the cited ones) forces at work in the U.S. metropolitan arenas like foreign capital investments which not only reindustrialize the decaying manufacturing regions, but which also "re-equilibrate" the U.S. regional structure by going mostly to the south and reinforce metropolitan concentration in the most highly urbanized areas with most rapidly expanding markets.(151) It is the uninterrupted struggle between these counterforces mentioned from which the modern American settlement pattern derives its last evolutional form. And it is these Americanized economic and technological restructuration processes which define and determine the socio-spatial configurations of human settlements on U.S. soil.

What is not to be forgotten is the fact that "the U.S. settlement pattern has worldwide links, reflecting the country's prominent role in the political, economic, military, and cultural affairs of the world during the last three decades. The business, financial, communications, and international (e.g. United Nations) linkages of New York, and the political linkages of Washington clearly place those two cities near the top of the world settlement hierarchy."(152) The world settlement hierarchy has arisen out of the new changes of the NIDL reshaping the spatial hierarchy of economic activities. According to Cohen, The three main dimensions of the new world production system, namely, the international spread of productive facilities, the international spread of corporate-related services and the rise of a system of

international capital markets, have created a new geographical differentiation between developed and developing nations(153):

> "In the developed nations, those international centers of business like New York, London, Frankfurt and Zurich have become more significant to the new world order.(..)not only (..)as centers of corporations, but also(..) (as) key centers of corporate-related services and part of the international network of financial centers.(..)In the developing nations, a major difference in spatial development is that while new centers of corporate growth or national development heve emerged, few of these are also centers of corporate services and part of the new system of international financial markets. In fact, international financial centers are specialized havens from high corporate taxes, such as Panama, Bahrein, Luxembour_g, Singapore and Hong Kong.(..)Changes in the corporation and in the structure of the advanced corporate services have led to the emergence of a series of global cities(..).(..) (T)hese places heve emerged as cities for the coordination and control of the NIDL.(..)Thus, New York, Tokyo and London, are predominant as world centers of corporations and finance. Osaka, the Rhine-Ruhr, Chicago, Paris, Frankfurt and Zurich are second-level world cities(..)."

So, it is deducible from the foregoing discussion of global cities, that the American metropolitan settlement pattern is at the core of world settlement hierarchy, a socio-economic and socio- spatial pattern created by the very working of the NIDL.

As said before, the Spanish/Hispanic architectural and spatial settlement pattern has been one of the most influential and well-maintained historical roots in American physical and geographical built-up stock. According to Nostrand(154) , Spain had established an elaborate institutional framework for its colonizing efforts in the New World. Two socio-spatial clustering methods and/or forms were the "presidio" and "mission" .Presidio was the garrisoned fortress built in the form of rectangles with thick ramparts surmounted by parapets and flanked by projecting bastions. It could be

defined as an "institution of conquest", within a few leagues of which was located the mission, the "institution of Christianization". Both of these socio-spatial units were eventually to be converted to "civil communities", i.e. "institutions for farmers and artisans" which formed the backbone of Spain's colonization movements in the Americas. The Spanish settlements were prescribed by the "Laws of the Indies" (of 1573) which were the "first planning legislation" of America's(155) and their recodifications, so that a more or less uniformity between the Spanish population units on American soil has been achieved even on the remote frontier of North America. The civil communities, as prescribed in the Laws of the Indies, were classified as "pueblos" (places) (which remained under Spanish and, later, Mexican rule, rather small and relatively unimportant settlements, "villas" (villages), or "ciudades" (cities) in accordance to their sizes. They were to be land grants of four square leagues or roughly 27 square miles. Furthermore, within these civil communities(156):

> "A gridiron village was located near the center of these grants with the corners of the grid oriented in cardinal compass directions-explicitly, to divert the "four principal winds", but undoubtedly al so so that shade would be cast into the streets. A central plaza was to take up four blocks of the grid. Around the plaza were the Roman Catholic Church,(..), a palace if the settlement was the seat of government, a customs house, a granary, other institutions, and hous e lots (solares). The most prestigious citizens owned houses fronting the plaza. Beyond the settlement, community land was apportioned to arable fields called suertes, common land (ejido), pasture (dehesa), woodland, and lands (..)for the Crown (realenga")."

Apart from the presidios, missions, and civil communities, there were seen several kinds of land grants to be awarded in newly occupied areas of the "Spanish Borderlands" (a term delineating northern Mexico and

the tier of states stretching from California to Florida).(157) "Encomiendas" (literally "entrustments" of Pueblo Indians rather than grants of land) were distributed to large landowners known as "encomenderos" in the 17th-century New Mexico. Private land grants given for stock-raising and farming were called as "estancias" or "haciendas" (in New Mexico) in the early colonial period. They were known in California and Texas as "ranchos", the boundaries of which persist today to give character to the region as routes for roads, private landownership boundaries, political and especially county boundaries, railroad rights-of-way, power-line easements, and also drainage ditches.(158) In the Mexican era (i.e. between 1821-1848), individuals in Texas ("empresarios") had been awarded tracts of land with a condition of introducing a minimum number of colonists during a specified period of time.(159)

This above story of the Spanish/Mexican architectural and spatial heritage in the U.S.Southest region seems at first sight so impressive that one easily becomes inclined to think of the existing Mexican-American housing and settlement patterns as a rather not-so- discomfortable as it is the case with most of the other ethnical (im)migrants' living places all around the world. However, the optimistic expectation does not translate itself into the very facts of reality which are far from satisfying human dignity and historical and traditional would-be claims of Aztlan grandchildren for fitting and just and enjoyable living conditions and environments for themselves and for their children's future. Here are some vivid records of the reality by Galarza et al. from the late 1960s(160):

" From one third to one half of the Mexican-Americans in (the Southwest)(..)live below the official level of poverty or immediatel_y above it.They are predominantly manual workers and thuslocked within the lowest brackets of wage income. The dwellings of the many are located in deteriorated rural and urban tracts, and those of the few in middle- class neighborhoods. Educational opportunity has been denied them(..) as an ethnic group they trail by three to four years or more the attainments of the general society. They are more than 80 percent urbanized. Concentration in the city and the metropolis has produced massive clusters of population with satellites of smaller rural settlements. (..) Mobility of the Mexican-American masses is now primarily the result of shifts upward in the technological qualifications for jobs and urban removal caused by urban renewal."

As with regard to the concentration patterns of Mexican- Americans in the five southwestern states, Galarza et al. say that(161):

"(..)the forms and conditions of urban concentration vary. In California,(..) in another ten years the typically Mexican-American communities between the massive urban clots will be absorbed. The expansion of suburban construction around San Diego, Los Angeles, Fresno, and the San Francisco Bay basin represents a huge enveloping movement around and through rural California. The old cyc le of temporary residence for Mexican-Americans occurred within a circular chain of rural communities.(..) The increasing number of urban residents has not necessarily produced secure tenancy in the "barrios".(..)gross displacement(..)of urban redevelopment,which has counteracted the half-century drift toward well-defined neighborhood _ s with a marked ethnic flavor.(..)Beginning in the 1940's, this development has gained momentum in one southwestern city after another.East Los Angeles(..). The Pomona freeway in the process of construction(..)where the seediest and densest of the Spanish-speaki_ng "barrios" had once rested on hilltops. In San Antonio the "barrio" around the old Farmer's Market(..) demolished(..).(..)(..) in California alone 200,000 Mexican-Americans are in(..)urban removal. In the metropolis, the "barrio" either disappears or remains as a tiny anthropological relic."

However, the Mexican-American barrio neither disappeared, nor remained as "a tiny anthropological relic".(162) The foresight of the same authors relating to the "future" of the barrios has been realized: "The

Mexican-American "barrios" will continue to be concentrations of poor people. These will be urban concentrations. (..) As an urban dweller by the hundreds of thousands, the Mexican- American will continue to live in or close to the Negro pockets of poverty." (163)

The following is another description of the barrio from the 1970s by Ramirez (164):

> "(..)the barrio is deep asleep. Throughout Aztlan (the Nahuatl term meaning "land to the north")(..)(f)rom Lower California, through the blistering Southwest, down the Rio Grande to the muddy Gulf, the darkness(..)engulf communities fenced off by railroads, canals, and expressways. Paradoxical communities, isolated from the rest of the town by concrete columned monuments of progress,and yet stranded in the past.(..)(..)and the people, unable and unwilling to see the future, or even touch the present, perpetuate the past.(..)Within th e invisible (yet sensible) walls of the barrio, are many, many people living in too few houses.(..)Members of the barrio describe the entire area as their home. It is a home, but it is more than this. The barrio is a refuge from the harshness and the coldness of the Anglo world. It is a forced refuge.(..)The stoical pariahs of the barrio accept their fate, and from the angry seeds of rejection grow the flowers of closeness between outcasts(..).(..)and the material needs of life can also be found here. The "tortilleria"(..)producing (..)barrio bread.(..)The "panaderia"(..). The small corner grocery(..). The barbershop(..).(..)The "cantina" is the night spot of the barrio.(..)The barrio is closeness. From the family living unit, familial relationships stretch out to immediate neighbors, down the block, around the corner, and to all parts of the barrio."

And yet, however, the inefficiencies, the missings, the lacks, the deficiencies with regard to a decent life are summarized (165):

> "Running water is considered a luxury in some parts of the barrio. Decent drainage is usually unknown, and when it rains, the water stands for days, an incubator of health hazards and an avoidable nuisance. Streets, costly to pave, remain rough rocky trails.(..)One wishes to experience the feelings of the barrio and not the hardships."

Some other peculiarities related with Mexican-American housing were as follows (166):

> "About 54 percent of (..)families in the southwest own their homes. This represents 9 percent less owner- occupancy among Mexican Americans than among Anglos in the same region. Of the housing (Mexican-Americans) occupy, 10 percent is classed as dilapidated (..). This is about 7 times the rate of dilapidation for Anglo homes in the southwest.Using the yardstick of one person per room, over 35 percent of the Mexican-Americans in the southwest live in overcrowded conditions, compared with 8 percent of the Anglos."

As pointed out before, the Mexican-American population in the Southwest was largely rural before World War II; it gradually evolved since then into an "underprivileged urban minority group". The older studies have characterized "Mexican-Anglo relations in southern California as of a caste or semicaste nature, with virtually separate Anglo-American and Mexican-American castes in the communities studied." After World War II, and especially in urban areas, those caste barriers against intermarriage and equality of employment and housing opportunities have all but disappeared.(167) According to Penalosa, housing discrimination has eased considerably in southern California's urban areas and Mexican-Americans can now purchase or rent housing located in those places which were formerly closed to them. However, this fact is not to deny that widespread discrimination still exists.(168)

Simmons who studied the settlement pattern in the so-called "Magic Valley", an 100-mile-long, 40-mile-wide oasis in the semidesert region of South Texas endowed with acres of citrus groves, vegetable and cotton farms,

describes a community (called by the author as "Border City", about 250 miles south of San Antonio) there, so(169):

> "In Border City, Mexican-Americans comprise about 56 percent of the population. The southwestern part of the city, adjoining and sometim es infiltrating the busines and industrial areas, is variously referred to as "Mexiquita", "Mexican-town", and "Little Mexico" by the city's Anglo- Americans, and as the "colonia" by the Mexican-Americans, most of whom live in close proximity to one another in indifferently constructed houses on tiny lots. The north side of the city, which lies across the railroad tracks, is inhabited almost completely by Anglo-Americans. Its appearance is in sharp contrast to that of the colonia in that it is strictly residential and displays much better housing. In the occupational hierarchy (..) the top level (the growers, packers, canners, businessmen, and professionals) is overwhelmingly Anglo-American.(..)The bottom level (farm laborers, shed and cannery workers, and domestic servants) is overwhelmingly Mexican-American."

Porterfield who studied the Magic Valley, too, says that most of the farm workers live in abject poverty in little unincorporated shack towns called "colonias", some of which existed even before the American Revolution (e.g. "El Grangene" of 1761), and scattered between the fields and the 34 incorporated Valley communities. The colonias of recent origin are jerry-built creations of land developers. "El Gato" south of Donna has huts with thatched roofs and dirt floors. There is no electricity. The residents draw their water from a drainage ditch. The overcrowding, the lack of sanitation, and the malnutrition give birth to high mortality rates via mainly tuberculosis.(170)

So far we've tried to describe and to overview the socio- spatial settlement pattern of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest region in a general manner. What should be added to the spatial/ territorial-historical record of this region is the political participation activities and experiences of the Mexican-Americans living and working here. As it is a well-known fact, the

spatial configurations witnessed on a specific geographical territory do bear the imprint of the socio-economic and politico-economic processes going on upon themselves.

Hamilton who studied minority participation in the U.S. says that people are politicized frequently by their real experiences and characterizes the situation as the "3-P proposition: Process, Product, Participation", meaning "to the extent that the process is perceived as related to the product desired, then participation will increase (171).

> "If people believe that if they vote or march or write letters or strike (the process), they will very likely get good housing or clean streets or good schools (the product), they will then participate in the particular endeavor." "Therefore", he continues, "when we see low voter turnout or low participation in other activities, we should not be too quick to conclude apathy." (172)

The political participation levels of the Mexican-Americans have frequently been described as very low owing to several clichés about them. "One was that they have no will to resist economic mistreatment or social discrimination"; and another was that "they have no capacity to organize"; and still another was that "there is a dearth of leadership ability among them".(173) These are, without any doubt, stereotypes used to racialize the social stratification existing in the American (Southwest) society.

Among some of the factors being counted for explaining the low political participation levels of Mexican-Americans were : i) Their small number; ii)Their being mostly poor and ill educated in a formal sense; iii)Their being largely confined to the geographical periphery-New Mexico, southern

California and southern Texas-; iv)Their being exposed to all kinds of disability, political and racial; v)The lack of unity among them.(174)

At the turn of the century, the general attitude in the United States was that "Mejicanos" were simply to work here as a source of "cheap labor", and therefore were considered "apolitical", until their votes were needed by the "Yankee" political machine to elect a local Anglo "patron". And, when it wasn't necessary, the common practice was to deny the Mexican-Americans the vote.(175) This was done in a number of ways including: a) In Texas, they were required to pass a "literacy test" and had to pay a "poll tax" prior to voting; b)They were required to register to vote once a year at a particular time and place (it was most of the times arranged at a time when the Mexican-Americans were at work in the fields and factories; c)Even if they had overcome those "barriers", they found that their political power potential was diluted by "gerrymandering" (which insured that no "barrio" would ever have enough eligible voters in it to elect a Mexican-American candidate), "at-large elections" (which made it difficult for Mexican-Americans who secured a majority of votes in their districts, in primary elections, to win in run-off elections), "multimember districts", and "annexation".(176) Because the majority voting bloc could control all of the seats in a city or county, the at-large election did actually function as a means to suppress ethnic and racial minorities.(177)

According to Gonzales, Jr., the fact that Mexican-Americans have a long history of political involvement is unknown, or simply ignored. The Mexican-American political history can be handled in four periods (each of

which is noted for the development of a particular type of political organization): 1-(From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to the turn of the century) 1848-1909; 2-(From the Mexican Revolution to the Second World War) 1910-1940; 3-1941-1964; and 4-(From the "Chicano Movement" to the present) 1965-1989. The first period has witnessed the "mutualistas", i.e. mutual benefit associations; the second one ("migrant generation period") is famous for its assimilationist "melting pot" organizations (like "La Orden de Los Hijos de America" founded in San Antonio in 1920 in order to encourage the complete "Americanization" of all Mexicans via voter registration and citizenship activities); the third period, the "G.I. Generation period", is characterized by the promotion of democracy ideals and by the fight against legal discrimination; and the fourth period (the militant "Chicano Movement generation period") is recognized by the politics of "nationalism", and "politics of confrontation".(178)

Writing in 1970, Steiner was complaining that the Chicanos of the Southwest have less voice in government than any people in the country, except for the Indians. He was going forth by saying that(179):

> "(..)there are 8 to 10 million Chicanos, the country's second largest minority. Were representation in the U.S. Congress proportionate to the population there would be from 15 to 25 Chicano congressmen. There are four. In the Southwest there is not one large city (..) with a Chicano mayor. There is not a state anywhere with a Chicano governor. There is one U.S. senator(..) of New Mexico(..). There is not a sing le Chicano councilman in the City of Los Angeles, though an estimated one million Chicanos live in the metropolitan area alone."

In 1974, two Mexican-Americans were elected governor (in NewMexico and Arizona). Except for the Mexican-Americans of northern New

Mexico, this population group has been unrepresented or underrepresented in local decision-making bodies across the southwest region.(180) The 1975 and 1982 "Voting Rights Acts" (VRA) have eliminated many of the barriers to effective political participation among the Mexican-Americans. Whereas the 1965 VRA has had the intention of protecting the voting rights of blacks in the South, the 1975and1982 VRAs were expanded to include jurisdictions across the Southwest, including every political jurisdiction in Texas.(181) Themayors of San Antonio, and Denver have been elected from within the ranks of the Mexican-Americans in the 1980s.(182) Although in California the Mexican-Americans constitute 23 percent of the population, there are only seven Hispanic representatives in the State Legislature, out of a House of 120 members (i.e. 6% representation). In 1989, only ten members of the 535 voting members of Congress were Hispanic, whereas for proportional representation, 35members were needed. There are over 20,000 staff members in Congress itself; but only 70 (i.e. 0.3% of the total) are Hispanic.. All these peculiarities do point out to the very fact that the Mexican-Americans are severely underrepresented at all levels of government due to the American political system which only reluctantly takes into account the polical rights of these people. (183) They are more acceptable, to the American (WASP) society, it would appear, as the recipients of protection and services than as administrators and technicians.(184)

Hispanic populations, in general, and the Mexican- Americans, in particular, do have many socio-spatial and/or socio- territorial problems under the material conditions summarized above with respect to their living

places. The lack of political representation of these minority people at federal-, state-, and local levels to a satisfying degree exacerbates the imbrogliation of their socio-economic and socio-spatial problems. In a 1982 study of Hispanic political behavior and attitudes in East Los Angeles (which is the largest and long-established Mexican barrio in Los Angeles county), and in San Antonio undertaken by Hernandez, it was found out that, in general, the Chicanos felt that the U.S.society is spending too little on crime, health care, education, Hispanics and Bilingual Education, and too much on foreign aid and space exploration. And, in San Antonio, the problems were declared in the following order: Jobs, drainage, discrimination, education, and crime.(185)

With regard to education, a topic of utmost significance for the minorities in gaining access to the wider society, one has to state the very fact of "neglect" in the case of the Mexican- Americans, too. As with blacks in the South, Mexican-Americans in the Southwest have suffered under discrimination and neglect for years and decades. It was, for instance, common practice in both Texas and California, until very recent times, for school districts to maintain separate "Mexican schools", which almost always were underfunded and understaffed and/or staffed by the most unqualified teachers.(186) The perception among many teachers is that the majority of Mexican-American children will never complete high school?! So, "why bother?"!(187) This general attitude does promote a "self-fulfilling prophecy", i.e. one gets what one contributes to (even) without a specific will to support and (in most cases) to worsen the situation. Educational neglect is reflected in

the allocation of funds and resources in school districts with a heavy concentration of Mexican-Americans; these "Mexican schools" always receive fewer dollars, fewer resources, fewer books, fewer equipment (188).

The end-result of educational neglect is educational failure. To cite as a preliminary remark, "the education attainment in California for Chicanos is eight years of schooling, compared with ten years for blacks and twelve years for Anglos".(189) In order to concretize the educational failure, one can give also some other figures: In 1986 the median years of education for Mexican-Americans (of 25 years and over) was 9.7 years, as compared to 12.7 for the general population. Nearly half (i.e.46%) had an education of eight years or less, compared to (only) 12.5% of the Anglo society. Two out of three of the Mexican youth can not graduate from the high school. 9.6% of Mexican-Americans had one to three years of college education as compared to 17.1% Anglo; only 7.1% graduated from college as compared to 21% Anglo in 1988.(190) A number of tricks and mechanisms have been used by the established education elité of mainly Anglo origin in order to prevent the minority members from attaining success in school systems. An example is given by Macias(191):

> "A typical example of racism and segregation is the tracking system employed in California's high schools. Under this system-which features two levels: college- preparatory and general curriculum-Chicanos and other minority students are usually placed in general curriculum, regardless of their grades. This program basically prepares the student to graduate from high school and secure manual employment. He is almost thoroughly discouraged from pursuing his studies at a college; instead he is told that he has "vocational aptitude". In this manner, educational institutions and their curricula perpetuate the Anglo superiority myth; they program Chican os into mediocre jobs or into dropping out before graduation

and discourage college or other forms of higher education for them."

Apart from this, one of the main instruments functional in preventing the Mexican-Americans from climbing thesocio-economic ladder has been the "unjust IQ". As Macias has vividly described the mechanism(192):

> "Countless numbers of Chicanos have received inferior educations based on scores achieved in some IQ tests taken when they were about eight years old, barely spoke English, and hardly knew "American" mannerisms. Such "intelligence" tests are biased and invalid. They channel Chicanos into special education classes or seriously undermi ne a youth's confidence when he is refused participation in classes or experience because his IQ is not high enough.(..)Currently, in one southern California city, almost two-thirds of all the children in "mentally retarded" or special education classes are Chicanos. The federal government gives $5,000 to a school district for every child in a "mentally retarded" status.(..)this particular school district (..)is channeling these funds to improve the predominantly white schools."

As it is deducible from the foregoing discussion, the Mexican-Americans are hampered by the society at large in the very field of education, a phenomenon causing them to become manual workers, to a great extent. Although it is true that "nowhere has the political reform work of Mexican-Americans been more active than in the field of education", and although the best-known Mexican-American educational organization, namely "the League of United Latin American Citizens" (LULAC) was founded in the Texas Rio Grande Valley as early as 1929(193), it is a very depressing and frustrating experience for Chicanos that low-quality education finds homes in the barrio "where Spanish is spoken and Mexican is lived being locked in the metropolitan sclerosis"(194), the Latin neighborhood. This second- rate

educational system continues to strangle and hold back the Chicano communities of the barrios of the Southwest even in our times.(195)

3.6.1 BORDERLANDS, MAQUILADORAS, AND SHANTYTOWNS:

Although the "frontier" always has had a "romantic" ring in American history, say Gann and Duignan, the "border" or "borderlands" commonly have incurred suspicion: The Mexican-American border regions were for long remote and backward regions providing a ready haven for robbers, raiders, and revolutionaries. In the twentieth century, however, they continue, the borderlands have witnessed so rapid a development on both sides, that "the United States-Mexico border today is the most frequently crossed international boundary on earth". The total number of legal border crossings amounted to 180 million, excepting the illegal migrants, "mojados".(196)

Reasoning on the American settlement systems, Morrill et al. claim that whereas an organic, though international, linkage exists between the U.S. and Canada on the North American continent in the form of essential openness of the border, the concentration of settlement and exchange throughout the Great Lakes area, and the similarity of people, values, life-styles, and (with the exception of Quebec portion) language, the situation with Mexico is not the same: "Relative sparsity of settlement, a language barrier, and greater cultural differences have resulted in lower levels of interaction and investment across the Mexican border." However, the authors argue, there are several large "twin places" along that border which exist

because of the border, and primarily to regulate exchange of labor, or to use labor under special border arrangements and/or laws: Tijuana (-San Diego); Mexicali (-Calexico); Nogales (-Nogales); Ciudad Juarez (-El Paso); Piedras Negras (-Eagle Pass); Nuevo Laredo (-Laredo); and Matamoros (-Brownsville).(197) The "twin places" of Tijuana and San Diego will be studied here just for giving a rough idea about the working mechanism of the "borderland" between the representative states of the First and Third Worlds. But before this attempt, some information will be given about the borderlands and Mexico, as well, in order to shed light upon the background conditions of the topic handled.

The borderlands between the U.S. and Mexico are vast and varied. For instance, the northern parts of Mexico do contain more than 40% of the land but only one-fifth of the population; about one- half of this land is desert or near desert. The farming industry is located in Mexicali Valley, parts of the lower Rio Grande region, and the Fuerte Basin in Sonora. The main sources of the region's income are manufacturing, commerce, and tourism which link the Mexican borderlands with the United States.(198)

Generally speaking, the borderlands have a higher demographic growth rate as compared to either the U.S. or Mexico. The American and Mexican portions of the border are tied more closely to one another than to their respective mother countries. "The Mexican border region is not typical of the living conditions in Mexico, much the same as the U.S. border region is not typical of the whole country (each region tending to resemble the area right across the border)".(199) As pointed out above, tourism, trade,

manufacturing, and also labor migration movements are economic sectors andğor activities connecting the two border portions. There arise some other cooperation issues between border settlement units especially in technical fields such as water, waste disposal, transportation, and environmental pollution. "For better or worse, the Mexican and U.S. sides of the border are, like Siamese twins, tied to one another for life".(200)

This description of the border region becomes more understandable if one puts the world-economy as the background for the economic forces taking place in and shaping the mentioned region according to the NIDL. Mexico as a peripheral capitalist country is dependent upon the United States; however, this fact does not mean that it lacks its own internal dynamic and that its accumulation model simply reflects the need of the U.S. or that it is an appendage of the U.S. economy. As Cohen has stated, "one of the most amazing things about the Mexican economy is not its high degree of integration into the US economy, but rather, that the integration is not complete".(201) Mexico had joined the U.S. in 1942 against the Axis countries, and thereafter signed a commercial agreement lowering trade barriers between two countries, which enabled it to export oil, cattle, beer, ore and agricultural products (sugar, cotton, tomatoes, fruits, etc.) to its big neighbor that would earn the foreign exchange needed to import machinery, technology and industrial inputs from there. What Portes has pointed out fittingly for Latin America as a whole, was also apt and relevant for Mexico, as well: "World War II and its aftermath brought about major changes, marked by the consolidation of U.S. hegemony in the region and the

strengthening of Pan-Americanism as its political tool. After a brief spell of economic autonomy and nationally led industrialization, major Latin American nations fell under a new form of economic domination." This new "nationaly led industrialization" has been the (Mexican) strategy of "import-substitution industrialization" until the country's recent entry to the GATT in 1985.(202)

Within Mexico the border region is made up of thirty-five municipalities located in the states (of Baja California Norte, Chihauhua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamulipas) bordering the United States. According to the 1980 Census, nearly 3 million people were living in the region, of which 75.5 percent were concentrated in the 12 large cities. The population increase rate within these cities has gained a hectic pace since the Second World War as it is the case in every country of the Third World. Whereas the population of the 12 cities was making only 6.8% of the population of the border states and 0.9% of the national total, the respective figures for 1980 are 20.8% and 3.3 percent. At the turn of the century, none of the border cities had more than 10,000 inhabitants. Tijuana was just a hamlet.(203) Almost a third of the border population is concentrated in Tijuana and Mexicali, the two cities on the California border, and almost a fifth in the largest border city, Juarez, the twin city of El Paso, Texas. These three municipalities were inhabiting nearly half of the border population according to the 1970 census.(204) These three cities, again, have been the most important (target) places of migration, unemployment, underemployment, and of the "Border Industrialization Program" of the 1960s, at the same time. Nine major border municipalities on Mexican side have per capita incomes ranging

up to three times the Mexican national average. About one-fifth to two- thirds of the wages earned by the residents of those places come from the United States. Besides this, the border municipalities collect nearly 70% of the foreign tourists' spendings in Mexico. Although there are commercial imbalances between the U.S. and Mexico (in favor of the U.S. side), the Mexican borderlands do make up for this imbalance by remittances forwarded by the Mexican workers in the U.S., the assembly plants, and expenditures of the American tourists.(205)

The borderlands' image in the press has almost always been problematic and it has been exacerbated with the use of the racial stereotypes (re)produced continuously by the Anglo-American society against the Mexicans. For example, the relations between Mexicans and Americans in the Rio Grande region were during the nineteenth century at their worst. Boundary disputes, quarrels between Anglo- American ranchers and Mexican land grantees, and local banditry were the typical problems met at that time. The twentieth century problems can be cited as: The distribution of the income generated by the development in the Valley via mainly the construction of railways and the division of ranches into irrigated farmland; social disputes as the barrios of Brownsville and neighboring cities were filled with Mexican nationals performing the least-paid and the toughest jobs on the farms and factories. The Spanish-speakers accounted for 80% of the Valley's total population in the late 1970s and more than half of them lived below the poverty line. 90% of those families consisted of Mexican-Americans. Being aware of these problems, the governors of the U.S. border states have issued

a joint statement in 1976 claiming that the region's economic health is declining, and that the region necessitates a new official entity with broad powers in order to overcome the difficulties which have a common economic and social character.(206) However, the situation is not changed any seriously since then.

One of the most outstanding Mexican phenomenons in the last two and a half decades has been the assembly plant operations on the border region. Aiming to absorb the border region's unemployment (40 to 50 percent) caused by the termination of the "Mexican Labor ("bracero") Program" between the U.S. and Mexico on December 31, 1964, the Mexican Government, emulating the examples of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Puerto Rico(207), has initiated the "Border Industrialization Program" ("BIP") which allowed duty-free import of machinery, equipment, and components for processing or assembly within a twenty-kilometer strip along the border, with the only provision that all the imported products were reexported. Thus, none of the outputs of the assembly plants, which are called as maquila by Mexicans, could be sold in Mexico. The assembly plants are called as **maquiladoras**.(208)

The Mexican Government had launched another comprehensive border program before BIP in 1961 with the "Programa Nacional Fronterizo" ("PRONAF") aiming at: 1-Gaining the Mexican border market by substituting Mexican products for U.S. ones; 2-Developing sales of Mexican handcrafts; 3-Transforming the image and physiognomy of Mexican ports of entry. At that time, the border municipalities, and especially Tijuana, Mexicali, and Ciudad

Juarez, had recorded an all- time high immigration from the interior of Mexico. The time period was also characterized with overcrowding and corruption in Mexican border towns, and manifestations of prejudice and discrimination against Mexicans and people of Mexican descent on the U.S. side. PRONAF, meanwhile, had failed to accomplish its objectives, to a great extent.(209) The BIP has been introduced in such a socio- economic border climate intending, as some U.S. economists have argued, "to merge American capital and technical knowledge with relatively inexpensive Mexican labor".(210) The attractiveness of maquiladoras for the U.S. industry is deriving (besides the proximity of the Mexican assembly plants to the U.S. parent firms(211)) basically from wage differentials: In the late 1960s, minimum wages along the Mexican border region were moving within an interval of $3.52 to $5.52 per day, whereas an average factory worker's wage (plus fringe benefits) in the U.S. was then $25.12! (212).

The maquiladora system was benefitting from two important items in the U.S. Tariff Code, 806.30 and 807.00, both of which provide reduced tariff duties on imports (which have been assembled or processed abroad) containing U.S. produced components. The tariff duty is applied only to the value added in foreign operations.(213) The maquiladoras were, as originally foreseen, to be established in the industrial parks administered by the BIP in 1965. The foreign maquiladora investors would rent the land and were prohibited by law from owning more than 49 percent of the capital stock of the enterprise. However, an executive decree was issued in March 1971, which permitted that: a)The capital stock of the enterprise could be 100 percent

foreign owned; b)The foreign investors could obtain the land possession right for a period of thirty years (within the border fringe by means of a trust relationship with a Mexican bank).(214) Since 90 percent or more of the assembly processes are for the U.S. market, most of the foreign subsidiaries are U.S.-owned and/or controlled. According to a Mexican source, the majority of the capital of 259 of the 540 maquiladora firms - i.e. 48 percent - in 1979 was foreign; 95 percent of which came from the United States. And the U.S. embassy in Mexico has cited a report that 35 percent of the firms had Mexican capital and managers in 1979.(215)

Whereas there were only 12 maquiladoras employing 3,087 workers in the Mexican border area in December 1965, their number has climbed to 209 (employing 29,000 workers) in 1971; to 516 (with 56,253 workers) by December 31, 1974(216); and to 576 in 1982(217). At the end of 1990, there were more than 450,000 persons employed in such maquiladora factories, and the Bank of Mexico has made public that the value added by them (in Mexico) exceeded $3.5 billion.(218) Most of the plants are concentrated in six towns along the border (in 1980) as follows: 123 in Tijuana, 79 in Mexicali, 59 in Nogales, 22 in Agua Prieta, 121 in Ciudad Juarez, and 50 in Matamoros. In addition to these 454 plants, there were 97 factories located elsewhere along the border. And in 1983, 67 plants (about 11 percent of the total) were in the interior of the country, including the three largest cities, Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Monterrey. Estimates indicate that there was an average of about 120 workers per plant during the early 1970s; and 250 workers per plant in 1983.(219)

To cite but one example, there were only 13 maquiladoras in Ciudad Juarez in 1969, employing less than 2,000 workers. At the end of 1982, the plants' number has risen to 257 employing nearly 50,000 workers! 60 percent of the maquiladoras are of the electric/ electronic type, and 30 percent are of textile/garment manufacturing type. Nearly 85 percent of maquiladora workers are women aged between 17-25, 70 percent of which are single. The permanence in a maquila job averages only 3 years. The incorporation of women with acute economic needs into the maquiladora industry points out to the strategical use of the most vulnerable and docile socio-economic group of the population to achieve greater productivity and larger profits.(220)

As it is a well-known fact, the migration movements to the Mexican border zone are impressive. Of a total national population of 48.2 million in 1970, 15.3 percent came from different places than those in which they resided. The total proportion of migrants for the border cities was 29.3% in 1970. The rates were distributed among various border cities as follows: Tijuana: 47 percent; Mexicali: 34 percent; Juarez: 23 percent; Ensenada: 35.7 percent; Matamoros: 21 percent; Nuevo Laredo: 33.2 percent; and Reynosa: 30.9 percent.(221) An official Mexican authority maked clear that maquiladoras have only employed 2.4 percent of the recent arrivals to border cities.(222) So, it seems to be the case that maquiladoras operate as a magnet for the migration movements to the border cities; but the population attracted to those places is not employed by the plants. Instead it is absorbed by the service sector or not employed at all.(223) According to some Mexican

nationals, the maquiladora system is one more way of increasing Mexico's economic dependency on the United States. Again, some Mexican critics have stated that the maquiladoras operated under a form of "internal colonialism", for the new factories remained under the control of foreign corporations, the ability of which to set industrial policy undermined Mexican sovereignty and local initiative.(224)

So far with the maquiladoras! And what about the socio- spatial patterns existing in Mexico which have been generated to a great extent by the country's socio-economic development history in general, on the one hand, and by the (official) city planning rules and/or principals, on the other?

Gilbert states that it is a peculiarly accurate aphorism for most parts of the Third World (and for Mexico, as well) to describe the modern history as "the urbanization of the countryside" (as Marx had once mentioned). According to him, it is possible to argue that "without the intrusion of industrial capitalism and imperialism some Third World societies would still lack major cities", and it is "the impact of the European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards" which has "transformed urban structures in the Third World".(225) The most important and obvious effects of European and later on United States expansion in the Third World countries were "the creation of new cities, the generation of new urban forms, and sometimes the destruction of existing urban cultures", as it has been also the case in Latin America. The Spanish had removed the rest of the conquered civilizations; they had demolished the great cities of the Aztecs and the Incas in order to replace

them by new Iberian architectural forms! Thus, the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, was destroyed and Mexico City was erected on its site.(226)

Between the years of 1521 and 1820, the Spaniards and the Portuguese had created hundreds of cities and towns both within and beyond the limits of the former Aztec and Inca empires, in order not only to assure military and political control of Latin America as a whole, but to create a system for exploiting its human, mineral, and agricultural resources for the benefit of their home countries. "The colonial urban system was designed to expedite the flow of goods between the hinterlands and the major ports of trade and then onward to the Iberian peninsula - as well as to improve the counterflow of goods and immigrants from Spain and Portugal to the New World."(227)

Gilbert, again, emphasizes that the expansion of peripheral capitalism (like the one developed in Mexico) generates a strong process of urbanization basing on such issues as(228):

> "First, cityward migration increases as precapitalist forms of agriculture are disrupted by the penetration of commercial agricultu re or by the introduction of monetary taxes on the rural population. (. .) Second, surplus generated in the periphery is extracted by national bourgeois groups and representatives of foreign capitalist interests based in the main urban centres. The process of extraction leads to the expansion of the main transportation and market centres and to t he rapid growth of the national capital and main ports. Third, the grow th of manufacturing within the Third World economy concentrates production still further in the largest cities(..). Fourth, labour moves to the largest cities to look for work(..). Fifth, the state acts to support industrial expansion by providing infrastructure in the main urban centres(..).(..) Sixth, as metropolitan development accelerates, private capital begins to deconcentrate to areas within the metropolitan region but outside the main city(..)."

At the end of the(se) process(es), the rather famous attributes of (and although not limited to) the Third World urbanization, namely the "economic and social differences between urban and rural areas", the "economic and social disparities between different regions of the country", and the "urban primacy situation existing in the national urban structure", emerge.(229) Thus, for instance, the Mexico City, which is with its population of 14 million (in 1987) the second-largest urban agglomeration in the world trailing only New York City (16.1 million), had counted 541,000 by 1900 and had become three times as large as the next biggest city in the country (whereas in mid-nineteenth-century it had been twice as large) as a result of the centralization produced by the development of a railroad network (230). Comprising 7.9%, 14.1%, and 19.6% of the total national population in 1940, 1960, and 1980, respectively (231), Mexico City was containing, in 1975, 46 percent of all commercial sales, 55 percent of service activities, and 52 percent of industrial production compared to 24 percent of the total national population.(232).

According to Portes, the ecology of the early colonial city reflected the centralized character of its social structure: The characteristic grid pattern of streets and blocks emerged from the central plaza, which was usually a square no larger than other city blocks. Around the main plaza were concentrated the most important and prestigious buildings like those housing political authorities from viceroys to governors and municipalites. The cathedral or main church was also located at the plaza. The "solares", or house lots, were of an uniform shape. The first concentric ring around the

plaza contained the best built and the largest houses (of one-story or even two-story type) and had often public lighting and street pavement. The next zone contained the homes of the middle class (of established artisans, government clerks, and small merchants). The third zone, namely the outskirts of the city, was a mixture consisting of the poorest residences of artisans and menial workers and the beginnings of small farms. Thus, the spatial structure of the colonial city was reflecting the social class structure of the society very markedly and clearly. The urban scheme thus described has remained essentially unchanged from the period of independence (dating as early as the very beginning of the nineteenth century and/or the year of 1825) until very recently. This "Republican period" has witnessed basically two changes: First, the primacy of a few cities was accentuated; and second, the criollo elite families were gradually displaced from the center to selected portions of the urban periphery.(233)

Mexico and the other Latin American economies, "structured without exception around dependent capitalism", have continued their evolution process under the increasing domination of the United States. Two highly visible developments of the recent years have been, first, the industrialization, mostly of the import- substitution variety, which has concentrated in the larger cities and is controlled by foreign corporations, to a great extent; and, second, massive internal migration movements occurring from rural to urban areas, and from smaller cities and towns to big cities during the last four decades, at the end of which the poor migrants have created shantytown belts around the larger cities (234). Although one has to

share the view with Portes that up to 50 percent of dwellers in squatter and other lower-class settlement areas were born in the city itself, and that thus both migrants and urban poor are subjects and victims of the same (capitalist) economic order (235), it is not unfit to suggest that it is the huge population increase created by the rural to urban migration, which is mainly responsible for skyrocketing of urban land market prices. Since conventional housing and land are, to a great extent, beyond the means of most of the city residents, and because the only affordable housing involves renting apartments, rooms, or shacks in the deteriorating and overcrowded central-city slums, hundred-thousands of urban residents consisting of both migrants and the city-born have established "peripheral settlements".(236) The three main forms of popular efforts to bypass these unaffordable land prices have been counted by Portes as follows: 1-Spontaneous settlements, formed illegally on unoccupied land by accretion; 2-Land invasions, established on private or public land by the deliberate decision of a group of homeless families; and 3-Clandestine subdivisions, established by landowners who sell cheap homesites to poor persons and families.(237)

Another socio-spatial process of the Latin American urbanization has been the residential segregation of the city inhabitants, and of the social classes, in the last analysis, settled on the urban space. Income levels determine where one should live. Élite groups are additionally protected by (city) "zoning laws". It has been claimed that "(a)s a consequence, beautifully planned élite barrios, the equal and better of the colonial townships, have emerged in all Latin American cities and are clearly separated from the

spontaneous settlements." And as Gilbert has added, "planning has become popular in Latin America mainly as a method of protecting élite barrios from the incursions of squatter settlers and the like."(238)

So, at the end of the separation, segregation, and ghettoization (in the form of spontaneous squatter settlements) processes witnessed in Latin America, in general, and in Mexico, in particular, "the highly centralized city of the past has given way to a triadic arrangement formed by enclaves of the established, a growing and amorphous middle sector, and the marginal city of the poor".(239) Thus, in other words, the urban social stratification in Latin America comprises "a European or Europeanized élite, a small but growing middle class, and a mass of lower-class persons who are set apart from the bourgeoisie by an enormous social and economic gulf."(240)

As Dickenson et al. have made it clear, less than one-third of Mexico City's population is economically active; and manufacturing accounts for 39% of jobs, followed by services (36.5%), commerce (13.5%), and transport (4%). Since, however, industrial growth has flagged during the 1970s, unemployment, underemployment, and marginality are immensely increasing problems. Income distribution is so markedly skewed that the majority receive less than the minimum wage. This pattern of unequal income earning possibilities has a direct bearing on the socio-spatial structure of the city.(241)

According to a survey conducted by the National Mortgage Bank in 1952, as summarized by Dickenson et al., it was revealed that over one-third

of Mexico City's population lived in rented "tugurios" (slums), 10 percent in "jacales" (shacks) in rented yards, and 14 percent in "colonias proletarias" (low-income neighbourhoods). Of the remaining 42 percent of the population, 28 percent was living in decaying property near the city center, and 14 percent of élite and/or middle-class status was settled in new housing located near major routeways. After the Second World War, the low-income housing sector has been inflated to accommodate the population growth. Tenements have been built and subdivided; enormous numbers of squatter settlements have been established through self-help construction; and some government housing projects have been put into use. In the early 1970s an estimated 2 million people were living in "vecindades" (tenements) which were located in dilapidated (often rent- controlled) colonial buildings, in overcrowded apartments, and in suburban speculative undertakings. Colonias proletarias are consisting of two categories which together accounted for about 3,5 million inhabitants (or 40% of the capital's total), in 1972. In the type of "fraccionamientos clandestinos" (illegal subdivisions), the developer lacks legal title to land or the permission to sell it for housing. The "colonias paracaidistas" (parachutist settlements) are "true squatter developments" and are usually formed through invasion from vecindades or consolidating colonias proletarias. The third major housing system for low-income people is that of the "ciudades perdidas" (lost cities) or shack yards. They accounted for 100,000- 200,000 inhabitants, in 1972. A similar number of persons was living in government-funded housing projects. As with regard to some technical and infrastructural characteristics of the Mexico City's housing stock, the following

can be said: A quarter of all houses have only one room; 38% lack a water supply system piped into the house; 43% don't have a bath; 25% have no sewerage at all.(242)

3.6.2 A Border-City On Mexican Side: Tijuana

Tijuana is Mexico's largest northern border city. The city had begun as the largest of small cattle ranching villages located in a dispersed manner across the valley of the "Tia Juana River" in the Mexican territory of Alta California. The region's geopolitics was shattered with the war of 1836 and the subsequent U.S.-Mexico treaty of 1848. A fixed international political boundary was imposed just immediately to the north of the settlement (243).

The northern parts of Mexico do contain actually more than 40% of the land but only 20% of the population. And about one-half of this land is desert or quasi-desert. The farming industry is located in those regions where irrigation is available - for instance, in the Mexicali Valley, parts of the lower Rio Grande region, and the Rio Fuerte Basin in Sonora. As it has been mentioned before, manufacturing, commerce, and tourism activities account for the major part of the region's total income. Those occupations link the Mexican borderlands with the U.S. southwest. Another fact relating to the Mexican north is the existence of the Sierra Occidental which divides the region into eastern and western portions. Thus, the roads and highways here lead mostly from north to south, toward Mexico City (244).

The Mexican borderlands have rather steadily been a stage for hectic processes. The above-mentioned assembly plants sprang up very

rapidly along the border; and the urban growth rate in the region has been the highest one recorded in the country as a whole between 1940-1960. It was at such a rate that the largest cities on the border surpassed that of Mexico City during the 1950s.(245). Whereas Mexicali, for instance, with a population of 462 inhabitants in 1910 began to grow rapidly due to the Colorado River irrigation projects (largely financed by U.S. capital), Tijuana grew also very strikingly in the 1920s but, however, for other reasons: With the prohibition of horse racing activities in California in 1915, and of prostitution and dance halls in 1917, and the 1920 constitutional prohibition of alcoholic beverages, Tijuana (and Ciudad Juarez) began to thrive on the "tourism of vice" which was basing on race tracks, gambling casinos, dance halls, and bordellos.(246) There are also claims that, in more recent times, Mexican growers have supplied American customers with marijuana and other drugs.(247) The tourism of vice has contributed to the negative stereotypes with regard to the "Other" existing within the respective societies. "All too many Mexicans saw their visitors as drunkards, gamblers, and whoremongers, while many Americans imagined that the Mexican border towns were no more than centers of vice."(248) This image today does not bear any relation to reality. Only very few Mexicans in the border cities earn their life by pandering to crime or depravity; since decades, the border inhabitants have received their incomes mostly from manufacturing and legitimate trade (249).

However, the stereotypes created many generations ago, do not provide an easy target to get rid of by just a few judicial andğor legal provisions attempted, or by simply wishing at some governmental circles. In a

travel guide published in 1954, the would- be U.S. tourists were given a number of "south of the border suggestions", as follows(250):

> "Eating and drinking in Mexico can be interesting, and they can be disastrous. Mexican sanitary laws aren't quite what ours are and inspections are less rigid.(..)Mexico is not a manufacturing country , and most Mexican merchandise is inferior to the same thing north of the border. Much that is sold is plain junk, calculated to catch a tourist's eye, and his dollar. But if you know what you're looking for, Mexico has some things to offer(..). Blue glass(..) (..) hand-mad e silver(..)lamps, ornaments; some baskets(..) pottery(..). You can als o get importations from Europe and the Orient(..)English woolens(..)perfumes from France(..)."

Advices of this type are, after nearly four decades, still in use, at least for not-so-well educated, average persons and/or social groups, the numbers of which are rather quite impressive. "All Brand Name Perfumes From France" (in "Farmacias Drug Store de Tijuana" and in ""Sara's London" Shop", and in "Plaza Fiesta", as cited in a touristic pamphlet published in 1990) and imported cosmetics, clothing, etc. are still sold to American tourists in Tijuana, which is "one of the most visited cities in the world" according to the "Tijuana Tourism and Conventions Bureau". In 1977, the number of U.S. citizens crossing the San Diego-Tijuana Station was 14.6 million persons (251).

What is not asked after by the discussions is the origin of this type of commerce there. As it has been pointed out before, the development of Tijuana has been tied to its northern neighbor, San Diego. The transformation of the city from a cattle ranch to an urban settlement was enabled by the economic boom in southern California in the late 19th century and the flow of capital and business ventures into Baja California. During the early decades

of the 20th century, San Diego had become a national naval base, as well as a key port of the U.S. Southwest. In the opinion of Herzog, both of these developments exerted a great influence on the socio-spatial structure of Tijuana (252):

> "As San Diego expanded to accommodate its new economic activities as a port and naval base, so, too, a set of corresponding demands for services and goods developed across the border in Tijuana. These new activities would leave lasting impacts on its morphology. In the ear ly decades of the twentieth century, Tijuana evolved into a repository for U.S. capital, particularly that linked to "recreational" interests."

An important factor contributing to the development of Tijuana, via the further facilitation of the diffusion of North American capital and entrepreneurship into Baja California, was the arrival of the railroad, first in Los Angeles in 1876 and then, in San Diego in 1882. Another factor has been the political openness of the (Mexican) ruling cadres to foreign capital: The cross-boundary economic interaction was encouraged, for instance, during the thirty- five-year rule of Mexican president Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910; the "Porfiriato" period) through his "open door policy" towards U.S. capital (investments) in northern Mexico.(253) At the end of this period, foreign investment was on the order of two-thirds of the total for the decade 1900-1910; independent domestic investment came to be distinctly secondary and poverty may well have increased.(254)

The original physical plan of Tijuana was prepared in 1889. (See Appendix) It clearly shows, how Tijuana's urban development pattern was molded by the very social and economic influences from the United States. The early settlement nucleus was located close to the U.S. border gate. And

the city plan which was designed by Orozco, an engineer who had worked for a U.S. real estate company that made the town plan for Ensanada, was greatly influenced by North American design techniques of the era, which had borrowed heavily from the European radial street pattern. Thus, the plan of Tijuana (in 1889) had sharply diverged from the traditional Spanish urban design model met in most colonial Mexican cities. According to Herzog, the two major differences of the Tijuana plan as compared to the essentially rectangular Spanish colonial prototype were, first, the use of a radial design with diagonal streets, and, second, that, unlike colonial Mexican cities, Tijuana was not dominated by a single plaza (255).

Tijuana's modern spatial organization has been shaped by high-volume economic immigration waves from the interior of Mexico during many decades. In 1950, the edges of the city were only four kilometers from the commercial center. It has grown from this size to a concentrically expanding metropolis, whose outer edges lie eight or nine kilometers to the south and east, and twelve kilometers to the southeast. And as successive waves of migrants have seized the city in the next three decades after 1950, a large share of them has moved into irregular settlements and/or popular neighborhoods (or "colonias populares") located in the southwest, southeast, and eastern sectors of the city. (See photographs) Apart from this, the (urban) land speculation taking place especially in and around the border and the central business district, has pushed the poor further from the city center into hillsides and inaccessible canyons. Another land process going on in Tijuana (like in other Mexican border cities) is the so-called "dollarization" of the

border real estate market, i.e. the lower-middle class families purchase their land with their income earned north of the border. Although, however, Tijuana's poor are better off than the lower classes in other Mexican cities, the existing urban social inequality is still very considerable.

3.6.3 A Border-City On U.S. Side: San Diego

As mentioned above, San Diego is the twin-city of Tijuana along the border. "No tour of San Diego would be complete without a visit to Mexico". The Mexican border is only 17 miles to the south. Being at the "regional metropolis level" (level 6) (of lesser rank) of the U.S. metropolitan settlement system, San Diego inhabits more than 1 million residents in the city, and over 2.4 million in its metro area. The Mexicans had gained control of the city in 1810, after a successful revolution in the northern Mexican town of Querétaro led by Hidalgo. Then, the city was seized by the U.S. forces in 1846 from Mexico. Under the U.S. rule, the city growing only slowly took a back seat to the mercantile centers of the day, i.e. Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento. For so many decades, San Diego remained "a small, scenic tourist town" attracting those seeking an idyllic escape from the harsh winters met in midwestern and eastern regions and rigors of urban life of the time. Despite the unprecedented population growth and spatial development witnessed especially since 1940, many citizens still hold on to an "antiurban" image of the city as a Sunbelt town, and not a Sunbelt city. In this respect, as some scholars state, "San Diego might truly be described as an anticity city".(256) The "New Town", designed by Spreckels, has provided

room for expansion of the insular village at the turn of the century to its modern form (257).

Originally, it is the place where (Alta or Upper) California had begun. A Portuguese explorer, Cabrillo (known as the "Columbus of California"), sailing under a Spanish flag, had pulled into the natural shelter of San Diego Bay on September 28, 1542. Rowing to shore, he saw a land where grass, trees, and flowers grew in "everlasting summer".(258)

However, the first settlement had made itself apparent more than 2 centuries later. A sustained attempt to settle California came in 1769 from two expeditions, one by land and the other by sea, which had left Mexico to establish several missions and presidios. As Reps goes forward, the first of these missions was founded that year at San Diego, marking the beginning of a chain of religious settlements extending northward beyond San Francisco Bay to Sonoma. (The 21- mission trail known as "El Camino Real" founded by the legendary Franciscan Serra. Spaced about a day's journey apart, each mission had housed about 1,000 Indian converts to Catholicism.) The Spanish- American mission was here also as everywhere a complex of religious and secular buildings: The church and cloister were forming the center; nearby clustered were dormitories, schoolrooms, shops, the infirmary, quarters for the Indians, farm structures, and miscellaneous out-buildings. The mission community included the houses of a few white settlers and a small garrison for the military guard. The mission as such was evolving into a presidio, and with the passing of time and with houses and farm buildings

springing up beyond the walls of the presidio proper, into a settlement resembling the civil pueblos.(259)

As all missions, also San Diego had the use of many thousands of acres of land as gardens, orchards, vineyards, wheatfields, and pastures; it also counted its cattle and sheep by the thousands, its horses by the hundreds. The padres (as the priests were called) had thaught the Indians to pray, to understand just a little Spanish, and to work for planting and harvesting crops, building irrigation ditches, caring for the animals, and making cloth, pottery, and flour. They were given food, clothing, and shelter (actually their own products!), but no pay! "When the bells rang in the morning or evening, they went to church. When the bells rang at noon, they ate. Those who would not work were punished. Those who ran away were hunted (..) by the soldiers, brought back, and whipped. And always they were under the watchful eye of the padres. Many of the Indians died of sickness.(..)Between 1769 and the end of 1834, the padres baptized 89,800 Indians and buried 66,100."(260) And in this way did the cities, among others San Diego, survive, and develop, and prosper!

The economic base of the city is consisting of mainly four sectors. The first one is the aerospace equipment and missile industry. There are about 1,000 firms which manufacture aviation equipment. That production size is attributable to the strategic role played by the city during World War II. The U.S. Pacific naval headquarters were moved from Honolulu to San Diego after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. So, a production process of immense sizes was set in motion, at the end of which thousands of B-24 Liberators

were manufactured, "which in turn pounded thousands of tons of high explosives into the heart of occupied Europe". The city had been a visiting place for millions of people during the war years. Many of its former visitors have returned to it as its new inhabitants after the war. This influx of the (ex-military) people, together with the engineers, rocket specialists, and physicists employed in the working places related with the space industry (261), "swelled the city to the bursting point, necessitating a series of building projects" (262).

The second economic base sector of the city is the U.S.military forces. Over 20% of the city's labor force is working for the government.The San Diego navy complex located here is the largest U.S. naval air station on the West Coast (263).

The third largest industry in the city is tourism. Some 35 million people visit San Diego in a year. A city expert says the following: "The city's greatest asset is its weather. (..) It is just a 45-minute ride for me if I want to drive from the warm beaches to the snowy mountainsides; or in another direction, to the desert."(264) The city stretches from the fashionable northern suburb of Del Mar to the Mexican border: It covers a geography of more than 30 miles along the Pacific Coast. The "Big Four", namely the Balboa Park; (including) the world-famous San Diego Zoo (home to more than 3,800 animals); Old Town San Diego State Historic Park (the site of California's first permanent Spanish settlement with its adobe structures some 100 years old, and with the "Bazaar del Mundo", an area of shops and restaurants); and "Sea

World of California" (an 150-acre oceanarium) are the most visited places of the city.(265)

The fourth and last, but not least economic sector is agriculture. The city contains lots of fertile agricultural land suitable for growing different types of fruit and vegetables. The area is the largest producer of avocados, so that the majority of the more than 500 million avocados grown in California in 1990 came from San Diego. The agricultural fields providing the basis for growing, packaging, and processing of fruits and vegetables, and the San Diego river valley with its dense coverage of bushes and/or trees are the main working-, living-, sheltering-, and also hiding places of thousands of (mostly) undocumented Mexicans. However, the Mexican-Americans and/or Mexican (seasonal) migrants are facing police control, thus deportation risk in a very frequent manner, and are prone to different types of insufficiencies, and changes relating to their very employment, and survival conditions, such as introduction of new crop patterns, the infiltration of the rural countryside by small industries, the growing scarcity of rural and urban housing, and the mechanization of food production.(266)

Ford, who has investigated the redevelopment potential of the center areas of the city, states that although downtown San Diego has its share of medium-sized, speculative office buildings, the city has only few corporate headquarters, and (therefore) no massive office construction plans. Much of the excess space in the underbuilt CBD is being developed for a variety of housing schemes. As for the time being, nearly thirty projects are either constructed, under construction, or planned, so that a sum of 3,000

housing units ranging from new SRO hotels (which were the only residences downtown as recently as the mid-1970s), rehabilitated loft structures, subsidized and unsubsidized apartments, and condominiums of every price, will turn the city center ultimately into a residential neighborhood. The author goes forth by saying that some Mexican nationals are also looking for downtown sites as " a safe place to invest pesos"!(267) It is, of course, one should think, a very rare "phenomenon", as compared to the numbers of Mexican migrant workers in deadly search of a temporary shelter along the San Diego river, be it of a "bush-apartment"-, or "tomato-boxes"-type!

3.7 CONCLUSION

We've seen allthroughout the chapter that the Hispanics in general, and the Mexican-American migrants, including the indocumentados, in particular, are a very special, specific, and functional socio-economic group, who are racialized with all the necessary means such as prejudices, stereotypes, racial or national myths, discriminatory beliefs andğor handlings on the side of the U.S. society at large. This racialization process of an ethnic group amounting to a total of 22,354,000, i.e. 8.9% of the total U.S. population in 1990, is a necessary strategy for the U.S. capitalism which is still considered to be the hegemonic power of the world-economy.

The U.S. capitalism has mainly two targets by following the racialization strategy mentioned: First, on its way to global hegemony, it is tapping a huge, and idle labor potential originating from surrounding (semi)peripheral countries like Mexico without paying the real costs for the

provision of that labor force and without taking into account their material needs sufficiently; and secondly, it plays one ethnic/racial group (such as Hispanics) against another American citizen group, i.e. blacks, who have been vulnerable to racial discrimination practices since their settlement as slaves on the American continent and who actually want and try for getting more egalitarian human rights in the American society.

The Mexican-Americans amounting to nearly 14,000,000, and thus making 63% of total Hispanics, and 5% of total Americans settled in the U.S. in 1990, have a very informative story in this huge and leading country for the rest of the (capitalist) world, and for the Turkish people and governments, as well. Being motivated and/or pushed by the very disparity in wages between the U.S. and Mexico, which appears to be a more than ten-fold size difference, i.e. $19,840 versus $1,760 per capita GNP, respectively, according to the 1988 estimates of the World Bank(268), the Mexican-Americans who migrate and live especially in California and Texas to an extent of 75%, do play an immense role by making the U.S. Southwest the international arena of postindustrial capitalist restructuring processes.

The Turkish guestworkers who help making Germany an(other) world power, are facing nearly the same mechanisms of discrimination as the Hispanics and/or Mexican-Americans have been facing since many decades in the United States. This situation of resemblance which is strengthened by the supposed closeness of human characters making up the Mexican and Turkish societies as once the great Mexican poet Octavio Paz has reminded us in his monumental work "The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and

Thought in Mexico"(269), will become more clear when we investigate the Turkish guestworkers in Germany in next chapters. One might preliminarily say that both societies which have also a common anthropogeographical and cultural Asian origin as claimed and discussed before, share nearly the same tragical fate and so thus unite once more at an historical instance with regard to labor migration processes and their very results as induced by the very capitalist postindustrial restructuration policies of the global system.

Let's move to another historical immigrants' destination area in the U.S. Northeast, to Lower East Side of New York for taking a close look at the ethnical settlement processes going on there.

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1. "Amerika", AnaBritannica, Istanbul: Ana Yayıncılık, Vol.1, 1986, p.533; Ruşen Keleş, Kentbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü ("Dictionary of Urban Planning Technical Terms"), Ankara: T.D.K. Yayınları No:474, 1980, p.45.

2. Sozialpaedagogisches Institut Berlin (SPI)(Ed.), Turks in Berlin - Mexicans in Los Angeles . What can we learn from one another? International Conference - Proceedings, Berlin: SPI, 1986. See for the press speculations on the same event: "Sucht den Kontakt, teilt eure Hobbys mit den Auslaendern!", Berliner Zeitung, 19 September 1986; Dorothee Nolte, "In der Auslaenderpolitik von den Amerikanern lernen", Der Tagesspiegel, 25 September 1986; "Tagung zu Auslaenderfragen", Volksblatt Berlin, 24 September 1986, s.11.

3. Grace Davis, "The History and Current Situation of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles", (in) Turks in Berlin - Mexicans in Los Angeles(..) op.cit. (Ed.:Sozialpaedagogisches Institut Berlin (SPI)),(pp.7-10) p.7. Stone studies also the same subject and says that "there are certain interesting parallels between the substantial inflow of Mexican migrants during the past few decades and the postwar movement of migrant laborers to the countries making up the European Economic Community (EEC)". He further adds that "(t)he development of similar patterns of ethnic and racial stratification is a direct consequence of the fundamentally economic nature of the migrant labor movements in both Europe and the United States." See: John Stone, "Ethnicity and Stratification: Mexican-Americans and European **Gastarbeiter**", (in) Mexican-Americans in Comparative Perspective (Ed.: Walker Connor), Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1985, (pp.106-127)pp.106, 108.

4. Barbara John, (Concluding Remarks at the Press Conference), (in) Turks in Berlin - Mexicans in Los Angeles(..) op.cit. (Ed.:Sozialpaedagogisches Institut Berlin (SPI)), (pp.69-73) p.69.

5. Bureau of the Census, Condition of Hispanics in America Today, Special Release, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 13 September 1983; L.H.Gann and Peter J.Duignan, The Hispanics in the United States: A History, Boulder and London: Westview Press (and Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace / Stanford, California), 1986, p.315.

6. Juan L. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups in America, Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Comp., 1990, pp.199-200.

7. Alejandro Portes, "From South of the Border: Hispanic Minorities in the United States", (in) Immigration Reconsidered - History, Sociology, and

Politics (Ed.: Virginia Yans-McLaughlin), New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, (pp.160-184) p.161.

8. Ibid., pp.161-162.

9. Gann & Duignan, The Hispanics in the United(..) op.cit., p.3.

10. Ibid., pp.4-5. The societal hierarchy in Spanish America was including a labor power hierarchy as well. The criteria for determining a person's position within this hierarchy were **racial**. The offspring of the Spaniards from the Indian women did not inherit their fathers' status, but formed a new grouping called as "mestizos". They were a source of labor power without rights and which was extensive, cheap, and as told before, hierarchically structured. They were located above Indians (because they were not required to pay tribute), and above people of African origin, but beneath Spaniards. The multitude of variations containing the officially accepted order of rank is as follows: "Spanish man and Indian woman beget mestizo, mestizo man and Spanish woman beget castizo, castizo and Spaniard beget Spaniard, Spanish man and negro woman beget mulatto, Spaniard and mulatto beget morisco, morisco and Spaniard beget albino, Spaniard and albino beget torna atrás, Indian man and torna atras woman beget lobo, lobo man and Indian woman beget zambaigo, zambaigo man and Indian woman beget cambujo, cambujo man and mulatto woman beget albarazado, albarazado man and mulatto woman beget barcino, barcino man and mulatto woman beget coyote, coyote man and Indian woman beget chamiso, chamiso and mestizo beget coyote mestizo, coyote mestizo man and mulatto woman beget ahi te estas." (From: Karin Röhrbein and Reinhard Schultz, Puerto Rico: Geschichte, Kultur, Gegenwart, Berlin, 1978, p.4; cited in: Lydia Potts, The World Labour Market: A History of Migration (Trans. by: Terry Bond), London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1990 (Ori.:1988), pp.30-31.)

11. Carl Waldman, Atlas of the North American Indian, New York: Facts On File Publications, 1985, pp.1-2. See also: Nephan Saran, Antropoloji, İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1993, esp. pp.240-255; and: Abdurrahman Dilipak, Coğrafi Keşiflerin İçyüzü ("The Real Face of the Geographical Explorations"), İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınları, No:21, 1991, esp. p.46. Here, the (last mentioned) author draws attention to the closeness and therefore also to the possibility of **stemming of the American Indians from the Turkic people (the "Yakut** ("Yokut", i.e. the Californian Indians, or **"Yaqui(s)..(t)"** (I would like to point out also to the etymological closeness of **"Yaqui(t)"** and **"Yucatan"** (the Maya region in Mexico) words! (Ö.B.) **) Turks"** who having migrated from northern Mongolia are living in northeastern Siberia) coming from Asia through the Bering Strait. (See also: Abdurrahman Dilipak, "Türkiye Dışında Dış Türkler" ("Turks Outside of Turkey"), Dış Politika, No:9, April 1990, (pp.158-160)p.159; and also: Akgün Aydeniz, "Türklerde Gübreleme Öncesi ve Gelişmeleri" ("Pre-Fertilizer-Use-Epoch by Turks and Its Developments"), (in) II. Ulusal

Gübre Kongresi -Tebliğler - 30 Eylül- 4 Ekim 1991 ("The IInd National Fertilizer Congress - Papers") (Ed.: Anon.), Ankara, 1991, (pp.1-21) esp.p.2; Zeynep Oral, Katmandu'dan Meksika'ya ("From Katmandu to Mexico"), İstanbul: Gür Yayınları No:20ğ8, October 1985, p.255; and see for a nearly-counter argument (although the author mentiones and bases upon the "positive" hypothesis of a Canadian Indian-expert Prof.G. Steward): Demirtaş Ceyhun, Ah, Şu Biz "Kara Bıyıklı" Türkler (2nd Edi.) ("Oh, We, the Turks with "Black Mustache""), İstanbul: E Yayınları, June 1992 (Ori.:May 1992),pp.90-93. For comparison of the cultural closeness, for example, relating to the politico-religious ceremonies held by the Turkic (Yakut) nomads (at least until the end of the 17th century (as the Milliyet's "Büyük Larousse" encyclopaedia states)) and American Indians (both making use of the "**shamans**" who were priests, medicine-men, magicians, and wise advisers, at the same time), see also the important anthropological contribution(s) made by: Carlos Castaneda, Die Lehren des Don Juan: Ein Yaqui-Weg des Wissens (Trans.: Céline and Heiner Bastian), Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, No:1457, 1980 (1968); Castaneda, Eine andere Wirklichkeit: Neue Gespraeche mit Don Juan (Trans.: Nils Lindquist), Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, No: 1616, 1980 (1971); and Castaneda, Der Ring der Kraft: Don Juan in den Staedten (Trans.: Nils Lindquist), Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, No:3370, 1976. (See for the "Turkish" version of Don Juan Matus, "Yakup Bey", created by Doğan Cüceloğlu in his: İyi Düşün Doğru Karar Ver: Etkili Yaşamın Temel Boyutları Üzerine Yakup Bey'le Söyleşiler (2nd Edi.) ("Think Good, Take A Good Decision: Conversations With Yakup Bey On Basic Dimensions Of An Effective Life"), İstanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık, November 1993 (Oct.1993).) A very interesting book on the topic of the relationship of the Turks to America (during and even much before Colombus) is written by (Atatürk's principal history expert): A. Afetinan, Piri Reis'in Hayatı ve Eserleri: Amerika'nın En Eski Haritaları ("The Life and Works of Piri Reis: The Oldest Maps of America"), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1974, esp. pp.7-10, 21-22, 27-29, 34, 38-39, 49-51. An author claims that the kinship of the Indians with Asian peoples is certain; not with Chinese, Japanese, and Mongol people, but with the Mongoloids settled in and around Siberia; see: Claude Fohlen, Kızılderililer ("Les Indiens d'Amérique du Nord") (Trans.: Mehmet Ali Kayabal), Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, February 1993, p.103. Again, another scholar stresses the Asian origin of the American Indians as follows: "Physically, Indians resemble Asians more closely than they do any other major physical type in the Old World; but resemblance is closer to the marginal Mongoloids of Indonesia, west central Asia, and Tibet than to the central ones of Mongolia, China, or Japan.(..)The American Indians sprang from the ancestors of this marginal Mongoloid population, which at one time covered most of Asia north and east of India. These marginal Mongoloids share more physical characteristics with Europeans than do the central Mongoloids(..)." See: Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Second Edition, Revised), Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969 (Ori.:1961), p.5. These marginal Mongoloids

mentioned by both Fohlen and Driver should be the members of the "white" and "brachycephalic" race coming from the West, who are supposed to be the ancestors of the ("Oğuz" ("Guzz")) Turks as stated in the following works: Bahaeddin Ögel, İslamiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi ("The History of Turkish Culture Before Islam") (2nd Ed.), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984 (Ori.:1962), pp. 4, 7-8, 24-25; Eugene Pittard, "Küçük Asya Türklerinin Antropolojik Mütalaası, Türk Irkının Menşei" ("The Anthropological Investigation of the Turks of Asia Minor, the Origin of the Turkish Race"), Türk Antropoloji Dergisi, No:8, September 1929, pp.5- 25; Şevket Aziz (Kansu), "Türk Irkı ve Türk Dili" ("The Turkish Race and the Turkish Language"), Türk Antropoloji Dergisi, No:13-14, March- September 1932, pp.5-8. Here one should recall the **"theory of the sun- language" ("güneş-dil teorisi") of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** and his language experts in the 1930s, which was **saying that the historical language of the first civilization on the globe has been the Turkish language (of Central Asian origin)** both orienting itself towards and reflecting from the sun in socio-religious, linguistic, and morphological senses , and being carried by migration waves to nearly every part of the world including Americas. (This is a theoretical deduction from the historical fact that "every continent on the globe has provided home for the Turks' fathers including Asia, Europe, Africa and even America" as Atatürk had written once very clearly; see: A. Afetinan, Medeni Bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları ("Civil Consciousness and the Handwritings of Atatürk"), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969, pp.19, 353.) (The principal source for this language theory and the scientific discussions held around it is the following one: Türk Dil Kurumu, Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı 1936 - Tezler Müzakere Zabıtlar ("The Third Turkish Language Congress 1936 -Theses, Discussion, Legal Proceedings"), İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1937.) It has been pointed out that the (Indian) Mayan language of Mexico is making use of nearly 120 Turkish words! (See for that linguistic "discovery" of Tahsin Ömer Bey from the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry: Zeynep Korkmaz (Compiler for printing), Atatürk ve Türk Dili: Belgeler ("Atatürk and the Turkish Language: Documents"), Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayını, No:574, 1992, pp.534-535. The General Secretary (Dilmen) of the Turkish Language Society in 1936 was claiming that there were "hundreds of Turkish words" in the Mayan language (: (in) Türk Dil Kurumu, Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı(..)op.cit., p.11.) (See for the Mayas who have established a great empire between 1500 B.C.-1200 A.C. mainly in Mexico('s Chiapas and Yucatan regions): Oral, Katmandu'dan Meksika'ya(..)op.cit., pp. 245-269; and see also for a recent article about the relationship of the Mayan-Turkish languages: Tuncer Gülensoy, ""Altay Dil Ailesi" ve Mayalar" (""The Altay Language Family" and the Mayas"), Türk Dili, No:521, 1995/1, pp.500-502.) This very interesting (and most probably, in certain instances at least, far-sighted) theory has not gained its due respect after the death of Atatürk, however. I think that it is solely an ideological (and therefore not a scientific) standing to blame this theory as being an artificiality "invented" in Benedict Anderson's (Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins

and Spread of Nationalism (3rd Edi.) London: Verso, 1986; appeared in Turkish as Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması (Trans.: İskender Savaşır), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993) sense for the hegemony, and even for the imperialism(!) of the Turkish Republic('s elites) with the Kurds and the Kurdish language as being the specific targets and victims of such a policy! See for such an biased elaboration: İsmail Beşikçi, Türk Tarih Tezi, Güneş-Dil Teorisi ve Kürt Sorunu ("The Turkish History Thesis, the Sun-Language Theory and the Kurdish Problem"), Ankara: Yurt Kitap Yayın, No:48, November 1991 (Ori.:1978), esp. pp.19, 44-45, 78-85, 105-106, 131-153; see also for an "psychoanalytically" biased, "Lacan"ist and pro-Kurdish work defining/blaming the "Turkish History Thesis" as being a "masculine" (salvation) attack on the "feminization" of the Turks in the Ottoman Empire via the Islamization movements which had given way to the "penetration" of the "oriental" Turkish Empire by the (Christian) "Western Civilization": Zafer F. Yörük, "Türk Kimliği: Bir "Hayali Cemaat"in Kuruluş Sürecine Psikanalitik Yaklaşım Denemesi" ("The Turkish Identity"), (in) Irkçılık ve Milliyetçilik-Sosyalizmin Sorunları Kitap Dizisi: 2 ("Racism and Nationalism"), İstanbul: Belge Yayıncılık, June 1995, pp.60-79. (Anderson has also stressed the fact related with the importance given to the Turkish language and its Latin abc and said that the main target of Atatürk was to raise the Turkish national consciousness against the more wider Islamic identity. (op.cit., p.61.)) See for the historical record of the sun-language theory: Korkmaz, Atatürk ve Türk Dili(..)op.cit., esp. pp.207,261-264, 268, 277, 302, 463-464, 517, 535, 540, 543-544, 549-559. See also: İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, "Güneş-Dil Teorisinin Ana Hatları" ("Main Features of the Sun-Language Theory"), (in) Türk Dil Kurumu, Üçüncü Türk Dil Kurultayı(..)op.cit., pp.56-83; and İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, "Güneş-Dil Teorisi Üzerine Bir Kaç Sual ve Cevapları" ("Some Questions On the Sun-Language Theory and Their Answers"), (in) Ülkü -Seçmeler (1933-1941) (Eds.:Zerrin Bayraktar and Cem Alpar), Ankara: A.İ.T.İ.A. Yayın No: 190, 1982, pp.260-265; Kazım Yetiş, İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları No:1047ğ115, 1989, esp.pp.82-94; and Falih Rıfkı Atay, Çankaya, İstanbul: Bateş A.Ş., 1980, pp.467-480. The great historicist of Anatolia, the "Fisher of Halikarnassos", namely Cevat şakir Kabaağaçlı has tried to put the place of the Turks in the history of Anatolia, and therefore in the world- history, very eagerly, too. He clearly said that the Lydian-(forming afterwards the Etruskian basis of the Latin and Roman civilizations in Italy), and the Sumerian civilizations (inventing writing) had actually included Turks as societal elements. In other words, the Turkish history in Anatolia, and in the world is very much older than written in many history books (even by Turkish authors)! See (his): Halikarnas Balıkçısı, Hey Koca Yurt ("O Great Home!") (2nd Ed.), İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları, No:7/1, January 1977 (Ori.:1972), esp. pp.72-75. One can also find many witnesses among European anthropologists (e.g. the Swiss anthropologist Eugene Pittard was the most influential person who actually "advised" the Turkish Republic to embark upon the ethnical roots of the Turks in 1924!) and scholars who have pointed out to the very probable fact that the oldest

civilization was created by the (white and brachycephalic) Turks; see for a summarizing view: Taner Timur, Osmanlı Kimliği ("The Ottoman Identity"), İstanbul: Hil Yayın, No:31/3, November 1986, esp. pp.111-124. However, the author of the last book makes a serious error when he states that the Turkish history thesis and the sun-language theory were "although supported not signed by Atatürk" and left (therefore?) totally after the World War II. (See: p.124.) The "orientalists" (who were, according to Timur, not necessarily having a relationship with exploitation and imperialism at all(!) (see pp.151-152)) were welcoming the Turkish history thesis "very cold" as expected (p.123, footnote (78)); but Atatürk was very enthusiastic in finding out the "real" history of his nation as it is clear from his speech on July 23rd of 1919 in Erzurum: "I've told that the history could not turn a blind eye to the existence of a nation and its right to it, and that therefore the derogatory judgements spelled out with regard to our country, our nation, would be loosing value definitely." See: Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Söylev ("The Speech") (2nd Edi.) (Prepared for publication by: Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu), İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, No:19, July 1978, p.53. Even Atay who was one of the most closest friends of Atatürk until his death and who was opposing the sun-language theory had clearly said that Atatürk is most of the times behind his speeches and writings; one should evaluate him therefore "with his deeds". He has gone forth by saying that "Atatürk has tried during the last years of his life with all of his force to get the independence of the Turkish (from the Arabic and Persian) as it was the case for Turkey.(..) He has supported the extremists saying that the Turkish lies at the root of all languages; (and) that the Turks are the source of all civilizations, in order to save the Turks from this ("alla Ottoman") sense of inferiority." See: Falih Rıfkı Atay, Atatürkçülük Nedir? ("What is Atatürk-ism"), İstanbul: Bateş, A.Ş., 1980, pp.5, 33. Apart from this, Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu (Devirden Devire - 3 ("From Epoch to Epoch-3", Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, No:15, June 1976, p.216), and Tahsin Yücel (Dil Devrimi ve Sonuçları ("The Language Revolution and Its Results"), Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, No:482, 1982, pp.36-38) have said that Atatürk has been until his death in 1938 the greatest supporter and enthusiastic enjoyer of the so-called "pure Turkish" movement while pointing also to the "Geometry" book written by Atatürk himself in the winter season of 1936-1937 with a pure Turkish including nearly 45 newly "created" concepts (by him) (like "boyut, uzay, düzey, yüzey, çap, eşit, toplam,üçgen", etc.). For the **Turkish nationalism of Atatürk** which is free of the radical use of "race", and "religion" concepts, as being contrary to the racist "Pan-Turanist", "Pan-Turkist", and also contrary to "Pan-Islamist protonationalist" views, and **which bases on the "Turkish language" delimiting itself with "national pact ("misak-ı milli") borders",** see: Doğan Avcıoğlu, Türklerin Tarihi -Birinci Kitap ("The History of Turks - First Book"), İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1979, esp. pp.18-54. (To return back to our actual topic, two final remarks remain to be made to the interested reader: The author of this Thesis had made a "discovery" during one of his visits in February 1991 to the monumental "American Museum of Natural History" located in New York

City: The Eskimo word for one- or two-man boats (with all but the paddler's holes covered) was the Turkish word "**kayak**"; a small, but a vivid proof of common Asian and/or Turkic origin! The second remark relates to the trip made by the author to the famous "Museo Nacional de Antropologia" located in Mexico City in March 1985. A very deep feeling of "closeness" was accompanying the author during his visit of especially the "ethnographical sections" of that museum! Feelings are subjective; however, scientific efforts should also keep an eye on the subjective perception part(s) of the realities in order to grasp it from **all** perspectives possible. (A book about this excellent museum is written by: Maria Antonieta Cervantes, National Anthropological Museum (3rd Edi.), Barcelona: Ediciones Grijalbo, 1984 (Ori.:1980), (see esp. pp.76-95).))

12. U.S.Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of the Population General Population Characteristics, Part I United States Summary, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983, p.PC80-1B1.

13. An estimated figure is 2.300.500; see Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op cit., pp.225, 232 (Table 10.1.).

14. Fohlen, Kızılderililer(..) op.cit., p.25.

15. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., p.225.

16. Fohlen, loc.cit.

17. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., pp.225-243; see for a relatively early account of the Indians: Edgar S. Cahn and David W.Hearne (Eds.), Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America (Fifth Printing), Washington, D.C.: A New Community Press Book, 1972 (1969). See also: Vine Deloria, Jr., "Land and Natural Resources", (in) Minority Report: What Has Happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Other Minorities in the Eighties (Ed.: Leslie W.Dunbar), New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, pp.152-190; and Dee Brown, Kalbimi Vatanıma Gömün ("Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee") (Second Printing) (Trans.: Celal Üster), İstanbul: E Yayınları, 1990 (Ori.:1970); S.Dale McLemore, Racial and Ethnic Relations in America (2nd Edi.), Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1983 (1980), pp.327-377 (Ch.9); Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, "Native Americans and the Unheavenly City: A Study in Inequality", (in) The Egalitarian City: Issues of Rights, Distribution, Access, and Power (Ed.: Janet K.Boles), New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986, pp.61-74.

18. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., p.230. For an elaborate discussion of internal colonialism, see: William K.Tabb, The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto, NewYork: W.W.Norton & Company, 1970, pp.24-30. See also: Mario Barrera, Race and Class in the Southwest: A

Theory of Racial Inequality, Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1980, (esp.) pp.188-204. (See also footnote (224) below.)

19. Francisco Moscoso, "Chiefdom and Encomienda in Puerto Rico: The Development of Tribal Society and the Spanish Colonization to 1530", (in) The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture and Society (Ed.:Adalberto Lopez) Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1980, (pp.3-24)pp.22-23. With the introduction of the slaves into the socio-economic life of Puerto Rico, the great social-genetic process of racial blending (of "Hispano America") had started; within the first generation, the Spanish had sexually exploited Indian and slave women, which resulted in a very diverse racial mixture in this island. See: Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., p.207.

20. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., pp.201-202; Eduardo Galeano, Latin Amerika'nın Kesik Damarları - "Karşı Tarih" ("Las Venas De America Latina") (Trans.: Attila Tokatlı, Roza Hakmen), İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık No:14ğ6, November 1983 (1971), p.310. "The Caribbean" is defined as including the more than 50 inhabited islands stretching from Trinidad, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Margarita, and others off the coast of Venezuela in the South, to Jamaica, Cuba, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico - the Greater Antilles -in the North. The mainland territories of Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana, and Belize are also considered as from the Caribbean region, i.e. the region (with a total population of 31 million in 1980) which became "(..)the first sphere of western colonization outside Europe itself, the site of the first important overseas capitalist experiments, and the starting place for tropical estate agriculture, the plantation system, and the large- scale New World enslavement of African peoples"; see: S.W.Mintz, Caribbean Transformations, Chicago: Aldine, 1974, p.22.

21. "The essential characteristic of Puerto Rico's colonial contradiction was thus Spain's inability to fulfill its role as a metropolis; the uneven and fragmentary development of Spanish capitalism impeded the optimal exploitation of the colony." See for the point made: History Task Force - Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos, Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience, New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1979, p.71.

22. Portes, "From South (..)"op.cit., p.163; History Task Force, Labor Migration(..) op.cit., pp.72-73. A vivid reminiscence relating to losing one (taxi driver's family')'s land to the agricultural transformation process is recorded by Lewis: "My father lost his land to the rich sugar- mill owners. They would advance him the money to plant cane in his fields, but when the crops came in they would offer my father next to nothing for them. He always wound up in debt to them and little by little he had to sell them his land. Our farm really belonged to my mother, who had inherited it from her father, so she had to sign each piece away. I remember how she used to

cry." See: Oscar Lewis, Anthropological Essays, New York: Random House, 1970, p.506.

23. Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., p.203; Portes, "From South(..)" op.cit., p.163.

24. Alejandro Portes and Rubén G.Rumbaut, Immigrant America: A Portrait, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990, p.227; Gonzales, Jr., Racial and Ethnic Groups(..) op.cit., p.202; Portes, "From South (..)"op.cit., p.163; J.Moore and H.Pachon, Hispanics in the United States, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985; E.Maldonado , "Contract Labor and the Origin of Puerto Rican Communities in the United States", International Migration Review, 13, 1979, pp.103-121.

25. Lawrence R.Chenault, The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, p.99.

26. See: R. Vernon, Metropolis 1985, New York: Doubleday, 1959; and R. Laurentz, "Racial Ethnic Conflict in the New York City Garment Industry, 1933-1980" (Ph.D. Dissertation, SUNY), Binghamton, 1980.

27. Gann & Duignan, The Hispanics in the United(..) op.cit., pp.78-79.

28. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City (2nd Edi.), Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970 (1963), p.100.

29. Ibid.

30. These conversion activities were realized as a direct consequence of city laws passed at the end of World War II in order to permit more families to occupy the same amount of physical built-up space of the city. A full 23% of the 147,000 units of net addition to the housing stock between 1941-1950 was of this "converted type"; see: New York City, Department of City Planning, New Dwelling Units Completed in 1976-1977, New York, June 1978, p.35.

31. Glazer & Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot(..) op.cit., p.108. With regard to the "past- urban renewal" housing conditions of the Puerto Ricans, Gann & Duignan report as follows: "Puerto Ricans (..) were increasingly forced to rely on public housing. Ideally, there was no discrimination against them; in practice, however, they all too often found themselves at a grave disadvantage. Long waiting lists naturally worked against newcomers who had not lived in New York long enough to comply with the residential requirements; housing managers preferred stable marital unions to commonlaw marriages; the authorities would rather house small families; and they preferred to deal with literate people who understood

how to fill out forms. As the housing market contracted, the migrants unable to find public accommodation (..) competed for what little private housing remained. As their rents rose, they crowded together in tiny "flats", thereby involuntarily creating the very slum conditions they sought to escape." See: Gann & Duignan, The Hispanics in the United(..) op.cit., p.87. One has to recall also the fact that in New York: "(..)most homeless families' neighborhoods of origin are Black and Hispanic, as are the majority of the families themselves. Ninety-five percent of homeless families are Black or Hispanic." See: Anonymous, A Shelter is Not a Home ("Report of the Manhattan Borough President's Task Force on Housing for Homeless Families"), New York, March 1987, p.13. See also: Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Evsizlik" ("Homelessness in the United States of America"), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.26, No:3, September 1993, (pp.153-168)p.159.

32. Julio Morales, Puerto Rican Poverty and Migration, New York: Praeger, 1986; José Ramon Sanchez, "Residual Work and Residual Shelter: Housing Puerto Rican Labor in New York City from World War II to 1983", (in) Critical Perspectives on Housing (Eds.: Rachel G.Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson), Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986, pp.202-220 (esp. pp.203-205.)

33. Sanchez, "Residual Work(..)" op.cit., pp.203-204.

34. Ibid., p.215.

35. Ibid., pp.204-205.

36. See: F.S.Davidson, "City Policy and Housing Abandonment: A Case Study of New York City, 1965-1973" (Ph.D. Dissertation at Columbia University), New York, 1979; and Peter Marcuse, Triage: Programming the Death of Communities (Report prepared for the Working Group for Community Development Reform), New York City, 1980. At the other end of the spectrum, some scholars have "blamed" the residents rather than the officials for causing the decay of the areas as follows: "Because these populations (blacks and Hispanics) were only a limited source of profitability for employers, merchants, and property owners. cities began to experience serious problems of both accumulation and realization. Labor elsewhere provided a higher return; tax revenues declined relatively and absolutely; retailing died; and the tenement landlord began to experience severe difficulty in meeting his costs"; see: Norman I.Fainstein and Susan S.Fainstein, "Restructuring the American City: A Comparative Perspective", (in) Urban Policy Under Capitalism (Eds.:N.I.Fainstein & S.S.Fainstein), Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982, p.171.

37. Sanchez, "Residual Work(..)" op.cit., p.217. See also: Michael A.Stegman, The Dynamics of Rental Housing in New York City, Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research, 1982, p.211.

38. Oral, Katmandu'dan Meksika'ya(..)op.cit., pp.245-251; Julie Catalano, The Mexican-Americans, New York, Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988, p.17.

39. Waldman, Atlas of the North American(..) op.cit., pp.11-12.

40. Catalano, The Mexican-Americans(..) op.cit., pp.17-19. See also: Ulrich Mercker, "Kendi Tarihimiz ve Yabancı Tarihler" ("Our History and Foreign Histories"), (in) Niçin Aztekler Avrupa'yı Keşfetmedi? Avrupa ve Üçüncü Dünya ("Warum Montezuma Nicht Europa Entdeckt Hat? Europa und die Dritte Welt") (Ed.: Peter Wahl) (Trans.: Levent Kafadar), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, January 1993, pp.92-104.

41. Catalano, The Mexican-Americans(..) op.cit., pp.19-23. A "World Almanac" describes the ethnic composition of Mexico as 10% Caucasian, 55% mestizo, and 29% American Indian; see: Anonymous, The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1983, New York: Newspaper Enterprise Associations, 1982, p.544. Connor states that estimates of the real percentage of Mexico's population represented by Indians range from 5 to 44 percent and also that contrary to the myth of "la raza cosmica" as the happy comingling of two equal ethnic stalks, the Indian is the one that treated as lower species. See: Walker Connor, "Who are the Mexican-Americans? A Note on Comparability", (in) Mexican-Americans in Comparative(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Walker Connor), (pp.3-28)pp.11-12. The vagueness in the real numbers is artificially created by the sheer fact of racial discrimination applied to the Indians. As one anthropologist, who has done field work among the Mexican-Indians has claimed: "Generally speaking, Ladinos (mestizos) consider Indians as inferior beings, or children from whom it is proper to demand subordination and obedience.(..) Intermarriage between Ladinos and Indians is likewise exceptional(..)." (Henning Siverts, "Ethnic Stability and Boundary Dynamics in Southern Mexico", (in) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Differences, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970, p.110.) Connor further adds that indigenous peoples have become mestizos over time "culturally" by adopting the Spanish language, surname, and non-Indian garb. (Connor, op.cit., p.11 (Footnote 16).) (One could also remember here Potts' remarks relating to all South America:"By the end of the colonial era 30 per cent of the population of South America were of mixed race(..). Socially, economically and legally speaking they were neither Spaniards nor Indians and belonged neither to the colonized nor to the colonizers. Gradually people of mixed blood, whose origins lie in a form of exploitation directed exclusively at Indian women, began to replace the exterminated Indian labour force. Today they form the majority among the people of Latin America." (See: Potts, op.cit., p.31.))

42. Edward Murguia, Assimilation, Colonialism, and the Mexican American People, Austin: University of Texas Center for Mexican American Studies, 1975, p.9.

43. McLemore, op.cit., p.257. See also for different meanings of the word "Chicano": Edward Simmen, "Chicano: Origin and Meaning", (in) Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today (Ed.: Edward Simmen), New York and Scarborough, Ontario: A Mentor Book, 1972, pp.53-56; Fernando Penalosa, "Recent Changes Among the Chicanos", (in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.72-78.

44. Ernesto Galarza, Herman Gallegos and Julian Samora, Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, 1969, pp.vii-viii.

45. McLemore, op.cit., pp.213-214.

46. Alejandro Portes and Robert L.Bach, Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985, p.76. See also: Barrera, op.cit..

47. McLemore, op.cit., p.213. See also: Carlos E. Cortes, "Mexicans", (in) Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Eds.: Stephan Thernstrom et al.), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980, pp.697-719; Donald L. Horowitz, "Conflict and Accommodation: Mexican-Americans in the Cosmopolis", (in) Mexican-Americans in Comparative(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Walker Connor), (pp.58-103)p.69.

48. Catalano, op.cit., pp.25-31; McLemore, op.cit., pp.215-219. It is maybe not a huge demand(!), but one should add that Mexico had been paid $15 million in return for the lands ceded to the U.S.; see: Gonzales, op.cit., p.178. Galeano states that the famous saying used for Mexico in the form of: "Poor Mexico! So far away from the God, and so close to the United States!" has started to be used firstly right after this war; see: Galeano, Latin Amerika'nın(..) op.cit., pp.126-127.

49. Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren, A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans, New York: Bantam Books, 1971, pp.241-249.

50. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.178. The target of **"cheap labor"** was actually set on the side of the Americans at the very beginning of the process of "annexation of Mexico": "Slave labor" to be imported from Texas, Cuba, Honduras, Nikaragua and Guatemala and to be used in the plantations of the Southern states was another reason (with "gold" to be looked after in California) for raising demands for Mexican land. (See: Burcu Bostanoğlu, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Latin Amerika Retoriğinden Örnekler" ("Examples From the Latin American Rhetorics of the United States"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No:4, Winter 1994/95, (pp.114- 131)p.118.) The

conditions for "Mexican cheap labor" have really been created, however, after 1869 when the southwestern railway line in the U.S. had been completed. (See: Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerikan Etnik Yapısının Tamtamları: "Erime"den Kayna(ş)ma(ya mı?)" ("The Tom-Toms of the American Ethnic Structure: From "Melting" to Boiling?"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No:4, Winter 1994/95, (pp.132-146)p.144.)

51. Anonymous, "The Texas Mexican: 1837", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.20-22.

52. Francisco Armando Rios, "The Mexican in Fact, Fiction, and Folklore", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.79-93) (esp.)pp.80-81.

53. Donald L.Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification", Social Problems, 16, Fall 1968, pp.157-172.

54. McLemore, op.cit., p.219.

55. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.178-179; Catalano, op.cit., pp.45-47; Raul Fernandez, The United States-Mexico Border: A Political Economic Profile, Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1977.

56. Portes & Bach, Latin Journey (..) op.cit., p.76.

57. Portes & Rumbaut, Immigrant America (..) op.cit., p.225. The "Los Angeles Times" reported by 1916 that 5 or 6 weekly trains full of Mexican workers hired by the (labor) agents were being run from Laredo. (Cited in: Portes & Bach, Latin Journey (..)op.cit., p.78.)

58. Catalano, op.cit., p.45.

59. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.179. Some writers such as Grebler et al. have emphasized the upheavals of the Mexican Revolution as causing the immigration increase at that time, intensely. See: Leo Grebler, Joan W.Moore, and Ralph C.Guzman, The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority, New York: The Free Press, 1970, (esp.)pp.63-66; and Michael J.Piore, Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p.164. For a personal account, see: Ernesto Galarza, Barrio Boy, New York: Ballantine Books, 1972.

60. Mark Reisler, By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976, pp.12-13. Santibanez says that the Mexicans had to get a visa after 1917; see as cited in: Portes & Bach, Latin Journey (..)op.cit., p.77. (Although not mentioned there, the reason for getting visa in that year must be the (new) "Immigration Act of 1917" famous for its provision of a "literacy requirement

for admissibility" (of only 40 simple words in the same language!) See: John Lescott-Leszczynski, The History of U.S. Ethnic Policy and Its Impact on European Ethnics, Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1984, p.20.)

61. Joan W.Moore, Mexican Americans (2nd Ed.), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976 (1970), p.48.
62. Catalano, op.cit., p.48. See also: The Institute For Labor Education and Research, What's Wrong With the U.S. Economy: A Popular Guide For the Rest of Us, Boston: South End Press, 1982, p.243.

63. By the year 1926, 35% of Chicago Inland Steel's labor force was of Mexican origin; see: Herbert Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History, New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 1976, p.8.

64. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.179-180.

65. McLemore, op.cit., pp.229-230; Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.180-181; Portes & Rumbaut, Immigrant America (..)op.cit., pp.234-235; James D.Cockcroft, Outlaws in the Promised Land: Mexican Immigrant Workers and America's Future, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1986, pp.67-75; and Ernesto Galarza, Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story, Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin, 1964. Gann & Duignan call "agricultural contract laborers" as "braceros" who, for instance, counted 250,000, crossing the border between 1918-1920; see: Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.46.

66. Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.58.

67. Mclemore, op.cit., p.231.

68. Catalano, op.cit., pp.54-55; Grebler, Moore and Guzman, op.cit., pp.68-69; Portes & Bach, Latin Journey (..)op.cit., p.80.

69. Manuel Garcia y Griego, "The Mexican Labor Supply, 1990-2010", (in) Mexican Migration to the United States: Origins, Consequences, and Policy Options (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Jorge A.Bustamante), San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, 1989, (pp.49- 93)pp.82, 91-92. See also: Connor, op.cit., p.23.

70. Wayne A.Cornelius, "The U.S. demand for Mexican Labor", (in)Mexican Migration(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Jorge A.Bustamante), (pp.25-47)pp.25-26.

71. Marta Tienda, "Looking to the 1990s: Mexican Immigration in Sociological Perspective", (in)Mexican Migration(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Jorge A.Bustamante), (pp.109-147)p.109.

72. Cited in: Kitty Calavita, "The Immigration Policy Debate: Critical Analysis and Future Options", (in)Mexican Migration(..) op.cit (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Jorge A.Bustamante), (pp.151-177)p.156.

73. Wayne A.Cornelius, "Mexican Migration to the United States: Introduction", (in)Mexican Migration(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Jorge A.Bustamante), (pp.1-21)p.9.

74. Portes & Bach, Latin Journey (..)op.cit., pp.80-81.

75. Cited in: Ibid., p.80. In an interview made by the author of this Thesis on 17th June 1991 in San Diego, Asst. Prof. of Economics, Ms. Carol Zabin from the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (University of California, San Diego) has stated that the return periods of the Mexican seasonal workers show a great variety among themselves because: "California agriculture has different seasons and different parts.(..)People have different routes. Some people just go back for Christmas.. They're either unemployed here, or unemployed in Mexico."

76. Calavita, op.cit., p.175.

77. Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, New York: Academic Press, 1974; I.Wallerstein, The Capitalist World-Economy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; I.Wallerstein, The Modern World-System, Vol. II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750, New York: Academic Press, 1980; I.Wallerstein, The Politics of the World-Economy: The States, the Movements and the Civilizations, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; Phillip O'Brien, "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency", (in) Beyond the Sociology of Development: Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa (Eds.: Ivar Oxaal, Tony Barnett, and David Booth), London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, pp.7-29; Çağlar Keyder, Emperyalizm, Azgelişmişlik ve Türkiye ("Imperialism, Underdevelopment, and Turkey"), Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, November 1976; Dieter Senghaas (Ed.), Kapitalistische Weltökonomie - Kontroversen über ihren Ursprung und ihre Entwicklungsdynamik, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag No:980, 1979. For the critical elaborations of the world-system theory, see: Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism", New Left Review, 104, 1977, pp.25-92; Theda Skocpol, "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique", American Journal of Sociology, 82, 1977, pp.1075-1090; Kathryn Ward, Women in the World-System, New York: Praeger, 1984; and Alejandro Portes, "Introduction", (in) Labor, Class, and the International System (Eds.: Alejandro Portes and John Walton), New York: Academic Press, 1981, pp.1-20.

78. Wallerstein, The Politics of the World-Economy (..)op.cit., pp.80-81. Knox and Agnew are describing the six basic features of the modern world-economy (after Wallerstein) which also goes through transformations as time passes on, as follows: i) The modern world-economy consists of a single world market within which production is for exchange rather than use; ii)In the modern world-economy there has always been a territorial division between political states, a fact which ensures that the world-economy cannot be transformed into a world-empire; iii)The modern world-economy has established a basic "three-tiered" geography which is defined by the international division of labor at a particular period of time (consisting of: a)Europe and those parts of South and Central America under spanish-Portuguese control and the rest of the world as an "external arena"; b)A "core" (Western Europe first, later joined by the United States and Japan) and the rest of the world as a "periphery"; c)The rise of some zones as a "semi-periphery", in which a mix of core and peripheral processes are in function); iv)The modern world-economy has followed a temporally cyclical pattern of growth and recession; v)The world "resists" or "adapts" to domination rather than simply accepting it (as contrary to the expectations); vi)Every part of the world has had its own peculiar and specific relationship to the evolution of the world-economy. See: Paul Knox and John Agnew, The Geography of the World Economy, London: Edward Arnold, 1989, pp.84-89.

79. Folker Fröbel, Jürgen Heinrichs, and Otto Kreye, The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries (Trans.: Pete Burgess), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980 (originally in German (: Die neue internationale Arbeitsteilung: Strukturelle Arbeitslosigkeit in den Industrielaender und Industrialisierung der Entwicklungslaender), Hamburg 1977), p.32. (A (partial) translation version in Turkish has appeared as: Fröbel et al., Uluslararası Yeni İşbölümü ve Serbest Bölgeler (Trans.: Yılmaz Öner), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, March 1982.)

80. Ibid., p.44. Cohen formulates the old division of labor so: "Until recently, the international division of labor reflected differences in **trade** between firms producing goods in different nations.(..)(It) was founded **upon the sourcing of raw material** inputs largely from the southern hemispheres (Africa, Latin America, South-east Asia) and Mid East, for use by industrial companies in developed nations, mostly in Western Europe, Japan, and the US." See: Robert B. Cohen, "The New International Division of Labor, Multinational Corporations and Urban Hierarchy", (in) Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society (Eds.: Michael Dear and Allen J. Scott), London and New York: Methuen, 1981, (pp.287- 315)p.288. According to Walton, the different division of labor systems are, in fact, three in number: a)The "first" international division of labor as announced by Marx in 1867 (drawing largely on the seminal works of Smith (1776), Saint-Simon (1859), and Babbage (1832)) with the publication of Volume I

of "Capital" (claiming that a new, and international division of labor springs up suited to the requirements of the main industrialized countries); b)The "second" international division of labor dating from the 1930s, the logic of which is to capture and deepen the local market for manufactured goods, and, later on, to implement "import substitution" policy; c)The "third" international division of labor dating from the mid- 1960s, which is called as the "new" international division of labor including the "deindustrialization" of advanced countries, and the "relocation" of industries to the Third World countries; see: John Walton, "The Third "New" International Division of Labour", (in) Capital and Labour in the Urbanized World (Ed. (for the International Sociological Association): John Walton), London: Sage studies in International Sociology 31, 1985, (pp.3-14)pp.3-4. As at least some points will be remembered from the previous discussions relating to the historical labor migrations, the "classical" division of labor (lasting until the full consolidation of the world capitalist economy) did include different types of systems for the supply of labor, the most important of which were relying on: a)Forced movements of people from one area of the periphery to another; and b)The subjugation of indigenous populations, and their (forced) transformation into laborers through such means as slavery, mita, peonage, encomienda, and tribal contract labor. See for the points made and more: Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Labor Migrations and the New International Division of Labor", (in) Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor (Eds.:June Nash and Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly), Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, (pp.175-204) esp. p.181.

81. Fröbel et al., op.cit., pp.13-14. According to Cohen, "(..)in perhaps its most profound impact, the NIDL has integrated qualitatively different types of laborers with very different levels of work experience, highly varied types of social backgrounds and vastly divergent histories of labor organization into corporate organizations which operate on a world level." See: Cohen, "The New International Division(..)"op.cit., pp.288-289; Knox and Agnew are approaching the topic in a general way and stating that the economies of the industrial core countries began after the Second World War "a substantially different phase in terms of "what" they produced, "how" they produced it, and "where" they produced it". The new phase is referred to as "postindustrial capitalism", "late capitalism", "corporate capitalism" or "advanced capitalism". They also describe the newest pattern emerging from the crisis of 1973-1982 period towards the so-called "disorganized" capitalism (owing to: S.Lash and J.Urry, The End of Organized Capitalism, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987) as characterized by: a)A deconcentration of capital within national markets and the decline of cartels; b)A decline in the size of the core working class and the expansion of a service class of professional, white-collar workers; c)A lessening of the importance of national-level collective bargaining; d)An increasing independence of large monopolies from nation states; e)A decline in average plant size due to the export of labor-intensive activities to peripheral regions; f)The decline of metropolitan dominance within core

nations; and the loss of jobs from inner-city areas; g)The rise of a new, variable geometry of the division of labor; h)The emergence of a "global" culture and the ascendance of a "postmodern", pluralist cultural-ideological configuration. See: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., pp.176, 180-182. Within the scope of the "third" (N)IDL, in most highly developed countries, the dominant trend during the 1960s was towards the displacement of some parts of the production process- mainly specialized subproduction, assembly and labor-intensive production - to countries and regions offering industrial reserve armies and very low wages. Thus, Western European companies shifted their production to Spain, Portugal, the south of Italy, and Greece, while U.S. enterprises moved to Central America or to Western Europe. The displacement of the production process has been accomplished through a filtering-down process consisting of stages such as: a)"International subcontracting" (enabling the relocation of production by domestic firms without any direct holdings of capital in foreign enterprises); b)"First generation" of "Industrial Free Zones", "Free Trade Zones", "Free Processing Zones" or "Export Processing Zones" (set up by Third World countries located in Southeast Asia, bordering on the Pacific basin, and the countries of the Caribbean region (including **Mexico**)) as incentives for the promotion of export-oriented industries, are regarded as the locus for enclave factories or offshore plants, in which international capital can exploit the labor of the host countries. In 1966, only four countries have had such production sites; by 1975, 25 countries had set up over 80 zones employing more than 500,000 people; and in 1982, 650 offshore plants were operating along Mexico's northern border zone); c)"Second generation" of Free Trade Zones (in countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka); d)"Third generation" of Free Trade Zones ("bringing the Third World home"), which have been introduced in a number of capitalist core countries such as Great Britain, the U.S., and Belgium mainly in the 1980s. (In 1970, there were only 8 free zones in the United States. The number of free zones has arisen to 60 in 1980 (and 7 subzones in addition to this), employing some 11,000 people. There were altogether 115 free zones, and 45 subzones in 1985.) See: Dieter Laepple, "Internationalization of Capital and the Regional Problem", (in) Capital and Labour(..) op.cit. (Ed.: John Walton), (pp.43-75)pp.65-68; and also: İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Serbest Üretim Bölgelerinin Doğuş ve Dönüşümü ("The Birth and Transformation of the Free Processing Zones in the World and in Turkey"), Ankara: Yurt Yayınları No:16, November 1987, esp. pp.46-76.

82. Richard Child Hill, "Global Factory and Company Town: The Changing Division of Labour in the International Automobile Industry", (in) Global Restructuring and Territorial Development (Eds.: Jeffrey Henderson and Manuel Castells), London: Sage Publications, 1987, (pp.18-37)p.18. See also: John Walton, "The Third "New" International(..)" op.cit.

83. F.E.I. Hamilton, "Industrial Restructuring: An International Problem", Geoforum, 15, 1984, pp.349-364; cited in: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., pp.177-180.

84. Joseph Grunwald & Kenneth Flamm, "The Setting", (in) The Global Factory: Foreign Assembly in International Trade (Eds.: Joseph Grunwald & Kenneth Flamm), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985, (pp.1- 10) pp.1-2. See also: Dieter Laepple, "Internationalization of Capital(..)" op.cit., esp. pp.59-69. (Laepple introduces in this context a new, and fitting term for the new form of internationalization in the production of surplus value:"Worldwide sourcing", which is characterized by "the strategy of transnational organizations exploiting the most profitable conditions of production for the different elements of a fragmented productive process". "It is a matter of minimizing the total costs for the different conditions of production, such as capital, labour power, material, energy, transportation and concomitant costs, such as taxation(..)."(p.64.))

85. Norman J.Glickman, "Cities and the International Division of Labor", (in) The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics (Eds.: Michael Peter Smith & Joe R.Feagin), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987, (pp.66-86)p.69.

86. Hill, op.cit. Parts of the Ford Motor Company's European "Escort" are produced in 16 different countries on three continents! See: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., pp.193-194 (Fig.6.5). After stating that "(t)he internationalization of the world's automobile industry is inevitable", Naisbitt says that "(t)his environment is leading to production of the "world car," which has come to mean a line of autos made from components that are manufactured and assembled (in eighty-six countries) around the globe"; see: John Naisbitt, Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives, New York: Warner Books, 1982, pp.64-65. See also: R.B. Cohen, "The New Spatial Organization of the European and American Automotive industries", (in) Regional Analysis and the New International Division of Labour (Eds.: F.Moulaert and P.Salinas), Boston: Kluwer Nijhoff, 1983, pp.135-144; B.Dankbarr, "Maturity and Relocation in the Car Industry", Development and Change, 15, 1984, pp.223-250; G. Krumme, "Making it Abroad: The Evolution of Volkswagen's North American production Plans", (in) Spatial Analysis, Industry and the Industrial, Environment - Volume 2 (Eds.: F.E.I Hamilton and G.J.R. Linge), Chichester: Wiley, 1981, pp.329-356.

87. Manuel Castells, Towards the Informational City? High Technology, Economic Change, and Spatial Structure: Some Exploratory Hypotheses, Working Paper No.430, Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, 1984; M. Castells, The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989; Kenneth

Flamm, "Internationalization in the Semiconductor Industry", (in) The Global Factory(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Joseph Grunwald & Kenneth Flamm), pp.38-136 (Ch.3);see also: A.J. Scott, "The Semi-Conductor Industry in Southeast Asia: Organization, Location, and the International Division of Labour", Regional Studies, 21, 1987, pp.143-160; A.J. Scott and D.P. Angel, "The Global Assembly - Operations of US Semiconductor Firms: A Geographical Analysis", Environment and Planning A, 20, 1988, pp.1047-1067.

88. Richard E.Barnet, The Lean Years, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980; cited in: Glickman, op.cit., p.70; Hill, op.cit.. See for a contribution in Turkish: Tekeli and İlkin, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Serbest Üretim (..) op.cit., esp. pp.29-45.

89. Joe R.Feagin and Michael Peter Smith, "Cities and the New International Division of Labor: An Overview", (in) The Capitalist City(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Michael Peter Smith & Joe R.Feagin), (pp.3- 34)p.3.

90. Cohen, "The New International Division(..)"op.cit.; John Friedmann, "The World City Hypothesis", Development and Change, 17, 1986, pp.69-83; John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff, "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 6, 1982, pp.309-344; Saskia Sassen-Koob, "The New Labor Demand in Global Cities", (in) Cities in Transformation: Capital, Class, and Urban Structure (Ed.: Michael P.Smith), Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1984, pp.139-171; Saskia Sassen, The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, esp. pp.126-170; Saskia Sassen, The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991. As Knox and Agnew do stress, the "world cities" (of "dominant", "major", and "secondary" types) are not necessarily the biggest within the international system of cities in terms of population, area, or employment. What makes them world city is the fact that they are the "control centres" of the world-economy; i.e. places strategic for the articulation of production and marketing under the contemporary economic (re)structuration movements and moments. See: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., pp.59-60.

91. "**Dependency**" formulations and discussions have gained wide circulation and popularity as a result of the works (of): André Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967 (1969); and A.G. Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969. Of course, Frank was not **the** pioneer in the dependency discussions; he was influenced to a great extent by two other Marxist scholars: Paul M.Sweezy (The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy, New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1970 (1942); and Sweezy (with Baran), Monopoly Capital,

London: Penguin, 1966) and Paul A.Baran (The Political Economy of Growth, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1957; the Turkish translation has appeared as: Baran, Büyümenin Ekonomi Politiği (Trans.: Ergin Günçe), İstanbul: May Yayınları No:31, October 1974). (These three authors are called as the "Underdevelopment theorists"; see: John G.Taylor, From Modernization to Modes of Production: A Critique of the Sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979, esp. pp.71-98.) These authors were influenced again from J.A.Hobson (, Imperialism, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971; identifying the central problem of the advanced countries (especially in the chapters 6 and 7) as the growth of a mass of surplus capital lacking investment capacity in the domestic economy) and V.I.Lenin (, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, New York: International Publishers, 1939; appeared in Turkish as: Emperyalizm: Kapitalizmin En Yüksek Aşaması (Seventh Ed.) (Trans.: Cemal Süreya), Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1979 (1969). Lenin cites Hobson as his main reference source; see his preface.). According to Frank, who analyses underdevelopment as being a historical product of the relations between the underdeveloped society (termed by Frank a "satellite" of the "metropolis") and the penetrative capitalist nation-state (Taylor, op.cit., p.84), the processes of development and underdevelopment were to be viewed not as separate processes but as different outcomes of the same process: After the incorporation of pre-Columbian (Latin) America into the world system of capitalism through Iberian conquest, the economic surplus extraction chain had been shaped which had enabled Spain, Portugal, and later Britain to get silver, cotton, sugar, gold, precious metals, and other raw materials from there. Meanwhile, the mentioned chain of surplus extraction had created centres and peripheries both on a world scale and within Latin America: "At a world scale, Latin America came to supply the developed countries with raw materials and in return imported manufactured products. At a regional level the major cities acted as the centres, with the provinces and rural areas relegated to peripheral status. The Latin American city acted as a crucial link in the chain of surplus extraction. Within the city local élites benefited from foreign domination and from the periphery's underdevelopment." (See for the text: Alan Gilbert, "Urban Development in a World System", (in) Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World (by: Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 (1981), (pp.11- 26)p.16. For Frank's own descriptions, see: Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment (..) op.cit., esp. p.25. On different aspects of dependency, see also: Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979; Eduardo P.Archetti, Paul Cammack and Bryan Roberts, Latin America, New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1987; Dieter Senghaas (Ed.), Peripherer Kapitalismus: Analysen über Abhaengigkeit und Unterentwicklung, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, No: 652, 1974; Klaus Esser, Lateinamerika: Industrialisierungsstrategien und Entwicklung, Frankfurt am Main:

Suhrkamp Verlag, No:942, 1979; and for a critical evaluation (giving more emphasis to the so-called "internal dynamics" of the countries under investigation) in Turkish: Melih Ersoy, "Bağımlılık Okulu Eleştirisine Giriş" ("Introduction to the Criticism of the Dependency School"), (in) Emperyalizm, Gelişme ve Bağımlılık Üzerine ("On Imperialism, Development, and Dependency") (Ed.: M. Ersoy), Ankara: V Yayınları, January 1992, pp.9-21; see for an earlier work by Ersoy, A Critique of Modernization and Dependency Schools in Urban Industrial Sector: A Case Study in Ankara, Turkey (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Ankara: M.E.T.U., 1982; and also: H. Çağatay Keskinok and Melih Ersoy (Eds.), Üretim Tarzlarının Eklemlenmesi Üzerine ("On the Articulation of Modes of Production"), Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayınları No:1, November 1984.

92. See for an interdisciplinary study of the concept: Sabahattin Şen (Ed.), Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Türkiye ("The New World Order and Turkey") (2nd edition), İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları No:54/22, November 1992. See also: İlhan Tekeli, "Dünyanın Yeniden Yapılanmasında Üçüncü Dünya Güney Olurken" (" As the Third World Becomes The South in the World Restructuration Process"), Marksizm ve Gelecek, No:5, 1992, pp.40-46. See the special ("The New World Order") issue of Birikim (No:26, June 1991) for a collection of articles by prominent authors (Chomsky, Healey, Fukuyama, and Galbraith, etc.); see also for a very recent publication on the issue collecting many (Turkish) experts' views: Hıdır Göktaş, Metin Gülbay, Soğuk Savaştan Sıcak Barışa: Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Türkiye ("From the Cold War to the Warm Peace: The New World Order and Turkey"), İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık No:142/26, April 1994. In his interview included in the lastly mentioned book, Prof. Tekeli claims that the supposed New World Order is actually consisting of two processes taking place at the same time: Globalisation between the Northern capitalist core countries; and segregation of the Southern countries (as if they were supposingly globalizing(!)); i.e. a duality which intensifies the exploitation rate within a nation (equaling to the rate of 1:10) at ten times to become 1:100 (which is the exploitation rate existing between the nation-states in the world)! See: İlhan Tekeli, ("Interview"), (in) Soğuk Savaştan (..)op.cit., (Eds.: Hıdır Göktaş, Metin Gülbay), (pp.189-210) esp. p.194. Ergun Balcı (among many others) states that Bosnia, Somali, Haiti, North Korea and Rwanda cases point out to the very fact that the New World Order has collapsed! (Balcı, "Yeni Dünya Düzeni'nin Çöküşü" ("The Collapse of the New World Order"), Cumhuriyet, June 22, 1994, p.11.)

93. Glickman, op.cit., p.70.

94. George K.Zipf, National Unity and Disunity, Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1941; Alan Pred, City Systems in Advanced Economies, New York: John Wiley, 1977; Mark Jefferson, "The Laws of the Primate City", Geographical Review, 29, April 1939, pp.226-232; Bert Hoselitz, "The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of Underdeveloped Countries", (in) The City in Newly Developed Countries (Ed.: G.Breese), Englewood Cliffs,

N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969; Pamela Barnhouse Walters, "Systems of Cities and Urban Primacy: Problems of Definition and Measurement", (in) Urbanization in the World-Economy (Ed.: Michael Timberlake), Orlando: Academic Press, 1985; see for the articulation of world-system processes with local social formations (crucial to understanding of urbanization patterns): Roger J.Nemeth and David A.Smith, "The Political Economy of Contrasting Urban Hierarchies in South Korea and the Philippines", (in) Urbanization in the (..) op.cit. (Ed.: Michael Timberlake); for the importance of the "class" in city size distributions, see: Carol A.Smith, "Class Relations and Urbanization in Guatemala: Toward an Alternative Theory of Urban Primacy", (in) Urbanization in the(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Michael Timberlake), pp.121- 167.

95. James O'Connor, "The Meaning of Crisis", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 5(3), pp.301-329.

96. Michael Peter Smith, "Global Capital Restructuring and Local Political Crises in US Cities", (in) Global Restructuring(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Jeffrey Henderson and Manuel Castells), (pp.234-250)p.235.

97. Ibid.

98. See for one of the pioneering works: Portes and Walton, Labor, Class and (..) op.cit..

99. Robert Firestine, "Economic Growth and Inequality: Demographic Change and the Public sector Response", (in) The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities (Eds.: David Perry and Alfred Watkins), Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977, pp.191- 210; Peter A.Lupsha and William J.Siembieda, "The Poverty of Public Services in the Land of Plenty", (in) The Rise of(..) op.cit. (Eds.: David Perry and Alfred Watkins), pp.169-190; Carl Abbott, The New Urban America Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981; John Mollenkopf, The Contested City, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983; Susan S.Fainstein, Norman I.Fainstein, Richard Child Hill, Dennis Judd, and Michael Peter Smith, Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment, New York: Longman, 1983; Larry Sawers and William Tabb (Eds.), Sunbelt Snowbelt Urban Development and Regional Restructuring, New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

100. Smith, "Global Capital Restructuring (..)"op.cit., pp.235-236.

101. Edward W.Soja, "Poles Apart: Urban Restructuring in new York and Los Angeles", (in) Dual City: Restructuring New York (Eds.: John Hull Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells), New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991, (pp.361-376) esp. pp.361-363. See for the theoretical milestones into the discussion of "Fordism" versus "post-Fordism": M. Aglietta, A Theory of Capitalist Regulation, London: New Left Books, 1976; A. Lipietz,

"Toward Global Fordism?", New Left Review, 132, 1982, pp.33-47; Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities and Prosperity, New York: Basic Books, 1984; and see for the first counter- argument raised to modernism in planning: Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Vintage Books, 1961. See for "postmodernism" in Turkish: Necmi Zeka, (Ed.), Postmodernizm, İstanbul: Kıyı Yayınları No:102, 1990; Douglas Kellner, "Toplumsal Teori Olarak Postmodernizm: Bazı Meydan Okumalar ve Sorunlar" ("Postmodernism as a Social Theory: Some Challenges and Problems") (Trans.: Mehmet Küçük), Birikim, No:40, August 1992, pp.63-78; David Harvey, "Postmodernizme Bir Bakış" ("Looking Backwards on Postmodernism") (Trans.:Oğuz Işık), Birikim, No: 49, May 1993, pp.55-59 and Birkan Uysal-Sezer, "Postmodernizm ve İkinci Cumhuriyet" ("Postmodernism and the Second Republic") , Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.26, No:1, March 1993, pp.27-42. For discussions relating to "post-Fordism", "post-modernism", and (city) "planning" (in Turkey), see: Gönül Tankut, "Planlama - Postmodernizm Yakınlaşmaları Üzerine Bir İrdeleme" ("An Inquiry About Planning - Postmodernism Approachments", (in) Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü 1991 Sonbahar Yarıyılı Seminer Programı ("Seminar Program for the Fall Semester of 1991 at the City and Regional Planning Department") (Ed.: Anon.), Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, (n.d), pp.97-105; Gönül Tankut, "Conclusions and Recommendations", (in) Urban Ecology - Seventh Conference on Urban and Regional Research - 29 June-3 July 1992 - Ankara-Turkey (Ed.: UN-ECEğMinistry of Public Works and Settlement of Turkey (MPWS), Ankara: MPWS, (n.d.), pp.41-45; İlhan Tekeli, "Postmodernism Tartışmaları Üzerine Düşünceler" ("Some Thougths on Postmodernism Discussions"), (in) Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü 1991 (..) op.cit., pp.107-118; Ayda Eraydın, "Yeniden Yapılanma, Yeni Üretim Biçimleri ve Mekanın Yeni Organizasyonu" ("Restructuration, New Production Modes and the New Spatial Organisation"), (in) Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü 1991 (..) op.cit., pp.71-84; and also: (Speeches made by Gönül Tankut (pp.v-vi) and İlhan Tekeli (pp.67-69) (in)) Anon., Kent Planlama Eğitiminde Yeni Eğilimler Semineri - 20-21 Şubat 1992 ("Seminar on New Trends in City Planning Education - February 20-21, 1992"), Ankara: O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, 1992; see also the latest works by: Ayda Eraydın, Post-Fordizm: ve Değişen Mekansal Öncelikler ("Post-Fordism: and Changing Spatial Priorities"), Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, November 1992; and Melih Ersoy, Yeni Liberal Politikalar ve Kentsel Sanayi ("New Liberal Policies and Urban Industry"), Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi-Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, 1993.

102. Manuel Castells and Jeffrey Henderson, "Techno-economic Restructuring, Socio-political Processes and Spatial Transformation: A Global Perspective", (in) Global Restructuring(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Jeffrey Henderson and Manuel Castells), (pp.1-17)pp.3-4.

103.Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes, "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, and Effects of the Informal Economy", (in) The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries (Eds.: Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren A. Benton), Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, pp.11-37. (The Turkish translation of this article has been published in a special issue (for the "informal sector") of Planlama, 92/1-4, Jan.-Dec. 1992, pp.28-39.)

104.Ibid., pp.13-15.

105.Feige, "How Big is the Irregular Economy?", Challenge, 22:5-13, 1979; V. Tanzi, The Underground Economy in the United States and Abroad, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1982; cited in: Saskia Sassen-Koob, "New York City's Informal Economy", (in) The Informal Economy(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren A. Benton), (pp.60-77) p.60.

106.Alejandro Portes and Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Making it Underground: Comparative Material on the Informal Sector in Western Market Economies", American Journal of Sociology, 93, July 1987, pp.30-61.

107.Sassen-Koob, "New York City's Informal (..)" op.cit.; Sassen, The Mobility(..) op.cit.; John Hull Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells (Eds.), Dual City: Restructuring New York, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991.

108.Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren A. Benton, "Conclusion: The Policy Implications of Informality", (in) The Informal Economy(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren A. Benton), (pp.298-312) p.306.

109.Manuel Castells, The Informational City (..) op.cit., p.21.

110.Ibid., esp. pp.12-32.

111.Galarza, Gallegos and Samora, op.cit., p.6. Connor says that there are those who believe mythologically what is now the southwestern U.S. was once "Aztlan", the legendary original homeland of the ancient Aztecs. This emotional belief was used by the militant Chicano movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s in order to raise ethnic consciousness among Mexican-Americans. See: Connor, op.cit., p.16. It is maybe of interest to note here a scholarly view claiming that the Chicanos, though they feel strong cultural ties to Mexico, feel almost no political attachment to Mexico. See:Rodolfo de la Garza, "Chicano-Mexican Relations: A Framework for Research", Social Science Quarterly, Vol.63, March 1982, p.121; and Rodolfo de la Garza, "Chicanos and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Future of Chicano-Mexican Relations", Western Political Quarterly, Vol.33, December 1980, pp.571-582.

112.Carl Abbott, "Building Western Cities: A Review Essay", Colorado Heritage, January 1984, pp.39-46.

113.Walter Prescott Webb, "The American West: Perpetual Mirage", Harper's Magazine, 214, May 1957, pp.25-31; cited in: Bradford Luckingham, "The American Southwest: An Urban View", (in) The Making of Urban America (Ed.:Raymond A.Mohl), Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1988, (pp.252-267)pp.253-254.

114.Luckingham, op.cit., pp.254-256.

115.Ibid., pp.257-258.

116.Galarza et al., op.cit., p.3.

117.Raymond A.Mohl, "New Perspectives on American Urban History", (in) The Making of Urban America (Ed.:Raymond A.Mohl), Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1988, (pp.293-316) p.301.

118.Carl Abbott, The New Urban America Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities, Chapel Hill, 1981; cited in: Mohl, "New Perspectives (..)" op.cit., p.301.

119.Ibid. Feagin states that Houston had evolved into the oil-technology distribution center for the world's oil industries by the 1960s, i.e. it had become an "international city". See: Joe R.Feagin, Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political-Economic Perspective, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1988, esp. pp.80-81.

120.Alan L.Saltzstein and Raphael J.Sonenshein, "Los Angeles: Transformation of a Governing Coalition", (in) Big City Politics in Transition (Eds.: H.V.Savitch and John Clayton Thomas), Newbury Park and London: Sage Publications, Vol.38 (Urban Affairs Annual Reviews), 1991, (pp.189-201) p.191. One scholar cites the adage relating to an overly simplistic description of the spatially dispersed metropolis: "Los Angeles was a number of suburbs in search of a city." See: Don Parson, "The Search for a Centre: The Recomposition of Race, Class and Space in Los Angeles", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.17, No:2, June 1993, (pp.232-240)p.232. The very reason of the spatial dispersedness of the city (founded in 1781 and really started to grow in 1887 with a real estate boom caused by the completion of the Santa Fe Railroad's line extending into Los Angeles) was the urban transit system. The city had possessed in 1920 the **trolley system** which was considered to be "one of the best (transit systems) in the nation". The Pacific Electric Railway system had allowed the creation of the so-called "**Los Angeles suburban lifestyle**". The trolley had made the following formula real: "Live in the country and work in the city!" There were 42 incorporated cities spreading out along the trolley lines within a radius of

35 miles of Los Angeles. However, the electric trolleys were rejected in the 1920s when the city had set a new direction for urban development and transportation. So, Los Angeles became the first city to fully adopt the **automobile**. It is known that by 1930, Los Angeles County had contained more cars per resident than any other community in the world. 80 percent of all local trips in 1937 were made in automobiles. The city and its lifestyle by the end of the 1920s had become the model for other cities in the West; after WW II it became the prototype of the mid-twentieth-century metropolis. 94 percent of the Los Angeles population in 1930 were living in single-family homes. 72 percent were still remaining in detached dwellings in 1960, whereas the same rate in New York was only 20 percent. (See: David L. Clark, "Improbable Los Angeles", (in) Sunbelt Cities:Politics and Growth Since World War II (Eds.: Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice), Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983, (pp.268-308) esp. pp.270-273.)

121.Edward W.Soja, "Economic Restructuring and the Internationalization of the Los Angeles Region", (in) The Capitalist City(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Michael Peter Smith & Joe R.Feagin), (pp.178-198) pp.180-181.

122.Galarza et al., op.cit., p.4.

123.Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.188. In order to give just an idea about the size of undocumented Mexicans in Los Angeles County: In 1980, Los Angeles County with a population equal to about 3.3 percent of the U.S. population, contained 44.2 percent of the country's undocumented Mexican aliens. This group was constituting 6.7 percent of the (L.A.) county's population. See: D.M. Heer, V.Agadjanian, F. Hammad, Y. Qiu, and S. Ramasundaram, "A Comparative Analysis of the Position of Undocumented Mexicans in the Los Angeles County Work Force in 1980", International Migration, Vol.30, No:2, June 1992, (pp.101-125)p.101.

124.Galarza et al., op.cit., p.5. (For instance, in metropolitan Los Angeles, of 576,000 Mexican-Americans living there in 1960, a fixed part of 70,000 were residing in East Los Angeles; 14,000 in Pico Rivera; 13,000 in Norwalk; 10,000 in Florence Graham; 8,000 in Long Beach; 6,000 in Pomona; and 5,000 in Pasadena. The situation in the central valley of California was the same: Between 1920-1960, Fresno developed into a Mexican-American settlement of 14,000 people surrounded by satellite "colonias" like Mendota, Firebaugh, Selma, Huron, with 2,000 to 3,000 each.)

125.Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.189.

126.Helene Zuber and Romain Leick, "Die Gringos sollen Angst haben" (Interview with Carlos Fuentes), Der Spiegel, Vol.46, No:41, 05th October 1992, (pp.211-220) p.214.

127.Sassen, The Mobility (..) op.cit., pp.129-130.

128.Saltzstein & Sonenshein, "Los Angeles(..)" op.cit., p.191.

129.Soja, "Poles Apart: (..)" op.cit., pp.366-367.

130.Ibid., pp.364-365. Although created a hot debate among scholars, the term "**underclass**" does play a functional role in "ghetto" discussions. Wilson defines it as describing "today's ghetto neighborhoods" populated almost exclusively by "the most disadvantaged segments of the black urban community, that heterogeneous grouping of families and individuals who are outside the mainstream of the American occupational system." See: William Julius Wilson, The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, pp.7-8. The suggestion of a recent **New York Times** issue relating to the help (to be provided by some international organizations like the A.I.D) which should be directed to some U.S. locations in regions such as Los Angeles, Boston, and Baltimore, among others, and resembling Bangladesh rather than the developed parts of the U.S., is another hint towards the existence of the "underclass". (Cited in: Anon., "ABD-Bangladeş Benzerliği" ("The Similarity Between the U.S. and Bangladesh"), Cumhuriyet, July 01, 1994, p.9.)

131.Soja, "Economic Restructuring (..)" op.cit., p.182.

132.Anon., "Smoldering Embers, Scared Politicians", Time, Vol.139, No:20, May 18, 1992, pp.16-17; Latif Bolatoğlu, Süha Oğuz Ertem, Özcan Buze, "Ayaklanmanın İçinden: Al Sana "Yeni Düzen"" ("From Within the Uprising: Enjoy the "New Order""), İkibin'e Doğru, Year 6, No:19, May 10, 1992, pp.8-11. Just for a comparison, let me count the damage list of the Watts Riot of August 1965: During the six days, the rioters burned white-owned businesses over an area of 11 square miles, causing property damage of more than $40 million. 34 people were killed, 28 of whom were black. Another 1,032 people were wounded andğor injured. 4,000 people were arrested. Nearly 13,900 National Guardsmen held south central Los Angeles under military occupation. (See: Clark, Improbable (..)op.cit., p.300.)

133.Richard Lacayo, "This Land is Your Land", Time, Vol.139, No:20, May 18, 1992, (pp.24-29) pp.27-28.

134.Mike Davis, "Los Angeles Sadece Başlangıçtı" ("L.A. was Just the Beginning") (Trans.:Kemal Kutlu), (in) Fatihler Yargılanıyor - 500. Yılında Karşı-Amerika ("The Conquerors are on Trial - Counter-America in its 500th Anniversary" (Ed.: Veli Yılmaz), Istanbul: Tümzamanlaryayıncılık No:9/8, Oktober 1992, (pp.131-180) p.136.

135.A Famous "National Advisory Commission Report" of those days (set up in 1967, after the disorders witnessed following the Watts riot in Los Angeles in 1965) was pointing out to the main cause of the disorders as follows: "White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are: -"Pervasive discrimination and segregation" in employment, education, and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress. - "Black in-migration and white exodus", which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities (..). - "The black ghettos" where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure." See: U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders ("The Kerner Report"), New York: A Bantam Book, March 1968, p.10 and esp.pp.35-108 (Ch.1). Just for comparison, see a recent appraisal about the Los Angeles civil unrest of 1992 which says that "the real seeds of the multi-ethnic rebellion" are as follows: "(1)Repeated acts of what is widely perceived in the minority community to be blatant abuse of power by the police and the criminal justice system more generally(..)(..)(2)Recent structural changes in the Los Angeles economy.(..)(3)Wholesale disinvestment in the south-central Los Angeles community by banks and other institutions, including the local city government.(..)(4)Nearly three decades of conservative policy-making, at both the federal and state levels of government, which have adversely affected the quality of life of the residents of south-central Los Angeles and have accelerated the decline and deterioration of their neighbourhoods. (James H. Johnson Jr., Walter C. Farrell Jr. and Melvin L. Oliver, "Seeds of the Los Angeles Rebellion of 1992", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol.17, No:1, March 1993, (pp.115-119)pp.115-117.) See also: Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in American Cities, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973, esp.pp.99-140 (Ch.3).

136.Soja, "Economic Restructuring (..)" op.cit., pp.183-184.

137.Allen J.Scott and A.S. Paul, "Industrial Development in Southern California, 1970-1987", (in) Our Changing Cities (Ed.: John Fraser Hart), Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, (pp.189- 217) pp.198-199.

138.Ibid., p.208; see also: S.L. Maram, S. Long, and D. Berg, Hispanic Workers in the Garment and Restaurant Industries in Los Angeles County ("Working Papers in United States-Mexican Studies, No:12"), San Diego: University of California Program in United States-Mexican Studies, 1980. While mentioning from "female undocumented aliens", Fernandez-Kelly says that one section of the Mexican women crosses the border on a daily or weekly basis to find employment as domestics in nearby U.S. border towns; and adds that another section consisting of singles (having either

one or no children), and thus also able to travel to more distant regions (such as Los Angeles), stays for longer periods of time in the United States. See: Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, "Mexican Border Industrialization, Female Labor Force Participation and Migration", (in) Women, Men(..) op.cit. (Eds.:June Nash and Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly), (pp.205-223) pp.212- 213.

139.Scott, op.cit., p.208.

140.Robert D.Mitchell, "The North American Past: Retrospect and Prospect", (in) North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent (Eds.: Robert D.Mitchell and Paul A. Groves), London: Hutchinson, 1987, (pp.3-21)p.16.

141.Ibid., pp.16-17.

142.Richard L.Morrill, Robert Sinclair, and David R.Dimartino, "The Settlement System of the United States", (in) Urbanization and Settlement Systems (Eds.: Larry S. Bourne, Robert Sinclair, and Kazimierz Dziewonski), New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, (pp.23-48)p.23.

143.Ibid.; Mitchell, "The North American(..)" op.cit., p.18.

144.Morrill et al., "The Settlement System(..)" op.cit., p.24.

145.Robert C.Bone, American Government, New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1977, pp.165-171, esp. p.165. The total figure for officially designated SMSAs ("standard metropolitan statistical areas") in the U.S. for the year 1980 is being given as 318. See: Allen J. Scott, Metropolis: From the Division of Labor to Urban Form, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990, p.9.

146.Morrill et al., "The Settlement System(..)" op.cit., pp.33-34.

147.Noyelle and T.M. Stanback, Jr., The Economic Transformation of American Cities, New York: Conservation of Human Resources, 1981; cited in: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., pp.209-210.

148.Morrill et al., "The Settlement System(..)" op.cit., pp.35-36. While mentioning from Los angeles area, Castells says that: "A sharply polarized labor force, with large segments of minority youth excluded from it, has led to a highly segregated residential structure, probably the most ethnically segregated of any major city in the US(..). Class is also a major factor in residential segregation(..)." See: Castells, The Informational City (..)op.cit., p.220.

149.Mitchell, "The North American(..)" op.cit., p.18. (The stresses are mine; Ö.B.)

150.Gordon, The Working Poor: Towards a State Agenda, Washington, D.C.: The Council of State Planning Agencies, 1979, p.78; cited in: Knox and Agnew, The Geography (..) op.cit., p.210. See also: Morrill et al., op.cit., pp.38-39.

151.Castells, The Informational City (..)op.cit., pp.337-338. (Fifty-six percent of the new foreign manufacturing plants were built in the 10 percent of counties that are highly urbanized, while only 12.5 percent were built in rural counties. See: Ibid., p.336.)

152.Morrill et al., "The Settlement System(..)" op.cit., pp.44-45. (The stress is mine; Ö.B.) To give just another clue with regard to the world settlement hierarchy as conditioned by capital movements, one might apply to Castells: "The major centers, and the ones that are truly global cities, are three: London, as the major financial market in terms of number of transactions; New York, as the major recipient of capital flows and exporter of related services; and Tokyo, as the major lender of capital and headquarters of the largest banks in the world. In 1986, New York, London, and Tokyo together accounted for 80 percent of the world market capitalization, up from 73 percent in 1974, in a process of growing concentration and dominance by the top tier of financial centers. New York alone controlled 44 percent of world capital." See: Castells, The Informational City (..)op.cit., pp.340-341.

153.Cohen, "The New International Division(..)"op.cit., pp.293, 300, 308.

154.Richard L.Nostrand, "The Spanish Borderlands", (in) North America(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Robert D.Mitchell and Paul A. Groves), (pp.48-64)p.48.

155.John W. Reps, Town Planning in Frontier America, Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 1980 (1965), p.27. According to Portes, the "Laws of the Indies" (or the "Ordenanzas de descubrimiento y poblacion of 1573") contained 148 articles, of which 44 were dedicated exclusively to the establishment of new cities and towns, selection of sites, designation of the city form, and distribution of land; see: Alejandro Portes, "The Economy and Ecology of Urban Poverty", (in) Urban Latin America: The Political Condition From Above and Below (Eds.: Alejandro Portes and John Walton), Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976, (pp.7-69)p.9.

156.Nostrand, loc.cit.

157.Herbert Eugene Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.

158.Nostrand, op.cit., p.63.

159.Ibid., pp.48-49.

160.Galarza et al., op.cit., pp.76-77.

161.Ibid., pp.22, 23, 25.

162.See for the endurance of the barrio and the Latinization of the South-Central Los Angeles black ghetto: Alisdair Rogers and Rika Uto, "Residential Segregation Retheorized: A View From Southern California", (in) Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography (Ed.: Peter Jackson), London: Allen & Unwin, 1987, pp.50-73. (Another source book newly published: Denis Lynn Daly Heyck (Ed.), Barrios and Borderlands: Cultures of Latinos and Latinas in the United States, New York and London: Routledge, 1994.) Ortego defines "barrios" and "colonias" as "the Mexican Ghettos of the Southwest". See: Philip D. Ortego, "Schools for Mexican- Americans: Between Two Cultures", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.224-233)p.225. And according to Galarza et al.: "(..)the(se) neighborhoods of weathered, deteriorating or dilapidated housing that developed on the outskirts of many southwestern cities to house Mexican-American laboring families were themselves often buffers between the inner city(..) and the "hobo jungles" in which a large company of homeless men, and sometimes families, found temporary resting places. These so-called jungles were usually scrubby ditch banks, out-of- the-way groves(..)shrubs flanked by railway tracks and swamps, lonesome water-tank sites(..). They were the primitive counterparts of "the lower part of town", where transiency gradually was institutionalized on "skid row". At the end of the harvests these "jungles were visited by the local police and the undesirables were usually hustled out." See: Galarza et al., op.cit., p.24.

163.Galarza et al., op.cit., pp.74-75. Gordon is just a representative of those many who say the same thing: "People of Spanish origin (..)share with blacks many of the same living conditions and problems of status(..)." See: Diana R. Gordon, "Equal Protection, Unequal Justice", (in) Minority Report(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Leslie W.Dunbar), (pp.118- 151)p.127. (A note for the interested reader: By 1980, 79 percent of Mexicans in the U.S. were living in metropolitan areas. The traditional image of the Hispanics, in general, being a "jibaro", a "campesino" (a countryman) has changed radically in the last three decades. See: Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.318.)

164.Robert Ramirez, "The Woolen Sarape", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.41-44)pp.41-42.

165.Ibid., p.44.

166.Bureau of the Census, We, the Mexican-Americans, (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.45-52)p.52. The home ownership rate for the Mexican-Americans in 1981 is given as 55 percent; see: Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.319.

167.Fernando Penalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.61-71)pp.66-67.

168.Ibid., pp.68-69.

169.Ozzie Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.106-118)pp.106-107.

170.Bill Porterfield, "There's An Awakening in the Valley", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.150-159)pp.155- 156.

171.Charles V. Hamilton, "Political Access, Minority Participation, and the New Normalcy", (in) Minority Report(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Leslie W.Dunbar), (pp.3-25)p.15.

172.Ibid., pp.15-16. Another author, Steiner has argued for that: "A feeling of apathy has been the traditional response of the disenfranchised". See: Stan Steiner, "Chicano Power: Militance Among the Mexican Americans", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), (pp.130-136)p.131.

173.Galarza et al., op.cit., pp.50-51.

174.Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.206. An interesting case involving the interpenetration between geographical and political (unity) levels is described by these authors as follows: "The Mexican middle and lower-middle class(..)at first played a miniscule role in politics. They had a stake in retail trade and in serving local markets(..). If anything, their part in local affairs diminished, as often the Mexican "pueblo" became engulfed by a larger English-speaking city and as the "pueblo" was reduced to a "barrio". As successful Mexican Americans left the "barrio",(..)the masses often found themselves deprived of (..)their natural leaders."(p.207.)

175.Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.184.

176.Douglas E. Foley et al., From Peones to Politicos: Ethnic Relations in a South Texas Town, 1900-1977, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977; Rudolph O. de la Garza, "Voting Patterns in "Bi-Cultural El Paso": A Contextual Analysis of Chicano Voting Behavior", Aztlan, 5, 1974, pp.235-260; both works cited in: Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.184-185; Hamilton, "Political(..)"op.cit., p.14.

177.Stephen L. Watsby, Vote Dilution, Minority Voting Rights, and the Courts, Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1982, p.5.

178.Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.185-186. See also: Steiner, op.cit., and Ysidro Macias, "The Chicano Movement", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.137-143. Another author, Love, giving more emphasis to the political participation activities of the Mexican- Americans in the fourth period mentioned, tells the story of the "Alianza rebellion", a revolt of "a group of Spanish-speaking Americans who call themselves the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants)" (born in 1963), and who, under the leadership of Tijerina, claim that "they are the legal and rightful owners of millions of acres of land in central and northern New Mexico", against the governments of the United States of America, the State of New Mexico, and Rio Arriba (Up River) County, in early June of 1967. The Aliancistas had formally proclaimed "the Republic of Rio Chama" in the mentioned area! (See: Joseph L. Love, "La Raza: Mexican Americans in Rebellion", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.271-285; and: Norma P. Herring, "Reies Lopez Tijerina: Don Qoixote in New Mexico", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.286-296.) It is clear that the period starting in the early 1960s characterized also with "Viva Kennedy committees" (formed in 1960), unionization movements among agricultural workers (starting with the "National Farm Workers Association" (NFWA) established by legendary César Chavez in 1963 and going on especially after the end of the "bracero" program in 1964), the "Huelga" strike in Delano, California in 1965, was a politically most turbulent and awakening period for Mexican-Americans, who had been influenced by the federal and state "poverty programs", and by the "Negro revolt". See for these points: Love, op.cit., p.273; Luis A. Solis-Garza, "César Chavez: The Chicano "Messiah?"", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.297-305; and Ronald B. Taylor, "Huelga! The Boycott that Worked", (reprinted in) Pain and Promise(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Edward Simmen), pp.306-309.

179.Steiner, op.cit., pp.130-131.

180.Chris F. Garcia and Rodolfo O. de la Garza, The Chicano Political Experience: Three Perspectives, North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1977.

181.Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Janet Weaver, "New Participants, Old Issues: Mexican-American Urban Policy Priorities", (in) The Egalitarian City(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Janet K.Boles), (pp.75-92)p.76. The VRA can create a big effect on the minority representation as it was seen in the case of the 1965 VRA: In 1982, it was reported that there were 5,160 black elected officials, certainly a vast increase over less than 200 in 1965. Furthermore, big cities such as Gary, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Newark, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Detroit, New Orleans, Birmingham, Chicago, and Philadelphia have elected black mayors. The largest proportion of black elected officials was seen in municipal and educational positions - 48%, and 25%, respectively. See: Hamilton, "Political(..)"op.cit., p.12.

182. Catalano, op.cit., p.63; Harry P. Pachon, "Political Mobilization in the Mexican-American Community", (in) Mexican-Americans in Comparative (..) op.cit. (Ed.: Walker Connor), (pp.245-256)p.245. Of San Antonio's 785,880 residents (in 1980), 54% were of Mexican origin. Since the city has abandoned in 1978 its at-large electoral system in favor of a "single-member system" with a mayor elected at large, the Mexican-Americans started to play a major role in local decision making. See: de la Garza & Weaver, op.cit., p.80. And, in Pomona, a city of 140,000 population (51 percent of which is Hispanic according to the 1990 census), and located about 60 miles east of Los Angeles, the first Hispanic mayor has been elected in April 1993 voting; four of seven City Council members are also Hispanic. See: Daniel B. Wood, "US Hispanics: To Be and Not to Be", The Christian Science Monitor, May 21, 1993, (pp.9-10)p.9.

183. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., pp.186-187.

184. Galarza et al., op.cit., p.54.

185. Cited in: Hamilton, "Political(..)"op.cit., p.18. As with regard to bilingualism of which the Mexican-Americans do mention and lay claim to, the United States provides for a unique case: Although over the past two centuries the U.S. has probably incorporated more bilingual people than any other country in the world (on which over five billion people speak 5,000 languages in 160 states), its experience is "remarkable for its near mass extinction of non-English languages"! In a detailed study of 35 nations done by Lieberson et al., it was found out that in no other country did the rate of mother tongue shift toward (English) monolingualism approach the rapidity of that found in the United States.. This is a natural endproduct of a national policy advocated by Roosevelt in stark terms: "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language; for we intend to see that the crucible turn our people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse". The historical American process relating to (the extinction of) bilingualism can be depicted as follows: The first generation members learned as much English as they needed to get by but continued to speak the mother tongue at home. The second generation spoke the mother tongue at home but English away from home under the institutional pressures for "anglicization" in public schools and in the wider society rewarding native fluency in English. The home language of their children, and hence the mother tongue of the third generation was mostly English. See: Portes & Rumbaut, Immigrant America (..) op.cit., pp.183-184.

186. Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970, pp.9-13. In Texas, there have been since a long time three separate types of schools: Anglo-, Black-, and Mexican schools! See: Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.191.

187. William Valez, "High School Attrition Among Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Youths", Sociology of Education, 62, 1989, pp.119-133.

188. Gonzales, Jr., op.cit., p.191.

189. Macias, op.cit., p.140.

190. Gonzales, Jr., loc.cit..

191. Macias, op.cit., p.141. (The stresses are mine; Ö.B.)

192. Ibid., pp.142-143. (The stresses are mine; Ö.B.)

193. Catalano, op.cit., p.64.

194. Galarza et al., op.cit., p.8.

195. Macias, op.cit., p.140.

196. Gann & Duignan, op.cit.,p.129.

197. Morrill et al., op.cit., p.45.

198. Gann & Duignan,loc.cit.

199. Jorge A. Bustamante, "Maquiladoras: A New Face of International Capitalism on Mexico's Northern Frontier", (in) Women, Men(..) op.cit. (Eds.:June Nash and Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly), (pp.224-256)p.225.

200. Gann & Duignan,op.cit., p.133.

201. Manuel Perlo Cohen, "Exploring the Spatial Effects of the Internationalization of the Mexican Economy", (in) Global Restructuring(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Jeffrey Henderson and Manuel Castells), (pp.136-167)p.140.

202. Ibid., p.144; and Alejandro Portes, "Ideologies of Inequality and Their Transformation in the Periphery: The Case of Latin America", (in) Labor, Class(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Alejandro Portes and John Walton), (pp.107-135)p.122. As Laepple argues, some Third World countries (mainly the NIC's), including also Mexico, which have achieved a certain level of industrial production, are trying to overcome the "enclave industrialization" form of import substitution process by developing a more integrated domestic economy. The dominant role of the state thereby is in fostering industrial development with an accumulation model of "**indebted industrialization**" type, which is based on heavy borrowing from international banks. See: J. Frieden, "Third World Indebted

Industrialization: International Finance and State Capitalism in Mexico, Brazil, Algeria and South Korea", International Organization, 35 (3), 1981; cited in: Laepple, op.cit., p.69.

203.Cohen, "Exploring(..)"op.cit., p.154.

204.Victor Urquidi and Sofia Méndez Villareal, "Economic Importance of Mexico's Northern Border Region", (in) Views Across the Border (Ed.: Stanley R.Ross), New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1978, p.142 (Table 2).

205.Gann & Duignan, op.cit.,p.130.

206.Ibid., pp.133-134.

207.Fernandez, The United States-Mexico Border, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977. (Here one should state that although intended to do so, the maquiladoras never employed many ex- bracero workers, but they did draw interstate migrants to the Mexican border region (thereby increasing the potential U.S. migration). See: Carol Zabin, Sallie Hughes, "Economic Integration and Labor Flows: Stage Migration in Farm Labor Markets in Mexico and the United States", International Migration Review, Vol.XXIX, No:2, Summer 1995, (pp.395- 422)p.397.)

208.Joseph Grunwald, "The Assembly Industry in Mexico", (in) The Global Factory(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Joseph Grunwald & Kenneth Flamm), (pp.137-179)p.138. The "maquiladora" has been equalized in English with such terms as ""off-shore assembly plant", "in bond processing operation", "twin plant", and "runaway plant". See: Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., p.232.

209.Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., p.232.

210.B. Taylor and M.E. Bond, "Mexican Border Industrialization", Michigan State University Business Topics, Spring 1968, p.34.

211.The proximity of the (would-be sister) plants located on Mexican land to the U.S.(parent) firms was actually the motivational idea of the American promoters of the "twin plant" conception aiming at an coproduction system with Mexico (as early as 1964). According to this conception, the U.S. firms would establish two plants under a single management, one located on each side of the border. The U.S. plant would perform the capital-intensive operations, and the Mexican counterpart would carry out the labor-intensive processes. See: Grunwald, op.cit., p.139.

212.NACLA, Latin America and Empire Report, 9 No:5, July and August 1975; cited in: Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., p.236. The wage differentials are still one of the main causes and criteria with regard to the

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international labor migration movements and socio-economic performances of different countries taking part in discrete economic "blocks" such as European Community (EC), the North American Free Trade Agreement area (NAFTA), the NIC's of (Southeast) Asia, and Japan. The average labor costs (per hour) prevailing in these blocks are as follows: $16.95 in the EC ($22.17 in Germany); $15.45 in the U.S.; $14.41 in Japan; $4.21 in the NIC's of Asia. (See: (As cited from the "European Gazetta" dated May 27-30, 1993, by:) Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Avrupa Geride mi Kalıyor?" ("Does Europe Stay Behind?), Cumhuriyet, May 31, 1993, p.9. There are also wage differentials within a country and within its different geographical regions andğor different socio-economic groups. For example, whereas the "white" agricultural labor wage (per hour) in Texas, New mexico and California is around $6, the average hourly wage of Mexican migrant (agricultural) labor is around only $1! (See: Doğan Uluç, "Sonradan Amerikalı Olmak..." ("To Become American Afterwards"), Hürriyet, May 17, 1993, p.15.) And, whereas the average fabric labor wage per hour in Mexico is nowadays around $1.85 (as compared to the average wage amount worth of $10.97 per hour in the U.S.), the average wage per hour in the maquiladora regions is around $0.75! (See: Alexander Cockburn and E.Ahmet Tonak, "NAFTA Neyin Adıdır?" ("NAFTA" is the Name of What?"), Milliyet, January 09, 1994, p.19.) The latest GNP figures (as of 1991) for NAFTA countries, i.e. Canada, the U.S., and Mexico are as follows: $580 billion, $5.422 billion, and $283 billion, respectively. The total population (in 1992), and annual income figures per person are given below (again respectively): (27.4 million; $21.600); (255.6 million; $21.740); and (87.7 million; $3.484)! (Cited from: Alain Frachon's article in "Le Monde") "Kuzey Amerika'da Tek Pazar Sancıları" ("A Common Market's Aches in North America"), Cumhuriyet, October 01, 1993, p.7. An important expectation from the newly established (on 17th November 1993; see: Anon., "Amerika Ortak Pazarı Kuruldu" ("The American Common Market Has Been Established"), Hürriyet, November 19, 1993, p.17) NAFTA is that it will prevent the Mexicans to migrate to the U.S.! (See the mentioned Frachon article above.)

213.Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., pp.236-238. See also: U.S. Tariff Commission, Economic Factors Affecting the Use of Items 807.00 and 806.30 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, Washington, D.C.: T.C. Publication No:339, September 1970.

214.Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., p.241.

215.Grunwald, op.cit., p.149. The sheer number of American firms established in Mexican maquiladora regions is given as being 1,750. (See: Cockburn & Tonak, op.cit..)

216.Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"loc.cit.

217.Fernandez-Kelly, op.cit., p.210.

218.Sidney Weintraub, "North American Free Trade and the European Situation Compared", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVI, No:2, Summer 1992, (pp.506-524)p.514 (Footnote 6).

219.Grunwald, op.cit., pp.148-149.

220.Fernandez-Kelly, op.cit., pp.214-220.

221.Secretaria de Industria y Comercio, Zonas Fronterizas de Mexico: Perfil Socioeconomico, Mexico, D.F.: Government of Mexico, 1974, pp.18-19; cited in: Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., p.231.

222.Secretaria de Industria y Comercio, La Frontera Norte, Mexico, D.F.: Government of Mexico, 1974, pp.111-114; cited in: Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., pp.247-248.

223.Bustamante, "Maquiladoras(..)"op.cit., pp.247-248. The wage level (prevailing in Ciudad Juarez) functioning as a magnet for the migrants is around an average of 58 cents per hour (in the case of an assembly operator) and for 48 hours a week. (See: Fernandez-Kelly, op.cit., p.217.)

224.As cited by: Gann & Duignan, op.cit., p.144. Just for a thorough definition of the internal colonialism, one could apply to Walton: "(..)internal colonialism is defined as a process that produces certain intra-national forms of patterned socioeconomic inequality directly traceable to the exploitative practices through which national and international institutions are linked in the interests of surplus extraction and capital accumulation. Stated differently, internal colonialism refers to those domestic structures of inequality whose origins lie in the interface between internal conditions and external influences stemming from metropolitan economies." See: John Walton, "Internal Colonialism: Problems of Definition and Measurement", (in) Latin American Urban Research - Volume 5- Urbanization and Inequality: The Political Economy of Urban and Rural Development in Latin America (Eds.: Wayne A.Cornelius and Felicity M. Trueblood), London: Sage Publications, 1975, (pp.29-50)pp.34-35.

225.Gilbert, "Urban Development (..)"op.cit., p.13. (See reference (91).) As it will be recalled, the period of the nineteenth century and up to 1914 was an age of **imperialism**, during which the countries of Western Europe, motivated by militarism, political rivalry, a desire for markets and for sources of cheap raw materials, had sought control of territory in the tropics. In the year of 1800, Europe and its possessions (including ex-colonies) had covered about 55% of the land surface of the world; in 1878, 67 percent; in 1914, 84 percent and yet more by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. As with regard to the distribution of

geographical territories to the European states by the end of the nineteenth century, the following can be said: The "scramble for Africa" had resulted in virtually all of the continent being divided between Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. Pacific territories had been claimed by Britain, France, Germany, the U.S.A. and Spain. Central Asia as far as the Afghanistan border was occupied by Russia. The British had increased their control over the Indian subcontinent as far as the North-West frontier. Afghanistan and Persia (now Iran) were non-colonized buffer states between Russian and British-; Siam (now Thailand) was an independent buffer state between British and French possessions. With this one exception, South-East Asia was completely divided between the Netherlands, Britain, France, and the U.S.A. by 1914. The Chinese empire had survived the expansionist designs of the European powers, Russia, the U.S.A., and Japan; see: J.P. Dickenson, C.G. Clarke, W.T.S. Gould, A.G. Hodgkiss, R.M. Prothero, D.J. Siddle, C.T. Smith, E.M. Thomas-Hope, A Geography of the Third World, London and New York: Methuen, 1983, pp.28, 30.

226.Gilbert, loc.cit. Tenochtitlan, founded in 1325 as an island city, was the most magnificent example of pre-Columbian (Latin American) urbanization. Before it was virtually destroyed by the Spanish Conquest (in 1521), the city (of an estimated population of 150,000 to 200,000 residents) was just "amazing", as a vivid eye-witness, a soldier in the company of Cortés, had described: "We were amazed... It was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and temples and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry.(..)Some.. among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a market and so full of people and so well-regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before." From: Bernal Diaz del Castillo, The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, 1956, pp.218-219; cited in: Robert V. Kemper, "Urbanization in Latin American Development", (in) Latin America: Perspectives on a Region (Ed.: Jack W. Hopkins), New York/London: Holmes & Meier, 1987, (pp.229-242)p.230. See also (for Tenochtitlan): Geoffrey W. Conrad, "Pre-Columbian Cultures", (in) Latin America(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Jack W. Hopkins), (pp.19-38)p.36.

227.Kemper, op.cit., p.230. See also: Bryan Roberts, Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World, London: Edward Arnold, 1978, pp.37-38.

228.Alan Gilbert, "Urban Agglomeration and Regional Disparities", (in) Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World (by: Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 (1981), (pp.27-48)p.37.

229.Ibid., pp.28-31.

230.Kemper, op.cit., pp.229, 231, 232. The population of Mexico City for 1900 has been given differently and as being 370,000, in another source; see: Dickenson, Clarke et al., op.cit., p.196.

231.Ibid., p.236 (Table 3).

232.Unikel, El Desarrollo Urbano de Mexico: Diagostico e Implicaciones Futuras, Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1976, p.68; cited in: Gilbert, "Urban Agglomeration(..)"op.cit., p.28.

233.Portes, "The Economy and Ecology (..)"op.cit., pp.19-23. The centralized character of the Spanish colonial city was also reflected in the fact that even the legal rank of a city was a matter decided in Spain rather than in the New World. The Spanish Crown had discouraged commercial or manufacturing activities that would make the colonial city any less dependent on Spain. The grid layout of the colonial cities was a functional tool to be used in order to make the cities expand easily as more room was needed. And, apart from this, as R. Gakenheimer had once stated for the Peruvian city of the 16th century, the focus on the central plaza meant that there were no markets, storehouses, or walls at the periphery of the city to impede expansion. Thus, everything was intended and organized to expropriate for the center, Spain, and/or for the "peninsulares", those born in Spain. See: J.John Palen, The Urban World, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975, pp.334-335. See also for the closeness of the colonial city model to that of the "preindustrial model" of Sjoberg, in which there are the "central" area including the governmental and religious edifices, the elite residences, and also the main market, and the peripheral areas inhabiting the very poorest and the "outcasts": Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City: Past and Present, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, esp.pp.96-98.

234.Ibid., pp.26-27; Alan Gilbert, "The Housing of the Urban Poor", (in) Cities, Poverty(..) op.cit. (by: Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler), pp.81- 115; see also: Alan Gilbert and Peter M. Ward, "Land for the Rich , Land for the Poor", (in) The Urbanization of the Third World (Ed.: Josef Gugler), New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp.129-137; Peter Nientied and Jan van der Linden, "Approaches to Low-Income Housing in the Third World", (in) The Urbanization(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Josef Gugler), pp.138-156; and Manuel Castells, "Squatters and the State in Latin America", (in) The Urbanization (..) op.cit. (Ed.: Josef Gugler), pp.338-366.

235.Portes, "The Economy and Ecology(..)"op.cit., pp.54-55.

236.Kemper, op.cit., p.240. Roberts says that "squatter settlements provide for housing between 10 and 20 per cent of the population of many large cities in Latin America"; see: Roberts, op.cit., p.137.

237.Portes, "The Economy and Ecology (..)"op.cit., pp.58-59. An example for the unbelievable land price risings has been given for Mexico City: Prestigious residential districts such as "Lomas de Chapultepec" have registered spectacular price increases. From 1930 to 1950 the value of a square meter grew at a 6,000 percent increase rate (from 80 cents to US $48)! The figure in adjacent residential "colonias" was approaching 50,000 percent! (See: Portes, "The Economy and Ecology (..)"op.cit., p.48.) See for more about urban land provision in Mexico City: Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite, Squatter Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World, London: Earthscan Publications Limited, 1989, p.77.

238.Gilbert, "The Housing (..)"op.cit., pp.98-99.

239.Portes, "The Economy and Ecology (..)"op.cit., p.69.

240.Dickenson et al., op.cit., p.192. Here, one could argue that the austerity programs imposed by IMF onto the (Latin) countries do curtail the actual middle class potential, and cause thereby the poor sections of the societies grow enormously. For instance, there has been a 45 percent decline in the real minimum wage in Mexico since 1982 with especially sharp erosion in 1982 and 1986/1987 as a result of the austerity program followed. See: Peter Ward, Edith Jiménez, and Gareth Jones, "Residential Land Price Changes in Mexican Cities and the Affordability of Land for Low-income Groups", Urban Studies, Vol.30, No:9, November 1993, (pp.1521- 1542) esp. p.1536.

241.Ibid., p.198. As Oscar Lewis has said very fittingly in his monumental work, "in that **vecindad**, the life was very bitter because everybody was poor." See: O. Lewis, Sançez'in Çocukları: Bir Meksikalı Ailenin Otobiyografisi ("The Children of Sanchez") (Trans.: Leyla Ragıp), İstanbul: E Yayınları, No:53, August 1971, p.328. (In the "Casa Grande" vecindad of Mexico City, for instance, where Lewis has made his observations of the Sanchez family, and where some 700 persons live in 157 houses, the living standards are low in general, although not the lowest one in the whole city. As a matter of fact, the "compadrazgo" relationships, lower rent levels, and housing shortage in the city creates the so-called "vecindad" system; see pp.xi-xiv of the cited work.) Another remark needs to be done with regard to the increasing levels of poverty among especially the Mexican Indians (Mayas) some of whom living in southern regions of the country (more specifically in the southern state of Chiapas): In 1992, the poorest 20% of the Mexican population was getting only a fixed 4,28% of the GNP, i.e. 25 million Mexicans were living in sheer poverty. Within such a framework, 3,5 million Indians of Chiapas (who are making an important part of the total Indian population of Mexico (which is the largest total in the whole Americas) totalling to 9 to 15-18 million according to differing criteria used) are the ones who are most severely hit by the poverty. 30% of the population of the Chiapas state are illiterate; 74% of them are "housed" under very poor conditions. (See: Alexander Cockburn and

E.Ahmet Tonak, "Chiapas ve Amerika" ("Chiapas and America"), İktisat Dergisi, Year 30, No:352, September 1994, (pp.51-55)pp.52, 54.) They, i.e. the Indians of Chiapas (called also the "**Zapatistas**") have newly, i.e. right on the first day of 1994 begun to "rebel" against the government of Mexico in search for the realization of a "demand list" consisting of 10 items, such as "job, land, housing, food, health, education, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace", while thereby paying a rather very high price: Hundreds of killed bodies! See: Anon., "Zapata'nın Yurdunda Kan Akıyor" ("Bleeding at Zapata's Home", Cumhuriyet, January 04, 1994, p.8; Sami Kohen, "Viva Zapata", Milliyet, January 05, 1994, p.16; Anon., "Zapatistalar Meksika Mucizesini Kalbinden Vurdu" ("The Zapatistas Have Shut the Mexican Miracle at Its Heart"), Milliyet, January 07, 1994, p.9; Lütfü Tokatlıoğlu, "Açlığa Karşı Ayaklandık" ("We've rebelled Against Hunger"), Milliyet, January 15, 1994, p.16; Anon., "Zapatistalar Yürekleri Fethetti" ("The Zapatistas Have Conquered the Hearts"), Cumhuriyet, February 21, 1994, p.12; Anon., "Meksika'da Barış Yakın") ("Peace in Mexico is Close"), Cumhuriyet, March 04, 1994, p.8; and Anon., "Meksika'da Yeni Lider Krizi Sürüyor") ("The Problem of the New Leader in Mexico Continues"), Cumhuriyet, April 04, 1994, p.8. Cockburn and Tonak report that a peace contract has already been signed between the Zapatistas, on the one side and the "peace representative" (C. Solis) of the PRI-government (which is in power since 65 years winning also the last elections held on August 21, 1994 with a vote share of 49%), on the other. The contract foresees the provision of a democratic reform, partial autonomy for the Indians, a land reform, free radio, a law against discrimination, health dispensaries, physicians, teachers, electricity, housing, and paved roads, inter alia. (However, the contract is now at a "promise" level.) (See: Cockburn and Tonak, "Chiapas (..)"op.cit., p.52.) The Mexican government has also put in force very recently an "amnesty law" for rebels in Chiapas (after 15 months!): Anon., "Zapatistalar İçin Af Çıktı" ("Amnesty Declared for the Zapatistas"), Cumhuriyet, March 10, 1995, p.11. Another student of the topic warns other countries **including Turkey** as well against the potential similar rebels to be met like in Mexico: Talat Halman, "Meksika Misali" ("Mexican Example"), Milliyet, January 11, 1994, p.18.

242.Ibid., pp.198-199. As a framework for comparison, one could give the following figures relating to Mexico as a whole: Approximately 50% of the total population of 74,000,000 (in 1984) live in cities with a population of more than one million; and 37% of the population live in a dispersed manner in more than 95,000 communities with a population less than 2,500! The persons per dwelling (occupation) rate has increased from 4.91 in 1950 to 6.12 in the decade of 1970-1980.. The annual housing deficit figure has risen from a fixed 400,000 in 1973 to 700,000 in 1980. According to the 1980 census, 68% of the total housing stock lack bathroom with water; 59% of the stock are without drainage; 51% of the dwellings lack water; 44% of the units use coal or wood for cooking; 41% are without electricity; 41% have earthen floor; 38% have only one room

and 29% have two rooms. In synthesis, more than 25 million people live under insufficient sanitation and energy conditions! See: Everardo Hernandez H., Hector Ceballos L., Mario Fernandez G., Alberto Bailey G., Andrés Izunza F., Alfredo Salomon A., and Roberto Martin J., "Tecnologias Ecologicas Para La Vivienda en Mexico - Monografia Regional", (in) Ecotécnicas Aplicadas a La Vivienda - Memoria del Tercer Seminario Internacional PLEA México, D.F., del 6 al 11 de Agosto de 1984 (Ed.: Arthur Bowen), Mexico: SEDUE - INFONAVIT, July 1984, Section I (no page numbers given).

243. If otherwise not mentioned, the information on Tijuana has been gathered, to a great extent, from: Lawrence Herzog, "Tijuana: State Intervention and Urban Form in a Mexican Border City", (in) Housing and Land in Urban Mexico (Ed.: Alan Gilbert), San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, Monograph Series 31, 1989, pp.109-133 (here, p.109).

244. Gann & Duignan, op.cit.,p.130. (See reference (5).)

245. Fernandez, op.cit. (See reference (207).)

246. Cohen, "Exploring(..)"op.cit., p.156. See also: Niles Hansen, The Border Economy: Regional Development in the Southwest, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, esp.pp.11-12.

247. Gann & Duignan, op.cit., pp.130-131.

248. Ibid., p.131.

249. Ibid..

250. Andrew Hepburn, Complete Guide to: California, New York: Travel Enterprises, Inc., 1954, p.149.

251. Gann & Duignan, loc.cit.. However, the number of Mexicans going the other way around, was still larger!

252. Herzog, "Tijuana(..)"op.cit., p.111.

253. See for the "Porfiriato" period: Lawrence S. Graham, "Independence and Nation Building in Latin America", (in)Latin America(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Jack W. Hopkins), (pp.86-99)p.90.

254. John Sheahan, Patterns of Development in Latin America: Poverty, Repression, and Economic Strategy, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987, p.297.

255. Herzog, "Tijuana(..)"op.cit., p.111. For a vivid discussion on the topic of the plaza tradition of the hispanic urbanism which has been modified and

even "de-Mexicanized" by the interventions of "postmodernist" corporate interests located in Los Angeles region, see Parson's article cited in reference (120)).

256.Anthony W. Corso, "San Diego: The Anti-City", (in) Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II (Eds.: Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice), Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983, (pp.328-344)pp.328-329.

257.Stephen Birnbaum and Alexandra Mayes Birnbaum (Eds.), Birnbaum's United States 1992, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992, pp.804-805, 811.

258.Irwin Shapiro, The Golden Book of California: From the Days of the Spanish Explorers to the Present, New York: Golden Press, 1961, p.5.

259.Reps, op.cit., p.41. (See reference (155).)

260.Shapiro, op.cit., pp.15-16.

261.San Diego is the birthplace of one of the earliest rockets used to launch man into space: The sophisticated Atlas missile of 1954.

262.Birnbaum and Birnbaum, op.cit., p.804.

263.Ibid.

264.Ben Kalb and John Gottberg Anderson (Eds.), Insight Guides - Southern California (Third Edition), Singapore: Apa Publications (HK Ltd.), 1989, p.194.

265.Birnbaum and Birnbaum, op.cit., pp.804-810.

266.Ibid., p.805; Galarza et al., op.cit., esp. pp.2-8. According to Galarza et al., the mechanical cotton picker was introduced in the fields of California in the 1940's; machinery displaced cannery crews, mostly composed of Mexican-Americans, starting as early as 1950's; and the mechanical tomato picker was already in commercial use in 1965. (See their work in Ref. 44, pp.3-4.)

267.Larry R. Ford, "A Metatheory of Urban Structure", (in) Our Changing Cities (Ed.: John Fraser Hart), Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, (pp.12-30)pp.26-27.

268.Cited in: Lawrence E. Harrison, "America and Its Immigrants", The National Interest, Summer 1992, (pp.37-46)p.43.

269.Octavio Paz, Yalnızlık Dolambacı ("El Laberinto de la Soledad") (2nd Edi.) (Trans.: Bozkurt Güvenç), Ankara: Bayraktar Yayınları, No:1, May 1982 (Ori.:1950). See esp. the "preface" by the translator (between pp.7- 15) who admiringly translates the solitude of the Mexican people while he compares the situation of the Mexicans having been conquered by the Spaniards (the end-result of which is **"La Chingada",** i.e. the Aztec mother being raped by the conquering Spaniards; the Mexicans do shout to each other in the stadiums, for instance, as follows: "Viva México, hijos de la Chingada!") with the situation of the **Turks** who **have been** actually **conquered while** they were seemingly **conquering** other civilizations.. ("The Turks have Turkified Anatolia; however, they have become Anatoliafied, as well." See: İskender Ohri, Anadolu'nun Öyküsü ("The Story of Anatolia") (4th Edi.), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları No:48, March 1987 (Ori.:1978), p.101; Sabahattin Eyüboğlu in his Mavi ve Kara - Denemeler ("Blue and Black - Essays") also advocates such a view and says that "we are the ones who melt and become melted at the same time (in Anatolia); and that therefore the Turks should not regard themselves "away from home" ("gurbette")(due to being away from Central Asia! (Cited in: Avcıoğlu, Türklerin Tarihi(..) op.cit., p.35.)) However, it is a real pitty that the same author/translator did not deepen his analysis of the closeness of both nations in a more thoroughly way in his latest voluminous work about the "Turkish identity". See: Bozkurt Güvenç, Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları ("The Turkish Identity: The Sources of The Cultural History"), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını, No:1549/2, 1993, esp. pp.327-328; see for an interview with the author about his book: Anon., "Bıyık Bizim Kanımıza İşlemiş" ("The Mustache is Our Beloved Sign", Hürriyet, November 07, 1993, p.23.) Another author (who is also an ex-minister of culture in Turkey) states the resemblance situation between the Mexican-, and Turkish people as follows: "The Mexicans are one of the most resembling nations to us.. A society with radically different language, religion, and history, but close to us in terms of its cultural life, oligarchy and its poors, its enthusiasms and suspicions." See: Talat Halman, "Meksika'da Sema" ("The Sky in Mexico"), Milliyet, November 16, 1993, p.16. If one tries to make the points counted by Halman in the article above, more clear, then, maybe, the elaboration of Oscar Lewis with regard to his "**culture of poverty**" thesis will be of great help. He claimed that the culture of poverty can be studied from various points of view, i.e. a)the relationship between the subculture and the larger society (the lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society); b)the nature of the slum community (on the local community level, one finds poor housing conditions, crowding, gregariousness, but above all, a minimum of organization beyond the level of the nuclear and extended family ("(m)ost primitive peoples have achieved a higher level of socio-cultural organization than our modern urban slum dwellers"); c)the nature of the family (the absence of childhood, early initiation into sex, a relatively high incidence of the abandonment of wives and children, a trend toward female- or mother- centered families, a strong predisposition to authoritarianism, lack of privacy, etc.); and d)the attitudes, values, and character structure of the individual (the major characteristics are a strong **feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence, and of**

inferiority). Lewis also concluded that an additional disadvantage of **racial discrimination** (as it is the case with the "Negroes in the United States") contains a great potential for revolutionary protest and organization "which seems to be absent in the slums of Mexico City or among the poor whites in the South (of the U.S.)".. See: Oscar Lewis, Anthropological Essays (..)op.cit., pp.70-73. (See also: Oscar Lewis, İşte Hayat: Yokluk Kültürü İçindeki Bir Porto Riko'lu Aile Üzerine İnceleme - San Juan ve New York ("La Vida: A Puerta Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty -San Juan and New York"), İstanbul: E Yayınları, No:44, (n.d.) (Ori.1966), pp.IL-LXIV.) A last but not least source for displaying the mentioned resemblance between the Mexicans and the Turks is Zeynep Oral's travel notes in her book: Katmandu'dan Meksika'ya(..)op.cit., pp.223-274. (She clearly puts the situation by saying: "I feel a resemblance in the air since having put my step on that soil!" (p.228) The author of this Thesis has had the same feeling while he was in Mexico, too! (See footnote (11) above.))

CHAPTER 4

THE LOWER EAST SIDE: THE (NEW) WORLD'S SLUM-GHETTO

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the United States of America has been the history of never-ending migrations originating from nearly all parts of the world. And so has been the history of New York. Although there has been no complete cessation of immigration since colonization, the migration movements into the United States is presented by historians in terms of discrete "waves" characterizable by way of magnitude, conditions, sources, and contributions of particular immigrants themselves (1).

According to these classifications made, one can differentiate between the "first wave era" (XVIIth, XVIIIth centuries); the "post-Revolution era" (1776-1840); the "era of Great Migrations" (1840-1920) which is considered to be consisting of two parts, namely: i) the "Old Immigrants' era" (between 1840-1880); and ii)the "Southern and Eastern Europe Immigrants' - and the Internal (Black) Immigrants' era" (1880-1920); the "Quota Law of 1921" and the "Immigration Act of 1924" (between 1920 - World War II); and the "era of New Immigration" (after World War II) (2). Each wave of

immigration brought with itself different people of differing social and geographical origins, but with an ever - and forever existing goal on the side of (volunteer) immigrants, i.e. to make oneself's(family's) living. In order to make the living, one has to live somewhere. This "somewhere" in the context of migration movements to the United States has, in most cases, been the famed New York City.or, at some instances, it has given (transit) visa, so to say, to the immigrants on their way to their lot in the States. It has sheltered them magnificently, and/or has left them just substandardly - housed or even unsheltered, unhoused, homeless.

In this paper, I'll try to handle this sheltering process of migrantoin New York City (after elaborating the megapolis a little bit) in one of its very famous housing areas, the Lower East Side (of Manhattan). Why Lower East Side? Because it is one of the most historical, the most interesting and the most teaching slum housing and/or ghetto areas of New York City, of the United States, and at the same time, of the world.

4.2 NEW YORK CITY: THE GLOBAL CITY

New York City is located in the middle of the urban region comprising (according to the United States Census of 1980) New York - Newark - New Jersey City Standard Consolidated Statistical Area which embraces eighteen counties in the States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, with an area of 12,551 square kilometers (4,846 square miles) and a 1980 population of 16,120,023. (See Map.) The city has an area of 777 square kilometers and a 1980 population of 7,071,639. In 1989, the

population of New York City has been estimated to number about 7,3 million, a figure somewhat below that at the end of the II.WW.(3).

Mollenkopf argues that New York City's economy and society have undergone rather a "profound and often painful" transformation since the mid-1950s. According to him, at the end of the WW II, New York was clearly a "white, ethnic, blue collar, industrial city" despite the size of its office sector, whereas today, high level business service activities drive the city's economy and its industrial base suffers from decline. Apart from this, within the declining sectors, minority groups, particularly Hispanics, have rapidly succeeded whites; and, at the end of the process, a whole new minority service working class has developed. This configuration taking place in New York City is a premier example of the postindustrial transformation that has reorganized U.S. cities since the WW II.(4)

The reorganization of U.S. cities created by the mentioned postindustrial transformation can be explained more specifically withCastells' words (in a quite long passage) as follows:

> "1.The process of the new "interregional division of labor" defines the relative weight of each process in a given metropolitan area. 2.Most central business districts (CBDs) in the giant cities increasingly concentrate directional activities and continue to engage in a process of economic growth, political dominance, and cultural centrality.Around this dynamism, gentrified neighborhoods preserve the space of the new urban elite. 3.Around the CBD's large areas of central cities continue their decline and become more and more "urban reservations" for destitute workers and minorities, increasingly accounted for by female-headed families. 4.Yet, some physically declining areas in the central cities, as well as some inner suburbs, are revitalized economically and socially by the new immigrant city connected to the growth pole of the metropolitan economy, yet suffering from exploitation and discrimination.5.Beyond city borders, suburbs continue to spread in a pattern of living and working increasingly individualized and

> diversified. 6.Suburban sprawl is also becoming territorial sprawl, with diffusion of activities and residence across rural and semirural areas, sometimes in autonomous settlements, but often in some form of functional relationship with a nearby giant city."(5)

Thus, a "dual" process is witnessed: On the one hand, a process of shrinkage in some (sub)population groups (like whites) (and in total population figure, as well) and a process of growth in some other (sub)population cohorts, which are mostly new immigrants to the City. This dual phenomenon has other features and characteristics in terms of income, housing opportunities, ghettoization trends on the city surface, as a whole, and so on. One may cite some figures relating to this reorganizing dual process New York in 1980 was 26 percent less white, 11 percent more black, and 1.6 percent more Puerto Rican that ten years before (i.e. 1970). It was a much more Caribbean, Hispanic and Asian city. Besides these facts, it was also poorer, as lower income black and Hispanic households replaced better off white households. The number of "officially poor" people rose by 19.5 percent; female-headed households increased by 30.9 percent. Income inequality rose with the growing relatively poor minority population. "New York again became a city of immigrants, this time nonwhite" (as contrary to the 19th century).(6) Therefore, one scholar has srgued that New York City has led the First World's penetration of the Third World, and in turn, the Third World has penetrated New York City.(7) New York City has been "informalized" by the economic "growth", itself; the overall result of these processes being "increased income polarization" assuming distinct

forms in its spatial organization, in the structures for social reproduction and in the organization of the labor processes.(8)

Some other scholars speculate with the terms of "dual city" and/or "two cities" and state that the facts with regard to New York City, as being (still, despite the economic slowdown since the stock market crash of October 1987) "a capital for capital", resplendent with luxury consumption and high society, at the same time, however, symbolizing "urban decay, the scourges of crack, AIDS, and homelessness, and the rise of a new underclass", give way to the usage of such phrases. They further argue that "Wall Street may make New York one of the nerve centers of the global capitalist system, but this dominant position has a dark side in the ghettos and barrios where a growing population of poor people lives."(9) Although there are some counter-arguments to the usage of the "dual city" metaphor hindering to define the structural differences existing among groups(10), the metaphor might direct the attention to the new inequalities that define the postindustrial city.(11)

As Hall puts it in a clear manner, Manhattan Island's 24 square kilometers (9 square miles) south of 61st Street - an area equivalent in size to Kennedy International Airport - which had on an average 1976 weekday an estimated working population of 1,845,000, is a concentration place (and actually the second greatest in the world, since it was overtaken by Tokyo in the early 1970s) which can be explained only with the extraordinary economic advantages to be derived from being located at the "center". Decision-making business and professional elite, most of whom are in the

national (as well as international) headquarters offices that make up over 45 percent of total CBD office employment, are preferring to come into contact with other professionals rather on a face- to-face basis. However, immediately outside the congested core lies "another New York". Of the roughly 7 million population in the City in 1980, 1,427,533 lived in Manhattan; another 2,230,936 are in Brooklyn across the East River; a further 1,169,115 are north of Manhattan in the Bronx. In northern Manhattan, in the adjacent south Bronx and parts of inner Brooklyn are concentrated "some of the most intractable problems facing New York - or any other American city." The bulk of the non-white population of New York City (which is 39 percent of the City's population) and of the Spanish-origin (mainly Puerto Rican) population (which is 20 percent of the total) concentrate in Harlem at the northern tip of Manhattan, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn and in the South Bronx. By 1980 the Bronx, with a fixed rate of 52.6 percent of its population non-white, led for the first time both Brooklyn (44.0%) and Manhattan (41.1%).(12)

The aggregate demographical, mobility and migrational trends have taken on "a specific geography" within the city. Traditional centers of black population in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant have spread out, leading to racial transition in surrounding neighborhoods such as Washington Heights and East Flatbush. "Middle-class" black families moved into Queens. The old ghetto centers (created at the end of the migration movements of the 19th century) were depopulated and in not-so-less instances subjected to severe housing abandonment and destruction. Puerto

Ricans have diffused out of the traditional Hispanic cores of the South Bronx, East Harlem, and the Lower East Side. Hispanic immigrants have settled in distinct places. Dominicans predominate in Washington Heights (overlapping with Puerto Ricans). Higher income migrant groups like Colombians, Peruvians, and Ecuadorians concentrated in Jackson Heights, Queens. Jamaicans and other West Indians and Haitians can be found along Nostrand Avenue in central Brooklyn. Greeks, Indians, Chinese, and other nonblack and Hispanic immigrants have also settled in Astoria and Flushing. Soviet Jews are concentrated in Brighton Beach and also in Canarsie.(13)

One scholar has argued that the immigrants have: actually "revitalized" some neighborhoods in the greater City

> "In any number of derelict places once given up for lost, from the Bronx toBrooklyn, and across the Hudson in the worn-out industrial cities of New Jersey, vital signs have reappeared along with the immigrants.(..) What is as crucial to New York's future is reblooming commerce on the Bronx's Third Avenue, Bensonhurst's 86th Street, and Sunset Park's Fifth Avenue.(..) The crowds are preponderantly immigrants giving patronage to immigrant storekeepers.(..) Throughout the metropolitan area, especially in its declasse sections, the revitalizers have tended to be New Immigrants. It was they, not yuppies, who first chanced Flushing and Ridgewood, Brighton Beach and Greenpoint. (..) The City's small-home neighborhoods have a special attraction for many immigrants. The Asian home ownership rate is now equal to that of whites and bids fair to exceed it. West Indians and Haitians also exhibit (..) high property ownership rates, higher than for native-born blacks and Hispanics. For immigrants the home ownership goal is achievable mainly in lower-end markets, often by dint of crowding; friends and relatives pool their money to buy a house and to share it with co-ethnics."(14)

It is more or less clear from the above-stated facts and figures that the "revitalization processes" mentioned and carried out mostly by Third

World immigrants will be of utmost importance for the future in great metropolitan world-cities of the capitalist core countries. Now, we'll handle another revitalization process witnessed in New York City, i.e. the process of "rehabilitation" which directly and indirectly effects the lives of the urban poors (who do live in segregation from the well-to-do of the City) and of the (Third World) immigrants (who are said to be revitalizing city neighborhoods) rather in a very negative manner.

4.3 REHABILITATION, RENEWAL, REMOVAL(!) AND GENTRIFICATION IN THE SEGREGATED GLOBAL CITY (OF NEW YORK)

Osofsky in his excellent book about Harlem states that allthroughout the 19th century most blacks in New York City lived in the poorest working-class sections of the City and that black neighborhoods were traditionally located in the less attractive residential areas on the outskirts of Manhattan Island, or along the east and west sides near the waterfronts, i.e. "the sections doomed to become slums by the unimaginative grid pattern of urban planning instituted in 1811." And he adds further that "Negroes lived apart in generally rundown quarters because of their poverty and were further separated from other working- class families in these neighborhoods on the basis of color." The black migration from the South which has increased substantially during 1890- 1914 period has "created" Harlem as a "Negro community".(15) But there was rather a "necessity" for Harlems to be created because:

"Most American whites refuse to live in the same neighborhood with Negroes. Many whites, when Negroes attempt to enter a new neighborhood, either start legal action, resort to mob violence, or move away.(..) In the first place, the housing accommodations which the Negro roomer or renter is compelled to accept are, of necessity, poor. The buildings which he occupies are in the oldest part of the town; therefore, they are usually unprovided with modern sanitary and other conveniences. Then the extreme overcrowding of Negro neighborhoods renders the housing situation doubly difficult.(..) All Negroes do not live in such squalor.(..) All Negroes do not live in such squalor.(..) But the masses of Negro workers take the broken victuals of American housing facilities."(16)

Another writer comments as follows:

"(..)Throughout the industrial centers of the North the majority of Negro homes are located in sections where transportation facilities are inadequate, or in areas where the expansion of business houses, railroads and factories has rendered the district undesirable for residential purposes, or in else in old sections where the paving, lighting, street cleaning and sanitary regulations are neglected.(..)(17)

Again, Johnson argues that(18):

"There are few cities without Negro sections, and few of these sections that there are not located within a stone's throw of the city's business district. (..).(..) a consistent tendency is marked(..) it develops that in each case the Negro residence area is located on approximately the first residence sites of the city. As the city grows and the encroachments of business render the original areas less desirable for residence, the first owners move farther out, to newer developments. They are followed in turn, in the old dwellings, by successively lower income classes, as owners or renters. The buildings become older and more difficult to keep in repair; boarding houses and lodging places appear.(..) Low-income foreign groups move in. If their economic level is not improved sufficiently to allow individuals to move out, it becomes "Little Italy"(..).(..) These are the areas, generally, that become the Negro centers."

Here we 'll turn to the issue of (housing) segregation as it was lived in 1913 and see the closeness of the situation to the existing conditions in the 1990s. Haynes states that (19):

"Migration to the city is followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city.(..) Naturally, Negroes desire to be together.(..) But as Negroes develop in intelligence, in their standard of living and economic power, they desire better houses, better public facilities(..).(..) But a prejudiced opposition from his (..) white neighbors confronts the Negro (..). In northern cities where larger liberty in some avenues obtains, the home life, the church life and much of the business and community life of Negroes are carried on separately and apart from the common life of the whole people. In southern communities, with separate street-car laws, separate places of amusement and recreation, separate hospitals and separate cemeteries, there is sharp cleavage between whites and Negroes, living and dead.(..) In the midst of this migration and segregation, the Negro is trying to make a three-fold adjustment (..) First(..) (..) to live in town. (..)(..) to that of free contract, from servitude to citizenship.(..)(..) to the white population in the cities (..) either indifferent or prejudiced or both."

As it is well known, the segregation practices in and out of the cities are still exercised in a flagrant manner. Although the adoption of national fair housing policies do go back as early as 1968, the results have not been very promising. A study made nearly a decade ago using the standard measure of segregation, i.e. the "index of dissimilarity" (20) which ranges from zero (no segregation) to 100 (maximum segregation), found that most of the cities of Michigan had changed little in the 1970s; and the first nationwide in-depth study of racial patterns in housing(21) showed that the average index of dissimilarity in 28 cities with at least 100,000 blacks has declined from 87 in 1970 to 81 in 1980, i.e. about six points only.(22)

Most people aggree that housing is or should be a merit good. In the United States, since 1949, the national goal has been "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family". Schussheim states that there is no official definition with regard to "a decent home", but

that housing analysts might agree on such attributes as a sound roof and walls, a functioning bathroom and kitchen for the exclusive use of a household, a central heating system (and air conditioning in some climates), and no more than one person per room.(23) According to official housing surveys made, the total U.S. housing stock which was displaying a total substandardness percentage rate of 48.6 in 1940, has improved its condition in the following four decades rather substantially (to well below 10 percent with those units almost exclusively occupied by poor people.) (24)

Apgar, however, argues that although overall housing conditions have improved for all Americans since WW II, the improvement has stalled in recent years. He goes further stating that inadequate housing persists and moreover, in many areas the decline in adequate units has been offset by a worsening of neighborhood conditions. He also claims that since 1974, the rapid inflation in housing costs, combined with the inability of renter income to keep pace with inflation and the decline of many basic urban services, has exacerbated the problems of affordability and inadequate housing for many low-income renters. According to him, by 1981, 1,6 million renters with incomes less than US$5,000 lived in structurally inadequate housing and 6,4 million paid more than 35 percent of their income as rent.(25)

The problem is very clear: The poor's housing; "the other half"'s housing.. They are "creating the "slums"; they are living in slums; they are suffering under these living conditions more than anyone else. However, the government tries to take some "very effective" measures in order to alleviate their settlement problems: The first major venture in rehousing the poor was

the federal public housing program. The (United States) "Housing Act of 1937" authorized federal contributions to local authorities which were empowered to acquire sites, build dwellings as low- rent housing for poor people. Public housing construction was tied to slum clearance. An "unsafe and unsanitary dwelling unit" was to be demolished and the displaced inhabitants were to be relocated in low-rent housing (either on site or elsewhere within the jurisdiction of the local housing authority). An expectation with regard to the public housing program was that multiunit projects under public management could provide better dwellings and a supportive neighborhood environment, as well. Until the 1960s, and as long as local public housing authority could select its tenants rather not constrained by the tenants' income (a regulation introduced in 1969 with the "Brooke Amendment" which limited public housing rents to no more than 25 percent of the tenant's income). "Naturally" says Lowry, "project populations became increasingly composed of the very poor" and "(a)long with increasing poverty and dependency on welfare have come increasing social problems in big-city projects" (such as vandalism, theft, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, parental irresponsibility, etc.)(26)

The second major effort spent by the federal government to help cities in their struggling with slums and urban blight was the "urban redevelopment program", authorized by Title I of the "Housing Act of 1949". Title I has introduced for local authorities' use financial aid to acquire blighted urban land, clear, and resell it to private developers. (27) New York City's urban renewal projects had actually started earlier than this (1949) law

and right after the war. Two early postwar projects, Stuyvesant Town and the United Nations, were mounted without federal involvement and set the pattern followed in the future. In the former project, under the leadership of legendary Robert Moses, the city condemned 18 blocks of tenements sheltering 12,000 people, then resold the buildings and land to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company which was given complete control of planning and tenant selection. In the other project, Moses worked with the Rockefeller Family and developer Zeckendorf to attract the UN to the old East Side slaughterhouse district. These "public-private partnership" actions have laid the groundwork for the development of a center of commercial and upper-income residential units, in the east midtown of New York City. Moses had also lobbied vigorously for the federal urban renewal program and worked with Senator Taft in formulating the 1949 act.(28)

Lowry summarizes the obtained results of the program as follows(29):

> "No one seems to know exactly how much hpusing was demolished in the process. HUD's estimate through mid-1971 was 600,000 dwellings. As the end of 1974, HUD reported plans for 411,000 new dwellings on these sites, 302,000 of which had been completed. These plans included 59,000 units of low-rent public housing of which 47,000 had been completed. The remainder ranged from middle-income housing assisted by federal interest subsidies to luxury apartments that were unsubsidized except for the land writedown. Thus there were a substantial net reduction in residential use within redevelopment sites and an overwhelming shift from housing for the poor to housing for the prosperous."

Anderson, finding fault with "the public provision of housing" within the whole process and supporting instead the private market production of

housing, claims that by March 1963 about 609,000 persons had been forced to move and that the program should be stopped immediately. (30)

Hartman, after very severely criticizing the urban renewal scheme, states that "relocation in this country has not truly been a rehousing effort (in the British sense of the word)."(31) And Abrams evaluates the program more optimistically by saying that "the Section 221(d)(3) formula, with its 100 percent loan at below-market rates (3 1/8 - 3 7/8 percent), is another device spawnde out of the renewal program and one of the most promising in its prospects." He adds further: "By 1965, of 27,000 acres bought by cities since 1949, 10,439 had been resold; of the remainder, 7,400 acres were still uncleared, another 3,308 were cleared but lacked a sponsor. About 5,879 cleared acres were close to sale.(..) The renewal law confronted the cities with a task for which tey were unprepared." But he goes further by saying that "the answer to a city's blight is not its destruction (without providing alternative shelter), but the removal of the causes and the improvement of the city so that it will become part of the better society."(32)

In 1954, the Congress has amended Title I of the "Housing Act of 1949", changing "urban development" to "urban renewal". According to Lowry, the act's sponsors thereby recognized that "neighborhood decay was a continuing social process rather than an inherited physical condition." (Stress is mine, Ö.B.) They hoped that means could be found to prevent decay or remedy it in its early stages, thus avoiding the trauma and expense of the utimate remedy - evacuation, clearance, and redevelopment." (33) Quite to the contrary of the expectations, however, and although "by most

physical criteria - notably, quantity and quality of living space - Americans are among the best-housed people in the world", many urban neighborhoods continue to deteriorate. As Hartman et.al say (34):

> "Despite well-publicized instances of gentrification in San Francisco, New York, Washington, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and many other cities, there are massive levels of dissatisfaction with municipal services, community facilities, and generally livability qualities in many, if not most, urban neighborhoods. Nearly one-third of all renters and one-seventh of all homeowners (..) gave "poor" or "fair" as their overall opinion of their neighborhood in the 1980 Annual Housing Survey."

The continuing decay of especially some poor (slum) neighborhoods is also giving way to urban renewal undertakings and/or "gentrification" schemes and attempts. Smith argues that economic expansion takes place today not through absolute geographical expansion but through the internal differentiation of geographical space. According to him, today's production of space or geographical development is therefore a sharply uneven process; gentrification, urban renewal and other larger processes of urban restructuring are all part of the differentiation of geographical space at the urban scale; although they were rooted in the period of economic expansion prior to the current world economic crisis, the function of these processes is to lay one small part of the geographical basis for a future period of expansion. The mythology is that "gentrification is a process led by individual pioneers and homesteaders whose sweat equity, daring and vision are paving the way for those among us who are more timid." However, it is apparent that where "urban pioneers" venture, other

economic actors like banks, real-estate companies and the state have generally gone before.(35)

The official stand taken with regard to gentrification issue is as follows (as implied in a U.S. governmental publication of 1977):

a) Abandonment is painful but inevitable. Public policy cannot reverse it; at best it can conifine it to certain neighborhoods. Therefore a policy of "planned shrinkage", of "triage" (i.e. cutting back on the side of the city government on services drastically in order to encourage the emptying of the area to be redeveloped for other uses) is necessary, abandoning certain neighborhoods completely in order to save others;

b) Gentrification improves the quality of housing, contributes to the tax base, and revitalizes important sections of the city. The displacement it causes (if any) is trivial. Therefore a policy of encouraging gentrification, through tax benefits, zone changes, or whatever other means are available, should be pursued

c) Gentrification is in fact the only realistic cure for abandonment. Especially in a time of fiscal stress, the public sector cannot hope to counter abandonment. Only full use of private-sector resources can do so. Thus the gentrification of abandoned neighborhoods is particularly desirable.(36)

However, as put in an admirable manner by Marcuse, the realities can (and also must) be seen from just the opposite angle. According to Marcuse:

a) There is very substantial abandonment in New York City, displacing (directly, indirectly, or through chain effects) between 77,500 and

150,000 persons a year. It takes place primarily in a secondary ring between the primary ring of increasingly upper-income housing around the CBD and the outlying suburban-type housing ring at the City's outskirts;

b) There is very substantial gentrification in New York City, displacing between 25,000 and 100,000 persons a year;

c) Gentrification and abandonment are intimately related and mutually reinforcing; each directly contributes to displacement. (Gentrification aggravates abandonment by siphoning off people and resources, public and private, and by inflationary pressures in the remaining intermediate areas where higher prices and declining incomes in turn produce abandonment);

d) Gentrification and abandonment have a strong spatial relationship to each other. Generally, they take place in different parts of the city: In areas of major abandonment, there will not be gentrification, and vice versa.(37)

The displacement of people which happens to such an extent at the national scale that (according to a 1981 report to the U.S. Congress) each year nearly 2,5 million persons are forced to leave their homes for varying reasons such as gentrification, undermaintenance, eviction, arson, rent increases, mortgage foreclosures, property tax delinquency, speculation in land and buildings, conversions, and demolition. If one also takes into account the evergrowing problem of "homelessness" among young people and the elderly, whites and blacks, native citizens and minorities, families and individuals, a problem which stems from different reasons like housing

"unavailability", shortages and high costs of rental housing, the elimination of centrally located rooming houses and low- priced hotels from downtown redevelopment areas, the deinstitutionalization of persons with mental disabilities, inadequate provison for publicly subsidized housing, and racial discrimination acts(38), the dimensions of the sheltering problems in the U.S. become more clearer. New York City is actually the historical laboratory of the U.S. also in the field of housing.

4.4 MAGNITUDINAL MIGRATIONS AND NEW YORK CITY

New York City is as old as 366 years. It was a placesettled by Indians before it accepted thirty families from Holland asits first White settlers who were excited upon hearing the story of this New Netherland, or "Nieu Nederlandt", as the captain of the ship "Tiger", which was burned in 1613 close to the Manhattan shoreline, captain Block has called it, to go and live there in 1624. It took them two months to cross the ocean, and once they had, they spread out through the lands. Eight of the families settled the land along the East River; eighteen families sailed up the Hudson; and the rest of the families made their way along the Delaware and Connecticutrivers (39). So started the story of "New Amsterdam", i.e. New York.

The settlement of New Amsterdam began in the lower end ofManhattan Island. In 1626 when another ship returned to Holland, it reported that the people lived there in peace, traded furs and skins,grew their own crops, and that they had bought the island "Manhattes" from the Indians for sixty guilders. The place where the city started is nowadays the

heart of the Downtown area of New York, including the Battery, the financial district, Greenwich Village, the East Village, and the whole Lower East Side, which stretches across Manhattan Island from just a little below the Brooklyn Bridge to Fourteenth Street, and from the East River to Broadway, and which is divided into still smaller neighborhoods of its own like Chinatown, Little Italy, and so on. The Downtown area had a population of only fewer than 300 people in 1630 and only 1000 in 1655 (40).

During its first era of slow, then rapid growth as atrading center (from 1624 to the 1820's), New York City had Dutch. French and English settlers, and African slaves as its first inhabitants. From the 1820s until 1898, when the City with its present five boroughs, i.e. Manhattan, Bronx Brooklyn, Queens and States Island, was formed as Greater New York, the city reigned asthe United States' major port. The Irish and Germans from Northern and Western Europe, the so-called "Old Immigrants", accounted for most of the newcomers of the first part of the era of Great Migrations.

The federal government did not collect data on immigrationuntil after 1819. The first reports indicated that only a few thousand entered the United States yearly during the 1820s when New York City had become the nation's largest urban center, overtaking Philadelphia. Among the post-Revolution newcomers were exiles from the French Revolution and the Irish who fled due to the British attack on the United Irishmen movement around 1800. Of the city's 166,000 residents in 1820, only 18,000 were unnaturalized foreigners, and perhaps an equal number were foreign-born

citizens (41). Around 1835, the people of New York were listed as including(42):

> "free negroes, or as they are called, people of color...Germans and Dutch... Irish... French, Danes, Swiss, Welsh, English, Scotch, Italians, Turks, Chinese, Swedes, Russians, Norwegians, Poles, Hungarians, Spaniards, sicilians, Africans, and in short, a few of all the nations upon the earth."

So, the ground for international meeting was prepared.

Between 1830 and the 1880s, New York City became the chief port of entry for immigrants. Although Philadelphia, and to a lesser extent Boston, had succeeded in competition for immigrants in the colonial era, by the mid-19th century between two-thirds to three-quarters entered through New York City. The door to the United States in New York was Castle Garden at the tip of Manhattan before the opening of Ellis Island in the 1890s. Some of the immigrants remained a few days in the City and moved west by canal or rail to look for employment in other cities and/or on farms. And many settled permanently in New York. From a population of about 200,000 in 1830, Manhattan claimed over 800,000 at the time of the Civil War (1861-1865). Nearly one-half of Manhattan's 813.000 people in 1860 were foreign-born, as compared to less than one-quarter in 1820. The Old Immigrants included English, Scots and Welsh from the British Isles, scattered groups of Norwegians, Swedes, Belgians, Danes and some others. But the majority were either Irish and/or German (43).

"New York used to be an Irish city. Or so it seemed. There were sixty or seventy when the Irish were everywhere. They felt it was their town. It is no longer, and they know it", wrote Moynihan in 1963.(44) From 1845,

when the potato crop, which was the main diet in Ireland, rotted (followed by five desperate years of the Great Famine), to 1854, about 1,5 million Irish migrated to the United States. According to the statistics provided by Bennett was the entry of Irish Catholics into American society in figures as follows (45):

Year	
1621	First recorded Irish settlement in Virginia
1660	10,000 Irish scattered among the thirteen colonies
1660's-1770's	150,000 Irish immigrants
1820	3614 Irish recorded
1821-1830	50,724 recorded
1831-1840	207,381 recorded
1841-1850	780,719 recorded
1851-1860	914,119 recorded
1861-1870	435,778 recorded
1871-1880	436,871 recorded

An annual total of 50,000 Irish found their way to the States between 1870-1920. Nex to the Irish in numbers were the Germans who were pushed to migrate due to land division, overpopulation, crop failures, the failure of the 1848 Revolutions, and religious persecution. Among them were some 250,000 Jews, of whom 80,000 settled in New York City by the turn of the century. (46)

By 1890, immigration to the United States had lost the characteristics of a "colonizing movement from the metropolis" and acquired those of a "labor movement from peripheral countries to a new industrial center". Whereas the three preceding decades had brought close to 10 million people, from 1881 to 1890 alone, more than 5 million immigrants

arrived. There was a marked shift toward new sources of immigration at the European periphery. The rural populations of Italy, Greece, Poland, the eastern parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and Russia became the origins of immigrant labor. From 1901 to 1910, close to 9 million new immigrants arrived; two-thirds of them came from East Central and Southern Europe. Immigration surpassed the 1 million mark for the first time in 1904 (47). According to the estimates made by Bennett, the total figure of arriving immigrants was 10,189,429 between 1820-1880; and 23,465,374 during 1880-1920 period (48).

In 1790, African slaves made up 19 percent of the state's population. They were permitted only the smallest degree of assimilation and were unable to leave the country to which they were forced to come. The gradual abolition of slavery in New York began in 1799 and was finally completed in 1827. However, in the 19th century, few Blacks had migrated to New York, and the Black proportion of the City's population had fallen. By 1900, there were only 60,666 Blacks out of almost 3,5 million people, i.e. less than two percent. Most of them were living in Manhattan (49). In the late 19th century, due to deteriorating conditions following the end of Reconstruction, a growing number of Southern Blacks migrated North in search of a better life. After the European immigration was sharply curtailed during World War I and under effects of the immigration restriction acts before and after the 1920s (like "the Immigration Act of 1917"), the movement of Black southerners increased rapidly. By 1930, over 300,000 Blacks were living in New York City (50).

According to Takaki (51), among the thousands of pioneers flocking to California during the gold rush were 325 forty-niner's "from a different shore" - China. A year later, 450 more Chinese arrived there. Then, they came in greatly increasing numbers - 2,716 in 1851 and 20,026 in 1852. By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States. Most of them (77 percent) were in California, but they were also elsewhere. 2,559 Chinese had located, for instance, in New York City in 1890 (in present-day Chinatown).

The Afro-Americans and Europeans and their descendants had made up the vast majority of New York's population on the eve of World War II. However, at that time, there were also immigrants from the Third World Countries, to be met, as well. In 1940, about 60,000, or one-sixty, of New York's Black population were foreign born, mostly West Indians from English-speaking, French-speaking or Spanish- speaking colonies in the Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Martinique, Dominica, Virgin Islands, Bermuda, and so on) (52). The largest number of Spanish speaking people in New York City, before 1940, were Puerto Ricans. By virtue of becoming American citizens after the U.S. conquest of Puerto Rico, they had free immigration to the United States. By the time of the "Great Depression", their total figure was around 45,000 (53). Their number had risen to 70,000 in 1940, to 187,000 in 1950, and to 720,000 in 1967 (54).

There have been two streams dominating the post-World War II immigration to New York. The largest in quantitative terms has been the Caribbean migration. Next to the Puerto Ricans, who make up about sixty

percent of the city's nearly one and a half million Hispanics in the 1980s, the Dominicans from the Caribbean and Colombians from South America are counted among the recent Hispanics. In addition to them, many English-speaking and Haitian Creole-speaking peoples have migrated to the city. The second stream of recent immigrants has been from Asia. Chinese make up the largest number of new Asians, but there have been also migration movements on the side of Asian Indians, Koreans, Filipinos and even Indochinese refugees since the "Immigration Act of 1965" (55). Nowadays, Asian Americans belong to the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States. In percentage share, they are increasing more rapidly than Hispanics (143 percent as compared to 38 percent, respectively, between 1970-1980). In 1960, there were only 877,934 Asians in the United States, i.e. a mere half of one percent of the total population. In 1985, they numbered over five million, or 2.1 percent of the total. They included 1,079,000 Chinese, 1,052,000 Filipinos, 766,000 Japanese, 634,000 Vietnamese, 542,000 Koreans, 526,000 Asian Indians, 70,000 Laotians, 10,000 Mrien, 60,000 Hmong, 161,000 Cambodians, and 169,000 other Asians. By the year 2000, Asian Americans are projected to make up 4 percent of the total U.S. population.(56)

Whether New York City is going to be "Caribbeanized" by the year 2000 (57) or "Asianized", cannot be predicted now. But one can see what this continuing immigration process implies for New York: Its denizens being foreign born to an extent of one in four in the 1980 census, it must

once again turn its face to the Lower East Side, in order to make room for the newcomers, as it happened allthroughout its history.

4.5 LOWER EAST SIDE - A MAGNIFICENT (SLUM) (GHETTO) AREA IN NEW YORK CITY

The Lower East Side has been the enduring place of in-, and out-migrations. It is may be for not another area in New York City true but the from its birth... It was the "rear house", infamous ever after in our city's history. There had been tenant-houses before, but they were not built for the purpose. Nothing would probably have shocked their original owners more than the idea of their harboring a promiscuous crowd; for they were aristocracy of Manhattan in the early days. It was the stir and bustle of trade, together with the tremendous immigration that followed upon the war of 1812, that dislodged them. In thirty-five years the city of less than a hundred thousand came to harbor half a million souls, for whom homes had to be found... comfortable dwellings in the once fashionable streets along the East River front fell into the hands of real-estate agents and boarding-house keepers; and here, says the report to the Legislature of 1857,... in its beginning, the tenement-house became a real blessing to that class of industrious poor whose small earnings limited their earnings, and whose employment in workshops, stores, or about the warehouses and thoroughfares, render a near residence of much importance. Not for long, however. As business increased, and the cit but healthy - housing on the side of private builders and owners, there was a great poverty and illiteracy

on the side of newcoming immigrants; so both aspects gave rise to "slums" and to the disease crime, intemperance, and prostitution. The squalid and congested living conditions of the slums effected the people living theredirectly grew... the necessities of the poor became the opportunity of their... neighbors... Their large rooms were partitioned into several smaller ones, without regard to light or ventilation, the rate of rent being lower in proportion to space or height from the street; and they soon became filled from cellar to garret with a class of tenantry... loose in morals, improvident in habits, degrated, and squalid as beggary itself. It was thus the dark bedroom prolific of untold depravities, came into the world."

Lower East Side, that the actual heart of the city is located there. One can only agree with the claims made by Cavallo (58):

> "Only by looking more closely at one of the city's inner towns' - one that is both large and small enough to be interesting and to explore - can we ever get to see New York from the inside... No section of the city is better suited for this purpose than the Lower East Side...For no neighborhood has kept more of its past alive and its present moving than the "town within a town"..."

Lubove (59) has argued that a serious housing problem had arisen in New York City as early as the 1840s. It originated in the lower wards of Manhattan where immigrants had concentrated in order to be near their sources of employment and their countrymen. To this demand for cheap housing, builders and property owners responded by partitioning the original one-family homes of Native Americans into multi-family tenements and by erecting barrack-like structures several stories high which sprawled over all or most of the lot. The prevalent Laissez-Faire doctrine and the failure of

officials to understand the nature of housing in an industrial and heterogeneous city like New York had resulted in little or no regulation of (housing) standards. The fact that health and welfare were dependent upon providing an adequate supply of safe and sanitary dwellings was not realized.

Besides the lack of will and knowledge to provide cheap -, and the citizens living in other parts of the city, too, though at a much lesser degree.

Riis (60) has summarized the genesis of the "tenement" (which meant "a house occupied by four families and more" in 1869, and "a house occupied by three families and more" in 1888) as follows:

> "The first tenement New York knew bore the mark of Cain from its birth... It was the "rear house", infamous ever after in our city's history. There had been tenant-houses before, but they were not built for the purpose. Nothing would probably have shocked their original owners more than the idea of their harboring a promiscuous crowd; for they were aristocracy of Manhattan in the early days. It was the stir and bustle of trade, together with the tremendous immigration that followed upon the war of 1812, that dislodged them. In thirty-five years the city of less than a hundred thousand came to harbor half a million souls, for whom homes had to be found... comfortable dwellings in the once fashionable streets along the East River front fell into the hands of real-estate agents and boarding-house keepers; and here, says the report to the Legislature of 1857.... in its beginning, the tenement-house became a real blessing to that class of industrious poor whose small earnings limited their earnings, and whose employment in workshops, stores, or about the warehouses and thoroughfares, render a near residence of much importance. Not for long, however. As business increased, and the city grew... the necessities of the poor became the opportunity of their... neighbors... Their large rooms were partitioned into several smaller ones, without regard to light or ventilation, the rate of rent being lower in proportion to space or height from the street; and they soon became filled from cellar to garret with a class of tenantry... loose in morale, improvident in habits, degrated, and

> squalid as beggary itself. It was thus the dark bedroom prolific of untold depravities, came into the world".

Within the city, and also within the Lower East Side, there were places,streets along which some early forms of ethnic concentrations ("ghettos") had developed. According to Hunter (61)one is struck by a most peculiar fact in the poorest quarters of many great American cities and industrial communities: the poor are almost entirely foreign born. Great colonies, foreign in language, customs, habits and institutions, are separated from each other and from the (native) American groups on national or racial lines. "By crossing the Bowery one leaves behind him the great Jewish colony made up of Russians, Poles and Romanians and passes into Italy; to the northeast lies a little Germany; to the southwest a colony of Syrians; to the west lies an Irish community, a settlement of Negroes, and a remnant of the old native American stock; to the south lie a Chinese and Greek colony". Riis was more pessimistic about finding the Americans

> "One may find for the asking an Italian, a German, a French, African, Spanish, Bohemian, Russian, Scandinavian, Jewish, and Chinese colony. Even the Arab... The one thing you shall vainly ask for in the chief of America is a distinctively American community. There is none; certainly not among the tenements." (62)

But he knows the address of the others very well:

> "Down below Chatham Square, in the old Fourth Ward, where the cradle of the tenements stood, we shall find New York's Other Half at home... Leaving the Elevated Railroad where it dives under the Brooklyn Bridge at Franklin Square, scarce a dozen steps will take us where we wish to go... we have turned the corner from prosperity to poverty. We stand upon the domain of the tenement."(63)

Ward (64) pointing out to the very existence of "ghettos" as concentrations of major ethnic groups members in specific parts of the cities, says that these concentrations of low-income people contrast strikingly with the peripheral locations of the poor in pre-industrial cities. He also adds that the residential pattern of the mid-nineteenth century American city was transitional between pre-industrial and modern, a fact which has given rise to Irish and German concentrations in central locations abandoned by more prosperous residents, on one hand, and creating peripheral "shanty-towns" to be displaced only after the Civil War when streetcar systems opened new areas to middle-income development, on the other.

In the early 19th century, New York Negroes generally lived in the Five Points district, on the site of the present City Hall an in the blocks surrounding it. The Sixth Ward (See Map), which encompassed most of the Five Points, was a heavily populated working-class neighborhood. The Negro section within it was called "StaggTown" or "Negro Plantations". This was the first place of major settlement of New York's freed slaves. Descriptions of life in this. Negroes lived in the rickety frame houses of this shanty-town, and in unpaved cellars known as the "Dens of Death". In response to these conditions of poverty and degraded life, the "Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor" (AICP, established in 1843, led and financed by merchants and businessmen towards the aim of organized opposition to New York's rapidly deteriorating housing conditions in the years before the Civil War) had built the "Workingmen's Home" in 1855, which was the first model tenement constructed for the city's poor, for

Negroes at Elizabeth and Mott streets. However, there were also solid institutions of the neighborhood and the "more hopeful side of life" there, such as "The African Society of Mutual Relief", a Negro beneficial organization; a Negro theater; the African Grove on Mercer Street in the 1820's; the African Free School Number 2, founded by the New York Manumission Society on Mulberry near Grand Street in 1820. By the 1830's, the Negro population of Five Points began to decline, and the majority of people moved into Greenwich Village. (A survey in 1860 found Five Points to be an overwhelmingly Irish district.) (65)

Griesinger's book "Land und Leute in Amerika: Skizzen aus dem Amerikanischen Leben" (1863), describes the German ghetto in the Lower East Side as follows:

> "The traveller who passes up Broadway, through Chatham Street, into the Bowery, up Houston Street, and thence right to First Avenue will find himself in a section which has very little in common with the other parts of New York... This is Kleindeutschland ("Little Germany"), or Deutschlaendle, as the Germans call this part of the city... New York has about 120.000 German-born inhabitants. Two-thirds of these live in Kleindeutschland... Naturally the Germans were not forced by the authorities... to settle in this specific area. It just happened. But the location was favorable because of its proximity to the downtown business district where the Germans are employed. Moreover, the Germans like to live together; this permits them to speak their own language and live according to their own customs... Life in Kleindeutschland is almost the same as in the Old Country... There is not a single business which is not run by Germans. Not only the shoemakers, tailors, barbers, physicians, grocers and innkeepers are German, but the pastors and priests, as well."(66)

Feingold is claiming that the Jewish community on the Lower East Side was a "collective expression"; it was more than a mere physical

environment in which Jews from Eastern Europe lived together. "The Jewish ghetto was a "state of mind" and a strategy for survival". He further says that in the 1830s and 1840s, the Lower East Side was an ethnic enclave for German and Polish immigrants who settled in what is today New York's Chinatown. "When the Eastern Jews arrived", as he goes on, "they pushed east into Division, Allen, Christie, and Henry Streets and north to Stanton, Ludlow, Clinton, Attorney, Rivington, Pitt and Houston Streets". After 1865, the ghetto was expanded northward to encompass the older German Jewish settlement north of Houston Street along the numbered streets between Avenue A and B to Fourteenth Street. According to the author, the true hallmark of the ghetto was its congestion. In 1904, 64,000 people were squeezed in about 5,897 tenements. The census of 1890 showed that in the area below the Harlem River, the population density was among the highest in the world; 143,2 people per acre! And in some parts of the Lower East Side, it climbed up to the astronomical rate of 986,4 people per acre! (Only coming second after Bombay in 1895.) (The peak population of the Lower East Side was 542,061 in 1910.) (67)

What were the reasons for such a high congestion apart from the "voracity" of building speculators and property owners? What has given rise to the construction of five, six, seven stories high multi-family tenements instead of the English townhouses that lined the streets in 1700 and 1800, and which were row houses made of brick (and/or brownstone after the 1800s), of three, three and one half, or four stories high? Of course, the magnitudinal migration movements and the inability of the existing housing

stock to absorb the demand for low-income housing. But there were some technical planning aspects, as well.

According to Mumford, the first multi-family tenement building in New York was constructed on Cherry Street in 1835.(68 In 1843, there were living 7.000 recently arrived immigrants in cellars in the city. A description of a typical overcrowded cellar was as follows (69):

> "Typical of overcrowded cellars was a house on Pike Street which contained a cellar ten feet square and seven feet high, with one small window and an old-fashioned inclined cellar-door; here lived two families consisting of ten persons of all ages. Rain water leaked through cracks in the walls and floors and frequently flooded the cellars; refuse filtered down from the upper stories and mingled with the seepage from outdoor privies".

It was this tenement-house slum which became the most famous slum, also attracting attention of social reformers of the era. The "Dillingham Commission", comparing immigrant and native enement conditions in 1910, could not find a single tenement in one area occupied by a native American. Very bad slum conditions were discovered in New York City; there were mainly three forces at work to shape slums in the city: Geographical limitations imposed on the population spread movements throughout the city (confining the development to southern Manhattan Island); the necessity on the side of immigrants to live within walking distance of their work (due to their being poor); and the "Commissioner's Plan of 1811" which divided the city into lots 25 by 100 feet, a subdivision form which set the pattern of tenement construction for the next century. "Upon such narrow lots, it was almost impossible to design multi-family high-rise buildings without sacrificing light and air" (70).

The mentioned 1811 Plan, which would govern the growth of New York from a small city of some 75,000 people to a metropolis of over 800,000 a half-century later, and which also would promote the health of the city by creating wide enough streets for "a free and abundant circulation of air", a measure which had gained public support due to the former series of yellow fever epidemics, which in1803 and 1805 forced massive evacuations of the city, has brought with itself the famous "New York Grid". What gave this grid its most distinctive character was the narrow rectangular blocks created by 155 cross streets, only 200 feet apart (except for fifteen wider streets, each street was to be 60 feet wide). If "nothing in their rectangular order required the notoriously narrow 15 to 25 feet wide lots associated with New York's congested character"; may be it was the "ordered freedom" provided by the Plan which created an "aggressive" city (71).

The earliest type of tenement, other than converted from a single family unit, was the "railroad" type, in which 75 percent of the rooms were unlighted and unventilated, except the doors opening onto rooms in the front or back of the building, which did not contain windows. This type became very prevalent shortly after the mid-19th century period.(72) The total number of tenements (three or more families) in Manhattan in the year 1864 was 15,511, sheltering a population of 486,000. If added together with the total cellar population of 15,224, the overall total approached 501,224.(73)

The year 1863 witnessed poor (immigrants') riots. In those "terrible July days", the poor streamed out from their gloomy haunts to burn, murder and pillage. These riots, which were a "turbulent protest" of the

immigrant poor against what they realized as discriminatory conscription, proved that the New Yorkers could not (or should not) ignore the social and moral conditions of imigrants. The next year, in 1864, the "Council of Hygiene of the Citizen's Association", established in 1863, started its campaign to improve housing and sanitary standards. Here is an excerpt from the Association's report of the sanitary conditions in the city(74):

> "Not only does filth, overcrowding, lack of privacy and domesticity, lack of ventilation and lighting, and absence of supervision and of sanitary regulation still characterize the greater number of them; but they are built to a greater height in stories, there are more rear tenant- houses erected back-to-back with other buildings, correspondingly situated on parallel streets; the courts and alleys are more greedily encroached upon and narrowed into unventilated, unlighted, damp, and well-like holes between the many-storied front and rear tenements; and more fever-breeding wynds and "culs-de-sac" are created as the demand for the humble homes of the laboring poor increases".

Terrorized also by the cholera epidemics in Europe in 1865, the New Yorkers demanded more to be done in the field of city and its poor health conditions. A "Metropolitan Board of Health" was created for the New York area; and the "Tenement House Law of 1867" was enacted. Although the standards set by the law were low, it had a symbolic value, at least.(75)

But the standards were actually to be made lower later on by the very introduction of the notorious "dumb-bell" tenement which did not originate in the minds of building speculators, but was a contribution of housing reformers willing to accept the terms imposed by the commercial builders. A trade journal, "Plumber and Sanitary Engineer", had announced in December 1878 a prize competition for a tenement on a (25 x 100) foot lot. The target was the best combination of maximum safety and

convenience for the tenant, and maximum profitability for the investor. The prize committee was satisfied, despite their explicit denial of the sufficiency of the size of the plot, with the dumb-bell design of Ware, and awarded himthe first prize. This dumb-bell tenement was, with various modifications, the characteristic multiple-dwelling-type erected for the working class in New York between 1879 and 1901. It was essentially a front and rear tenement connected by a hall. Situated on a (25 x 100) foot lot, it was usually five or six stories high and contained fourteen rooms to a floor, seven on either side running in a straight line. One family occupied the first four of these seven rooms, a second family the remaining three rooms to the rear. There were, thus, four families to a floor. The stairwell and the hallways were dimly lit through windows fronting upon the air shaft. The water closets, which were provided on a two to a floor basis or one to every two families, were opposing the stairs (76).

Through L.Veiller's efforts, in particular, and in the first two decades of the 20th century, New York's struggle for better housing was transformed into rather a national housing movement. He labored to create housing movements in cities where none had existed before, and to provide central leadership for the housing reform partisans. He became the nation's housing expert during the Progressive Era. The "Tenement House Commission of 1900", which was largely Veiller's creation, discovered more than 80,000 tenements in the five boroughs in 1900. Of these, more than half, 42,700, were in Manhattan. The total 80,000 tenements housed a population of 2,372,070 of which 1,585,000 were living in Manhattan (77).

Veiller suggested to the Tenement Commission that the dumb-bell should be proscribed. The Commission supported him claiming that the dumb-bell contributed greatly toward making the housing of New York workers "worse than in any city of America" with the help of "the greatest evil", i.e. the dumb-bell air-shaft, causing absence of light and air and tuberculosis in the tenement apartments. The "Tenement House Law of 1901" prohibited the narrow dumb-bell shaft (i.e. smaller than four feet, six inches in width) in future tenements. Veiller's code also required important changes in existingtenements. The code foresaw that the landlords had to install a window in the wall of the windowless interior rooms, as well asreplace all school sinks (i.e. sewer-connected privies) and privy vaults with individual water closets. Other improvements, such as satisfactory provision of fire escapes, the lighting of dark hallways by substituting glass panels for wood in certain doors on each floor, and the waterproofing of cellar floors. So, a new era of tenements, "new law" - in contrast to the "old law" tenements era, began. And, virtually all the state and local housing codes in the two decades after 1900 were influenced by Veiller's work, either by the "New York Tenement House Law (1901)" or by his books, a "Model Tenement House Law" (1910), a "Model Housing Law" (1914), and a "Housing Reform" (1910) (78).

So, then it can be said that the "slums" created the "planned" city, in a sense. From a Lower East Side of New York, which was a symbol of the most extensive and extreme expression of slum conditions, like the East End of London, and which in 1899 was judged to be "a picture of human misery

unparalleled in the World" (79), there were opened new ways to (more) "planned", "regulated", "beautiful" cities.

And starting from the very beginning of the 20th century, the (old) slums were associated not with the poor, but with the immigrant poor. Although there were many newcomers from southern and eastern Europe then, Blacks, Hispanics and East Asians were minorities whose assimilation into the American life was likely to be more difficult than that of earlier immigrants from northwestern Europe:

> "Eventually the term ghetto was adopted to describe the segregation of minorities who were directly or indirectly excluded from full participation in American life... The slums were now identified with newly arrived immigrants, primarily from southern and eastern Europe, but also from the American South, and the term ghetto was increasingly if not consistently used to describe the segregation of exotic minorities in the crowded sections of the city."(80)

Takaki says that, in 1920, concentrations of Chinese were present in Los Angeles, Oakland, Chicago, Seattle, Portland, Sacramento, and Boston; and that forty percent of all Chinese lived in two cities - San Francisco and New York. The metropolitan "Chinatowns" developed a different character from the 19th century Chinatowns. They were no longer way stations to service single-male workers in transit to the gold fields, farms, and railroads. "While they remained a place of refuge for a bachelor society, Chinatowns became residential communities for families, Chinese economic enclaves, and tourist centers". He adds further:

> "A ghetto, Chinatown confirmed views of the Chinese as unhealthy, unassimilable, and undesirable immigrants, yet this same negative imagery opened the way to the development of Chinatown as a tourist center - a "quaint" and "mysterious" section of the city, a "foreign colony" in America."(81)

In the 1960s, Harrington stated the difference between "old" and"new" slums as follows (82):

> "Where the ethnic slum once stood, in the "old" slum neighborhood, there is a new type of slum. Its citizens are the internal migrants, the Negroes, the poor whites from the farms, the Puerto Ricans. They join the failures from the old ethnic culture and form an entirely different kind of neighborhood. For many of them, the crucial problem is color, and this makes the ghetto walls higher than they have ever been... these people do not participate in the culture of aspiration that was the vitality of the ethnic slum..This new type of slum groups together failures, rootless people, those born in the wrong time, those at the wrong industry, and the minorities. It is "integrated" in many cases, but in a way that mocks the idea of equality: the poorest and most miserable are isolated together without consideration of race, creed, or color. They are practically forbidden any real relationship with the rest of society."

The Lower East Side was, in the past, ready to accept its new visitors as its welcomed denizens. But, nowadays, in the 1990s, it is going to be at least susceptible to state it as easily as one would guess. If the ownership texture of (old) slum-ghetto areas, which were predominantly "small landlordism" created by the slums and for the slums (as Friedman stated it aptly by saying that "the slum landlord was himself a product of the slums" (83)), if this is going to be destroyed, as it now happens in New York City, a situation which displays itself by the fact that in 1986 the City owned 9,000 buildings containing 50,000 vacant and 50,000 occupied apartments, i.e. 9 percent of the city's housing stock, then, the Lower East Side(s) will have difficulties in the(ir) traditional performance pattern(s).(84)

4.6 CONCLUSION

We've seen allthroughout the paper that the slums, the notorious ghettos, and/or the Lower East Side(s) have been created by the reciprocal process taking place in the (metropolitan) cities, which involves the actual housing capabilities and interests on the subject of the city governments and/or city housing markets' actors (like builders, constructors, real estate speculators, and not to a lesser degree, the immigrants themselves) on the one hand, and the economic, social, ethnical, racial, and legal hardships experienced by the newcoming migrants, the poor immigrants, the minorities and/or the working class members in general, on the other.

One striking fact for the man on the street is the long endurance of the slums. However, as Hall argues, they are those at the bottom of the social heap, who have been located amongst the most desperate people driven into the slums, a hundred years ago and a century later, as well. "The abiding problem is", he says, "why, despite all the massive intervening economic and social improvement, the underclass should appear so steadily to recruit new members to replace those lost to it".(85) What still endures is the poverty. It is the poverty which gives rise to the slums and/or squatter housing areas in Third World countries, and in leading First World countries like the United States, as well.

Comparing New York with Cairo, Abu-Lughod states that in both cities, the housing market is segmented into those with prior rights and those who are new entrants into the housing market, either through in-migration or new family formation. It is this fact, according to her, which leads to the

creation of whole segments of the population who are shut out of the housing market.(86) Those poor who were shut out of the housing market by one or another reason had to go there, to the Lower East Side.

Another student of the topic, Bryce-Laporte, states the following(87):

> "Thus the new immigration, particularly in the Caribbean - United States aspect, dramatizes the growing sense that classified definitions of nations and states are being blurred and nation-specific policies are being comprehended in the emergent world system(..).(..) The new immigrants everywhere, but particularly in their cities of concentration such as New York, dramatize the growing necessity for conscious interlinking of local, national, international (and global) policies".

The Lower East Side was, and still is, the (New) World's slum-ghetto..

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$$I_D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^{k} |x_i - y_i|$$

where x_i= the percentage of the x distribution in the i-th areal

sub-unit

y_i = the percentage of the y distribution in the i-th areal sub-unit

with the summation being over all the k sub-units making up the given area. When the index of dissimilarity has been computed between a sub-group of a population and the remainder of the population (i.e. total population minus those in the specified group), this measure is called the "index of segregation". Its formula is as follows:.

$$I_S = \frac{I_D}{1 - \frac{\Sigma x_{ai}}{\Sigma x_{ni}}}$$

where I_D= the index of dissimilarity

Σx_{ai}= the total number of the subgroup in the city

Σx_{ni}= the total population of the city

(The index value can range from 0.0 (complete mixing) to 100 (complete segregation).)

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"Unfortunately, the cost of housing has increased far more rapidly than household incomes.(..) between 1970 and 1980, median income for owners rose 104 per cent (from $9,700 to $19,800), while median home value tripled (from $17,000 to $51,300); median renter income rose 66 per cent (from $6,400 to $10,600), while median mothly rents increased by 123 per cent (from $108 to $241). The income gap between owners and renters continued to grow. In 1970, median renter income was 65 per cent of median owner income; by 1979, it had dropped to 55 per cent." (See: Dolbeare, "The Low-Income Housing(..)" op.cit., p.31.)

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CHAPTER 5

HARLEM: AN ENDURING (BLACK) SLUM-GHETTO

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I'll deal with **Harlem of New York, the world-famous slum-ghetto area** well-known among scholars and even ordinary citizens of Western/Eastern countries of the world since so many decades. I'll try first of all to summarize its historical development; then to give some socio-economic data and some background information relating to its spatial and/or municipal (service provision) settings. While doing 0this, I'll keep in mind the would-be relationships of Harlem to other low-income residential working-class (ghetto) areas of other Western countries, in general, and to Kreuzberg (in Berlin-Germany) which inhabits nearly 27,000 Turks (i.e. Turkish "guestworkers" and their family members altogether), a rather considerable subtotal of the total district population of 139,500; and making a percentage figure of 67.3% of total foreign people (40,025 persons) in the district, in special. Some of the questions in the contemplation process for exploring the possible relationships between the mentioned socio-spatial formations and/or configurations will be the ones such as: i) What are the reasons for the endurance of Harlem(s)? ii) Is Harlem a "unique" place, at all? iii) Why is it that, at least for some

population sections even living in other countries of the world, Harlem is a place synonymous with combined feelings of "fear", "peculiarity", "adventure", "criminality", "drugs", and so on, while there are or there must be other feelings of "sensitivity" and "eagerness" for "learning", for "understanding" the poverty situation existing over there? iv) Is Kreuzberg a potential area for Berlin's Harlem? v) Are and/or will be the guestworkers, and especially the Turkish guestworkers "the niggers" of Germany? vi) What type of socio-spatial characteristics do, if at all, prevail among low-income residents of Harlem? vii) What kind of psychological traits do the residents display with regard to evaluation of their living environments? viii) What are the extents of existence of such feelings as "powerlessness" and "being stigmatized (by color and/or race)", "being segregated" from the mainstream of the (white) society, at large? and what are the likely implications of these feelings for the endurance of slum-ghetto areas? and for the subordination of their residents?

Let's direct our attention to Harlem, to that magnificent and nearly all-embracing area providing the stage for poverty-stricken urban development-, and sometimes also nondevelopment processes.

5.2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HARLEM (1)

According to the records, the development of Harlem has started with an Indian village on the banks of the Harlem River between 110th and 125th Streets. The settlers who were attracted by the fertility of upper Manhattan's soil and the ease with which the area could be defended as a

military outpost, incorporated the village of Harlem in 1658 under Dutch rule. By 1661 the farming community had 32 adult men and a contingent of soldiers to protect and help build the village.

In the 1672 slaves built the first road from lower Manhattan to Harlem over an old Indian trail known (today) as Broadway. The new village developed its economic base centered around the farmer's market, tavern and ferry house in the vicinity of 125th Street and the Harlem River. Transportation to downtown New York was chiefly by riverboat. Prior to the American Revolution of 1776, the community was becoming a choice area for farmers and merchants to build country estates and elegant houses, respectively.

At the turn of the 19th century, Harlem was a village with attractions like trotting races, cricket matches and fishing. The Manhattan street system which was laid out according to the plan of 1811 had altered Harlem's appearance from an idyllic valley of farmlands into a residential area developed in stages as hills were leveled, streams were filled and transportation was improved, although the commission which appointed to lay out the streets of the city in 1811 did not think that Harlem would be "covered with houses for centuries to come".(2) The most important development to affect Harlem's growth, which in the 1820's was inhabiting only 91 families, was the construction of the New York. And as transportation, commerce and industry developed and the so-long-waited-for immigrants arrived, Harlem became the first "fashionable" residential suburb of the city; Single family brick and "brownstone" (3) residences began to rise

in West and Central Harlem, mainly attracting the middle-and upper-income families. East Harlem's few fine residences, by contrast, were greatly outnumbered by factories, squatter shacks and tenements built along the railroad tracks for the working class. Osofsky gives a very vivid picture of that part's start situation (4):

> "Into this decaying community came groups of people to whom the once productive soil seemed less forbidding. Those in search of cheap property bought land there and built one- and two-story frame houses. Others, including many newly arrived and destitute Irish immigrants (...) squatted on the forsaken land or lived in mud flats at the river's edge. They created Harlem's shantytowns, and lived in two-room cottages pieced together with any material that could be found: bits of wood, twigs, barrel staves, old pipes, tin cans hammered flat. In the backwash of a growing metropolis, Harlem's squatters made money by raising animals and vegetables for local markets. (...) Harlem at midcentury was largely "a village of shanties and huts with here and there a farm house...". And so it remained until the pressure of urban population growth and the subsequent need for living space restored value to Harlem lands".

But starting from the 1870s on, i.e. with the beginning of "the modern metropolis era" initiated by the so-called "urban revolution" characterized by improvements in methods of sanitation, water supply (5), transportation (during the period of 1878-1881, three lines of the elevated railroad came as far north as 129th Street), communication, lighting (first installed in 1887 and the telephone followed the next year), and building. Harlem turned into an arena in which huge land and building speculations have started to be made. Nearly everybody was buying and/or selling real estate in Harlem. One plot of land purchased in the year 1852 for an amount of $3,000 was worth $200,000 in 1890.(6) After the introduction of the Second, Third and Eight Avenue elevated lines, most of the Old Law

walk-ups (7) and elevated (8) tenement houses were built on lots measuring 25 to 50 feet by 100 feet, with building coverage up to 90% of the lots. The design standards were upgraded a bit by the Tenement House Act of 1901 which had reduced the coverage to 70% of the lots. Another major building boom and rather a rampant real estate speculation accompanied the completion of the Lenox Avenue subway in 1904.

From 1904 onwards, large numbers of blacks began to settle in Harlem mostly coming from lower and midtown Manhattan and also from out of town thus merging into a very heterogenous population mosaic of the neighborhood, in which, for instance, the Irish immigrants had resided mostly in the 1840s and 1850s and the Italian immigrants were living in "common tenements" in deep poverty of the 1890s and in the so-called "Harlem's Little Italy" area. However, before the large influx of the blacks had begun, there were living blacks in the region, too, forming "a large colony of the poorest colored people" in the 1890s on the West 146 Street (the "Nigger Row") and also populating "the Negro tenements" on West 130 Street which was called as Harlem's "Darktown".(9)

The settlement process of blacks in the region was pushed and eased by the very fact that the "over optimistic" building boom at the turn of the century forced developers faced with financial ruin to start renting apartments originally designed for white middle-income families to the newcomers. At the very beginning, landlords rented to "respectable" black families and at "outrageous" prices. After the influx of black masses had started, landlords raised the rents and subdivided apartments "to begin a

legacy of over-crowding and poor building maintenance that formed the foundation of slum conditions that persist to this day".

It is a matter of class-based socio-psychological (rather than being an "ecological") fact that once the "invasion" process starts, by which the new coming group happens to be a lower-income group prepared to live at higher densities than the previous occupants and (often) with different cultural or ethnic characteristics, than the original households tend to leave the areat the new comers if they can afford to move.(10) And also there are some "rules" with regard to race population shifts and movements (especially cited for) within American cities. They are, according to Hunter, as follows: i) "One universal rule is that racial concentrations are segregated"; ii) "A second rule is that once a neighborhood begins to swing from white to Negro the trend is rarely reversed. Nor does a neighborhood with a substantial number of Negro residents, say 25 per cent, retain its mixed character over a long period of time"; iii) "A third rule is that the pattern of Negro residential expansion is from the core of the city outward"; iv) "A fourth is that the Negroes move into neighborhoods already characterized by residential mobility".(11) Under these **segregation-,** and **exclusion-,** and unbridled free market operations' effects, Harlem has accepted large population groups of mostly low-income black people. According to the 1910 Census, the Greater Harlem area extending from 110th to 155th Streets between the Hudson and Harlem rivers had a population of nearly 500,000 persons, of which roughly 50,000 were black, 75,000 native-born white, and the rest immigrants from Russia, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Austria, Hungary, England, Spain and

Scandinavia. In the same year, before the first decade of the sizable migration from the South, New York had 90.000 blacks, less than 2 per cent of the population.(12) By 1918, the black population in Harlem numbered 60,000 persons (living mostly between Park and Eight Avenues, from 130th to 144th Streets).

At this point of discussion, it would be a relevant step to look at the migration movements extending mainly from the South to the North. According to Myrdal's **"An American Dilemma":**

> "The Great Migration starting in 1915 and continuing in waves from then on, has brought changes in the distribution of Negroes in the United States. The proportion of all Negroes living in the North and West rose to 23.8 per cent in 1940, which signifies a total net migration between 1910 and 1940 of about 1.750.000 from the South. Negroes constituted, in 1940, 3.7 per cent of the total Northern population. Practically all of the migrants has gone to the ities and almost all to the big cities. (...) New York alone claimed 16.9 per cent of all Negroes living in the North and West."(13)

The reasons for migration from the South are summarized as follows:

> "What actually happened to a great number of Negroes at the start of the Great Migration must have been that they were unsettled, like everyone else, by the War and by all the changes occuring in the industrial system and the labor market. They found their chances in the South particularly bad. In addition, they heard about new openings in the North. Negroes already in the North wrote letters to relatives or friends in the South. (...) To these means of communication were added those of the Negro press and the labor agents. (...) The North, as well as the South, has been hesitant to mix the machine and the Negro; and yet, whether measured in terms of proportions in "desirable" occupations, average income, availability of unemployment relief, or of other types of social security benefits, the Negro is considerably better off in the North than in the South."(14)

Although in the North the tremendous industrial expansion after the Civil War had created new employment opportunities for millions of immigrants, the few Negroes in the North were largely kept out of industrial employment. They rather had found a ready demand as domestics and in other service jobs. Glazer makes an effort to explain this exclusion by saying that "(t)he Negro immigrant has not had the good fortune of arriving with useful skills and strong institutions, nor he has found a prosperous well-organized Negro community to help him".(15)

The industrial employers who did offer jobs to blacks have done this mainly due such reasons like keeping their labor force heterogenous so as to prevent unionization and/or using black workers as strikebreakers. So, at some instances, black workers (particularly between 1910 and 1930) managed to gain or foothold in industrial jobs. However, as pointed out above, the main occupations for blacks were in the service sector as domestics, laundresses, cooks, waiters, janitors, barbers, and so on.(16)

The settlement process in Harlem on the side of blacks was never without opposition, discrimination, prejudice cases and/or hatred feelings and attempts, however. Osofsky summarizes it brilliantly (17):

> "But not all property owners were ready to open their houses to colored people. It seemed unbelievable to some that theirs, one of the most exclusive sections in the entire city, should become the center of New York's most depressed and traditionally worst-housed people. Some owners banded together in association to repulse (...) the Negro "invasion" or the Negro "influx". The language used to describe the movement of Negroes into Harlem -the words "invasion", "captured", "black hordes", "invaders", "enemy" (...)- was the language of war. (...) Property owners (...) as the Negro community spread southward (...) signed restrictive agreements. Each swore not to rent his apartments to Negroes for ten or fifteen years - till when (...) "this situation (...)

> will have run its course"; "The premises, land, and buildings of which we (...) are the owners (...) shall not be used as a (...) Negro tenement, leased to colored (...) tenants, sold to colored (...) or all (other) persons of African descent", one agreement reads.(...)" The streets covered by such restrictive codes were known in the Negro community as "Covenant Blocks", and Negroes took pride inbeing the first colored landlords or tenants to live in them (...).
>
> Writing in 1930, Johnson describes Harlem as follows (18):
>
> "In nearly every other city in the country, the Negro section is a nest or several nests situated somewhere on the borders; it is a section we must "go out to". In New York it is entirely different. Negro Harlem covers one of the most beautiful and healthful sites in the whole city. It is not a fringe, it is not a slum, nor is it a quarter consisting of dilapidated tenements. It is a section of new law apartment houses and handsome dwellings, with streets as well paced, as well-lighted, and as well-kept as any in the city. (...) The question (...) arises; will the Negroes of Harlem be able to hold it? Will they not be driven further northward? Residents of Manhattan, regardless of race, have been driven out when they lay in the path of business and greatly increased land values. Harlem lies in the direction that path must take; so there is little probability that Negroes will always hold it as a residential section".

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, however, Harlem's former "handsome" dwellings were turned rather into "the best laboratory for slum clearance (...) in the entire city" and "Harlem conditions" were "simply deplorable", as Osofsky reports. He further claims that the **"Harlem slum"** of the twenties was or product of a few major urban developments such as: a) "The deluge of Negro migration" (between 1910 and 1920, the black population of the city increased 66% (91,709 to 152,467); from 1920 to 1930, it expanded 115% (152,467 to 327,706); b) The settlement of blacks coincided with another population movement -the migration of whites from all sections of Manhattan to other boroughs (Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens). (Many of the homes they left behind had deteriorated significantly); c) The

city's newest migrants moved into the Harlem flats vacated by Italians and Jews. Puerto Ricans came to live in East Harlem and laid the foundations for **"El Barrio"** of today. (By 1930 some 45,000 Puerto Ricans resided in New York City and most of them were concentrated in East Harlem); d) The settlement of West Indian Negroes in Harlem in the 1920s added another complicating dimension to the racial problems of this community; e) The most important factor which led to very rapid deterioration of Harlem housing was the high cost of living in the community. Rents, traditionally being high, skyrocketed in response to the black migration, thus causing Harlem Negro ("crowded in a black ghetto" and "forced to pay exorbitant rentals because he cannot escape") to spend more than the typical (white working-class) New Yorker.(19)

Clark makes the overall picture of the slum-ghetto formation process more "human-biased" (20):

> "The Negro came to Harlem, as all migrants do, seeking better living conditions and expanded economic opportunities. Harlem became the center of Negro culture and talent. (...) But the Negro in Harlem found himself increasingly isolated culturally, socially, and economically by a wall of racial prejudice and discrimination. He was blocked from the training necessary to prepare himself for the highly skilled jobs in private industry or government, and was pushed into the most menial occupations. His housing and schools deteriorated, and he was forced to pay more for less. He discovered that his new neighbors resented his presence, his aspirations, and his talents. They left in droves, and Harlem became a prison of its new residents. (...) In most important ways - social and economic structure, community culture, quality of education, and the like-all urban ghettos in America are similar. (...) The symptoms of lower-class society afflict the dark ghettos of America-low aspiration, poor education, family instability, illegitimacy, unemployment, crime, drug addiction and alcoholism, frequent illness and early death. (...) The most concrete fact of the ghetto is (...) the dirt, the filth, the neglect. (...) The streets are crowded with the people and refuse. (...) Everywhere there are

> signs of fantasy, decay, abandonment, and defeat. The only constant characteristic is a sense of inadequacy. The dark ghetto is not a viable community. It cannot support its people (...). Its businesses are (...) marginal to the economy of the city as a whole. The ghetto feeds upon itself (...)".

The slum-ghetto's socio-economic structure is composed of rather **"vicious cycles"** with regard to every aspect of its dynamics at work. For one thing, the roots of "the pathology of ghetto" (communities) lie in the occupational pattern, i.e. in the menial, low-income jobs held by most ghetto residents. "The Negro has been left out of the swelling prosperity and social progress of the nation as a whole. He is in danger of becoming a permanent economic proletariat".(21) For another thing, the black youth is caught in a vicious cycle: Poor preparation means poor jobs and low socio-economic status. Low status and poor jobs results in poor preparation for the next generation to come.(22) Again, one of the inevitable results of the unemployment and menial job status of blacks is family instability. Clark argues that family breakdown occurs among the white poor, too; but "inferior racial status" that makes escape seem impossible and damages the core of personality adds impetus to the problem of the black people.(23) Another vicious cycle is at work with regard to the level of public services supplied in the area: To insure that the ghetto gets its share of social and community services, a large group of citizens of the ghetto (both youth and adult), who are "disciplined and politically sensitive", would have to be organized. And given a community climate of indifference and apathy, even simple services (like garbage disposal) will not be efficiently performed. From another perspective, "genuine exploitation" may be at work in neglect of the very

services or when city officials, inspectors fail to inspect, investigate or accept bribes from the residents. So, a situation is created by which "the ghetto community fails to get necessary public services and yet through taxation, it is also involved in subsidizing its own deterioration."(24)

Captured in its vicious cycles and capable of making persons captive and/or prisoners within its boundaries, the **Harlem ghetto,** acclaimed as **"the Capital of Black America",** thus grew from or population size of 83,248 in 1920 to 203,894 in 1930. The Depression of 1929 brought all new construction to a halt and building maintenance to an end. As a result of the 1930s' mood which was characterized by community demands for improved housing conditions, better social welfare, better education facilities, some public programmes were carried out. The Harlem River houses, which are 557 low-rise housing units, are Harlem's first public housing project completed in 1937. The East River houses project providing 1170 dwelling units for low-income families was completed in 1941 in East Harlem. The Urban Renewal Act of 1949 had raised the hopes in vain. The following decade has witnessed the erection of monolithic, overwhelming superblock housing developments with few design amenities in accord with slum clearance programmes dislocating many families.

Harlem's population has decreased by 27,000 between 1950 and 1960, roughly a 10 percent loss despite the high birth rate. But the fact is that Harlem's blacks are merely shifting to other "ghetto pockets" in the city like Brooklyn's Bedford - Stuyvesant, the Lower Bronx or Queens.(25) In 1960 New York City had 1,088,000 blacks. There had been an increase of

340,000 in ten years. During the 1950s the white population of the city had dropped by almost a half-million. The New York of 1960 was one-seventh black.(26) And Harlem was still the leading black ghetto.

5.3. SOME FACTS AND FIGURES RELATED WITH (CENTRAL) HARLEM

As can be seen from the table below which gives some statistical data about the New York City, the total city population has dropped from 7,895,900 in 1970 to 7,072,000 in 1980 and then increased to 7,245,000 in 1985. Total land area is comprising 205.951,7 acres (321,8 miles). The borough of Manhattan had a total population of 1,532,200 in 1970 which had dropped to 1,428,000 in 1980 and rised again to 1,475,000.

Harlem as defined by the Harlem Urban Development Corporation as its "impact area" (27) is covering almost 2.820 acres, i.e. a fixed share of 18.6% of the borough of Manhattan. The density is 139 persons per acre. Total population in the 1980 Census was 392,882 (admittedly undercounted).(28) **Population composition** is as follows:

Ethnic Composition	% 1980 Population
Black	52
White	25
Hispanic	28
Other	16

Age Groups	% 1980 Population
Under 18	27.9
18-64	62.5
65(+)	9.6

Total Households: 155,509

The **income levels** in the region are given below:

Category	Harlem	Manhattan	NYC
Median	($) 9,294	13,905	13,387
Mean	17,875	21,536	18,442

Assistance:	Public Assistance (% of 1980 pop.)	Supplementary Security Income (% of 1980 pop.)
Harlem	19.2	6.0
Manhattan	10.3	4.0
NYC	11.2	3.1

Occupations:	White Collar	Total	%
	Managers	11,243	8.0
	Clerical	31,035	22.3
	Sales	8,600	6.1
	Professional	24,364	20.2
	Blue Collar		
	Crafts	7,898	5.6
	Operatives	11,685	8.3
	Laborers	9,737	6.9
	Service		
	Private Household Workers	2,950	2.1
	Service	3,335	2.3
	Other Service	23,364	16.7
	Other Occupations	584	0.4
	Total	139,267	100.0

Labor Force **Unemployment:**

	Black	White	Hispanic	Overall
Overall	14.7%	8.4%	15.4%	9.9%
Youth	63.0%	26.0%	55.0%	32.5%

The **built-up stock of Harlem** displays the following characteristics:

Residential Building Types	Number of buildings
One Family	744
Two Family	245
Old Low Tenement	3,840
New Law Tenement (29)	1,048
Brownstone Walk-up	2,609
Elevator Buildings	400
Total Residential	12,666
Total number of in Rem Residential Buildings	2,227

Dwelling Units	Total No. of
Dwelling units	177,450
Occupied units	154,087
Renter-occupied units	147,296
Owner-occupied units	6,791
Condominium units	3,973
Publicly assisted units	57,787
Occupied In Rem units	10,336

Rent range:	Range	% of Total Rental Stock
($)	0- 50	1.4
	50-100	13.6
	100-150	25.0
	150-200	25.7
	200-250	13.7
	250-300	8.7
	300-400	7.6
	400-500	2.6
	500(+)	1.7

Median rent : $245
Average rent: $188

In order to shed some light on the social and technical service provision levels existing in Harlem. I'll rely upon the information provided by the Community Board No. 10-Manhattan-City of New York, as with regard to its jurisdiction area in Harlem, i.e. the area known as "Central Harlem".(30)

According to the 1980 Census, the population of the area is 106,000 - a loss of more than 50,000 people over the last decade. The census also shows a steep decline in housing stock which is claimed to have largely contributed to the population decline. 40% of the housing, including 36.000 old-law tenement apartment buildings, were built between 1880-1901. Age coupled with neglect, poor maintenance, a disinvestment trend and abandonment have left much of the housing stock in very poor condition. Now, more than 18% of the residential properties in Central Harlem are vacant (as compared to 5% in 1970) and nearly 60% are owned by the City due to late-, and/or non-payment of property taxes.

Central Harlem is an area with rather tremendous needs and problems. Some of them all pointed out below:

i) **"A declining economic base":** Central Harlem residents spend more than $100,000,000 a year for goods and services; less than half of that sum is retained by local merchants. (In that sense, the theory of the black ghetto being an "internal colony" as developed by Tabb (31) is very informative.)

ii) **"A high rate of unemployment":** The annual average unemployment rate is 15.8% in Central Harlem - twice the borough and city-wide rates.

iii) **"A growing concentration of (low-income) residents depend on public assistance":** One-third of the population receives some form of public assistance. The district ranks 12th among Community Districts in the size of its income support population, while ranking only 37th in the

size of its overall population. The median income for Central Harlem households is $6,497 ($9,935 city-wide and $13,905 borough-wide).

iv) **"A low health index":** Central Harlem continues to experience the highest infant mortality rate in the country - 27.8 deaths per thousands births - almost twice the City rate and more than double the national rate.

v) **"Poor sanitation/environmental conditions":** The average Operation Scorehead cleanliness rating (sampling of street cleanliness) for District 10 in 1985 is 36.8 as compared to a borough average of 47.1% and a city-wide average of 68.7%.

vi) **"High crime rate":** Homicide (largely drug-related) ranks as the fourth cause of death in Central Harlem. The district continues to be plagued by air "entrenched and endemic" narcotics trafficking problem. As a result of this, the overall quality of life is very negatively impacted.

vii) **"Housing decay and abandonment":** Nearly one of every five residential properties located in the area are vacantand abandoned. More than 25% of the occupied residential structures have fifty or more housing code violations.

viii) **"Teenage mother problem":** More than 20% of a total 1.939 births in the District during 1984 were to mother 20 years and under. These young mothers experience a high incidence of low birth weight babies, high infant death rates, a lifetime of public assistance dependency.

ix) **"Education (facilities') problem":** There are huge capital needs for programmes to supplement the regular school curriculum and to provide a constructive and safe after-school environment for youngsters.

As seen above, the situation is "worse" in Harlem. And although there are very promising attempts at solving the problems of the region at state and local levels, such as "the Bradhurst Revitalization Plan" initiated by the Harlem Urban Development Corporation "to address the redevelopment of housing and the improvement of Harlem neighborhoods" in 1987 (32), one should be reminded of the very fact that what has been called "the social pathology of the ghetto is evident throughout our history; the wounds of centuries have not healed" and that "the ghetto has always been with us".(33) Schwartz claims that "(t)he plight of black America not only remains grave, but in many respects, it is getting worse". He adds further the following(34):

> "More than half of all black children under three years of age live in homes below the poverty line. The gap between white and black family (...) edged wider, so that black family income is now only 55 percent of that of whites. Only 3 percent of the nation's lawyers and doctors are black, and only 4 percent of its managers, but over 50 percent of its maids and garbage collectors."

To combat the ghetto is and will not be an easy task at all.

5.4. ROOTS OF POWERLESSNESS

It must be somewhat clear from the above discussion of the Harlem slum-ghetto formation process that the topic of "race" should be given specific importance by handling the issue. The slum-ghetto phenomenon is at its roots, without doubt, caused, created and endured by economic powerlessness. However, some socio-economic groups are more

likely to be "victimized" by ghettoization processes in metropolitan centers than others. Blacks, allthroughout the history of mankind, have been the most victimized racial groups. They were held as "slaves"; they were bought and sold like cattles for centuries. As Osofsky puts it (35):

> "Slavery was a brutal, brutalizing, and alluring institution. Profits from the forced labor of men tempted African chiefs, the great powers of Europe, small traders from Newport, Salem, Charleston, and New York City, the largest commercial companies of the Western world, and Protestants and Roman Catholics, for centuries. Bars of iron, rum, tobacco, crystal beads (...) cotton cloth were bartered for "likely young boys and girls in good health".(...) Every aspect of the slave regime attempted to bliterate the slave's being. The simplest and most sacred forms by which humans acquire identity and dignity were denied slaves (...)".

According to Myrdal, the "Emancipation of 1863" stopped the practice of calling the Negroes "slaves". And yet, some term had to be found to describe the **"inferior status" of the Negro.** The term **"caste"** which was already in use before the Civil War, was increasingly employed. He further explains that:

> "The scientifically important difference between the terms "caste" and "class" (...) is (...) "a relatively large difference in freedom of movement between groups". This difference is foremost in marriage relations. Intermarriage between Negroes and whites is forbidden by law in 30 states of the Union and even where it is not largelly forbidden it is so universally condemned by whites that it ocurs extremely infrequently. The ban on intermarriage is one expression of the still broader principle, which is valid for the entire United States without any exception, that "a man born a Negro or white is not allowed to pass from the one status to the other as he can pass from one class to another. In this important respect, the caste system is, in a measure, always open and mobile". This has social significance because, (...) being a Negro means being subject to considerable disabilities in practically all spheres of life" (36).

Although it is not without its sharp criticisms especially from the Marxist perspective of Oliver C.Cox (37), however, this view is, at least, on American socio-political ground a very important insight into the topic. Kennedy makes the issue more understandable by saying that:

> "Should you enter into a forbidden interracial marriage in any of these states, your marriage would automatically be void: your children by any previous legal marriage might be taken from you by the state (...) and you and your spouse would be charged with lewd and lascivious conduct (...) and fined and/or imprisoned for as long as ten years in some states" (38).

Backed by laws, rules, prisons and/or institutions, the **caste system has been "racialized" and "institutionalized",** as time passed. Again Myrdal states:

> "The caste system is unheld by its own inertia and by the superior caste's interests in upholding it. (...) The racial beliefs and the popular theory of "no social equality" were found to have a kernel of magical logic, signified by the notion of "blood". (...) The Negro problem is primarily a white man's problem." (39)

And as with regard to "no social equality" theory:

> "This mechanism is perceived by nearly everybody in America, butmost clearly in the South. (...) Almost unanimously white Americans have communicated (...) the "white man's theory of color caste".(1) The concern for "rare purity" is basic in the whole issue; the primary and essential command is to prevent amalgamation; the whites are determined to utilize every means to this end.(2) Rejection of "social equality" is to be understood as precaution to hinder miscegenation and particularly intermarriage.(3) The danger of miscegenation is so tremendous that the segregation and discrimination inherent in the refusal of "social equality" must be extended to nearly all spheres of life. There must be segregation and discrimination in recreation, in religious service, in education, before the law, in politics, in housing, in stores and in breadwinning. (...) This theory of color caste (...) determines (...) the white man's rather definite rank order of the various measures of segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The relative significance attached to each of those measures is dependent upon their degree of expediency or necessity (...), in this rank order, (1) the ban on intermarriage and

> other sex relations involving white women and colored men takes precedence (...). There after follow; (2) all sorts of taboos and etiquettes in personal contacts; (3) segregation in schools and churches; (4) segregation in hotels, restaurants, and theaters, and other public places (...); (5) segregation in public conveyances; (6) discrimination in public services; and, finally, inequality in (7) politics, (8) justice and (9) breadwinning and relief."(40)

The author further claims that: "Negroes have an interest in being released from segregation and discrimination in a rank order just opposite of the white's expressed rank order of having them retained. This is a principal fact in all attempts to change and reform race relations".(41)

It would be a very enlightening approach, if one would concentrate on the inequality aspects in the politics sphere, at this point of discussion.

The American Civil War (1862-1865) had brought about the **"Thirteenth Amendment"** to the constitution (on 18.12.1865) which is also known as the "Emancipation Proclamation" (signed by Lincoln preliminarily on 22.09.1862) that provided for the freedom of all slaves and prohibited also involuntary servitude. However, eight southern states tried via legal means, called as the **"Black Codes",** to deny blacks access to well-paying jobs by defining and thus concomitantly limiting the rights of the newly freed Negroes. Thereafter, the Federal government introduced **two extra amendments:** (a)The **"Fourteenth Amendment"** (April 1866) for providing "equality of protection for all under the law"; and (b)The **"Fifteenth Amendment"** (February 1869) for providing "equality of voting rights for all men (excepting women)". The year 1875 has witnessed to both the end of the military occupation of the South and also the **"Civil Rights Bill"** of

March 1866 (which had recognized the full citizenship of blacks and their equal civil rights) did not apply to "personal acts of social discrimination". What it did mean effectively was that state laws requiring segregated facilities for blacks (and whites) were constitutional. The way was opened for the **"Jim Crow" era.** As a result, southern states enacted a series of statutes that provided for the segregation in such spheres as education, transport, marriage and leisure. The Supreme Court's **"Plessy versus Ferguson"** (163 U.S. 537) decision in 1896 upheld the requirement that sitting on trains be segregated. The **doctrine of "separate but equal"** has emerged from this decision **leading** by 1910 in the South **to "a virtual caste system"** maintaining blacks in their subordinate positions in the society.(42)

To this **"de jure" type of segregation** came a judicial reply again on the side of the Supreme Court in 1954 (following the beginnings of judicial action against the disfranchisement of the African-Americans; the striking down of **racial covenants in residential housing policies;** and the integration of the armed forces(!) right after the II. WW), in **"Brown Versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas"** (347 US 483) which denounced segregation in schools, declaring them unconstitutional.(43) The principle then was extended to buses, restaurants, parks, etc. So within a decade, Jim Crow laws were gradually overturned, and at the end of a turbulent period full of demonstrations, Montgomery boycotts, student sit-ins organized and carried out by black civil rights (protest) movements, the 1963 March on Washington (highlighted by Martin Luther King's unforgettable speech(44)),

"the Civil Rights Act of 1964" and **"the Voting Rights Act of 1965"** (which was making illegal all tests or other devices used to qualify a person as a voter, including literacy) were put into force. Starting with **Watts** (Los Angeles' largest black ghetto) in 1965, there have been recorded a series of **"race riots"** nearly in every major US city, thereafter. President Johnson had to set up a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1967. **"The Kerner Report"** prepared stated the situation in a very precise manner: "This is our basic conclusion: our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white-separate and unequal".(45)

Kennedy states that "despite the affirmation of the American Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal, in America in reality some are more equal than others". He goes further by saying (using 1959's data):

> "Nearly a third of all Americans have been relegate some degree to second-class citizenship because of their race, color, nationality, religion, or politics (...). Generally speaking, first-class citizenship is limited to native-born white Protestant Gentiles. Certain of these regard as second-class citizens America's 17 million Negroes, 6 million Jews, 5 million Mexican-Americans, half million American Indians, 150.000 Japanese, 100.000 Chinese, 50.000 Filipinos and a few thousand Hindus, Koreans, and others."(46)

5.5 CONCLUSION

It is a tragic fact to witness still the slum-ghetto formation processes all over the world and in all countries, be them developed-, as well as underdeveloped ones. However, the ghettos formed and created by the so-called "(private) market regulations and/or necessities" (under

governance of the famous "invisible hand") in especially metropolitan centers of the Western developed-, post-industrial societies are gaining more and more a rather anachronic and contradictory monumental existence amidst the "capitalist", "democratic", "liberal", "prosperous" and "technically and industrially most advanced" countries' development histories.

The very conditions of poor, racially (especially via skin color) stigmatized masses captured in "vicious cycles" of their ghettos' socio-economic environments and reproduction opportunities, are exploited by the dominant ruling/interest groups and/or their class organizations, in a rather "systematic" and "institutionalized" way. The black people's history in the United States, in general, and the evolution (or "involution", as some scholars would prefer (47)) processes of the black slum-ghettos in American cities, as displaying themselves in Harlem magnificently, in particular, are vivid witnesses to the claim made. Although the descendants of the European immigrants to the U.S. have lost their identity as "foreigners" and merged into the **mainstream** (native-born **white population)** starting with the **third generation,** for immigrants from Africa (and Asia), however, separate racial categories have been maintained irrespective of how many generations they have lived in the United States! It is **race** (and **not ethnicity)** which characterizes the **social divisions** within American society.(48) Then one can summarize the situation with regard to the African- Americans in the U.S. as follows: What is being done is **the racialization of economic exploitation ends and means under covert and/or overt institutionalized forms.**

It is not a surprise then that in 1935, Princeton students had ranked groups who have been in the stream of population according to their preference matrices from highest to lowest as: Americans, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Chinese, Turks and Negroes!(49) The Turks have now been promoted(!) to the last stage, at least, in Germany!(50)

Is there any relationship between Harlem and Kreuzberg? Yes, of course! There are almost always relationships between the slum-ghettos of the world cities. And when it comes to the United States and Germany as the principal countries to be scrutinized in terms of their housing policies and state apparatuses, Marcuse gives an open clue to the topic by saying the following(51):

> "The differences between German and U.S. housing policies in general, then, are more in form and quantity than in substance or direction. In both, the underlying commitment is to the private market. But, in both, the private housing market requires constant state involvement (...). (...) And in both, (...) the prospects for the future include privatization, increased hardships, and increased conflict".

As a concluding remark, one could state that the **slum-ghettos are racialized, ethnicized, segregated and excluded poverty islands of the capitalist ocean of the world-economy.** And they should be investigated, as Dentler has recently very aptly written, within the context of **"world"** rather than national or local events!(52) Moreover, one should always bear in mind the fact that an island has always two destinies to offer to its visitors, guests and/or inhabitants: **Death or survival (endurance)... Survival on the island for ever** and/or **endurance of the island itself for**

ever can also be interpreted as **another** kind of **death** phenomenon.. Apart from this, there is also always the danger of **explosion of the island itself** due to the accumulation of inner tensions, (re)production processes and/or (vicious) cycles going on uninterruptedly..

O.K. then; within a world context let's move to Germany, another capitalist superpower of the world in order to find out the extent of the racialized social poverty islands mentioned above there.

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2. Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto - Negro New York, 1890-1930 (Second Edition), New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971 (Ori.1963), p.72.

3. "Brownstones" are usually attached masonry structures which were constructed as single-family homes during the period of 1875-1895. The buildings were intended for middle-, and upper-income families, and were very well-designed and constructed. They have 3-4 stories with a full or semibasement, are 15 to 25 feet wide and 35 to 55 feet deep, and stand on 100 foot deep lots. Each structure has a private rear yard, and light and air penetrates the rear-, as well as the front sides. (See: Harlem Task Force, op.cit., p.72.)

4. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., p.73.

5. John A. Peterson, "The Impact of Sanitary Reform Upon American Urban Planning", (in) Introduction to Planning History in the United States (Ed.:Donald A.Krueckeberg), New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1983, pp.13-39.

6. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., p.76.

7. The Old-Law walk-up type of housing was constructed pursuant to the provisions of the New York City Tenement Law of 1879. The statute was designed to insure the provision of safe, sanitary and spatially adequate workers' housing. Design competitions in 1879 and 1887 had led to the development of two basic types of the famous "dumbbell" shaped structures. (See also: David Ward, Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840-1925 - Changing Conceptions of the Slum and Ghetto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp.68-70.)

8. The Old-Law elevator structures were constructed to house middle-income families. They cover 90% of the lot, exceed 50 feet in width, and are 6 or 7 stories high.

9. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., pp.81-84.

10. For the "invasion-succession" process, see: Brian Goodall, Dictionary of Human Geography, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987, p.245.

11. David R.Hunter, The Slums - Challenge and Response, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

12. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians,and Irish of New York City (Second Edi.), Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970 (ori.1963), p.26.

13. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma - The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (Twentieth Anniversary Edition), New York and Evanston: Harper & Row Publishers, 1962 (Ori.1944), p.183.

14. Ibid., p.194.

15. Glazer & Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot(..)op.cit., p.26.

16. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (..)op.cit., p.293. The rather severely limited black workplace opportunities (mostly of unskilled, dirty, or otherwise undesirable nature) have been one of the main causes giving way to **"vicious circles"** (or **"cycles")** (of the black people) which refer to the downward (negative) spiral precipitated by the adverse effects of white prejudices (as associated with black occupations). And beliefs about "the Negro" have become a **"self- fulfilling prophecy"** so that Myrdal has characterized the pattern of job restriction as a **"self-perpetuating color bar"**. Again, according to him, who was believing strongly into the **"Enlightenment ideals"** (i.e the ideals of **"justice, liberty, rationality, the power of people to bring about change in their condition, and the consequent possibility of progress for individuals, groups, nations, and indeed all of humanity"** as summarized by his daughter (see: Sissela Bok, "Introduction", Daedalus, Vol.124, No:1, Winter 1995, (pp.1-13) p.10) the door is open for the emergence of an alternative path, i.e. a **"virtuous circle"** of improvement for blacks. (See: William Darity, Jr., "The Undesirables, America's Underclass in the Managerial Age: Beyond the Myrdal Theory of Racial Inequality", Daedalus, Vol.124, No:1, Winter 1995, (pp.145-165)pp.146-147.) However, a Marxist author, Cox criticizes the Myrdal's theory of "vicious circle" with (using his) words as follows: "White prejudice... keeps the Negro low in standards of living... This, in turn, gives support to white prejudice. White prejudice and Negro standards thus mutually "cause" each other."(..) If we initiate a change in Negro standards, say, by "giving the Negro youth more education," white prejudice will go down; if we change white prejudice, say, by "an increased knowledge about biology, eradicating false beliefs concerning Negro racial inferiority," then Negro standards will go up. It is this kind of mystical dance of imponderables which is at the basis of the system of social illusions marbled into Myrdal's discussion." See: Oliver C.Cox, Caste, Class, and Race - A Study in Social Dynamics, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959 (Ori.1948), p.529.

17. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., pp.105-106.

18. James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, pp.146, 158.

19. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., pp.128-136. One should remember that New York was and still is the most expensive metropolitan city of the U.S. (to such an extent in the 1990s that the average life cost index in New York being a fixed rate of 208,7 is more than twice the national mean rate of 100)! (See: Anon., "ABD'nin Pahalì Kenti: New York" ("The Expensive City of the U.S.: New York"), Cumhuriyet, 30.08.1994, p.8.) If one takes into account that the rent for one room in the working class districts of New York is around 450 US$ (which is affordable by allocating nearly the total income of two weeks); and for a house consisting of two rooms around 800 US$, then one can understand better why there were approximately 86,000 "homeless" people staying in "official shelters" of New York in 1992 (these are the officially registered ones; the real figure is much more than this!) and why annually 2000 more people fall into the pit of homelessness in this world-city! (See: İrfan Erdoğan, Amerika İkinci Vatanda İdeoloji, Düşler, Gerçekler ("America: Ideology, Dreams and Realities in the Second Home-Country"), Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, No:32, April 1995, p.119; see also: Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Evsizlik" ("Homelessness in the United States of America"), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.26, No:3, September 1993, pp.153-168.)

20. Kenneth B.Clark, Dark Ghetto - Dilemmas of Social Power, Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989 (Ori.1965), pp.26-27.

21. Ibid., p.34.

22. Ibid., p.39.

23. Ibid., p.47.

24. Ibid., p.53.

25. Ibid., p.59.

26. Glazer & Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot(..) op.cit., p.25.

27. The Harlem Urban Development Corporation (H.U.D.C.) was formed in July 1971 as a subsidiary of New York State Urban Development Corporation. Its purpose is to assist in the planning, and also residential and commercial development of the community. The impact area of H.U.D.C. covers the area delineated by: North: 155th Street; South: 96th Street; East: East River; West: Hudson River.

28. The data about Harlem, unless otherwise mentioned, is obtained from: "Harlem Profile Sheet - HUDC Impact Area", (Mimeo.), New York: H.U.D.C., (not dated).

29. The New-Law housing type was the product of the "Tenement House Act" of 1901 which prohibited "dumbbell" layout, reduced coverage to a maximum of 70%, and required the provision of light and air through yards and courts (rather than interior air shafts), and also required that sanitary facilities be provided within each dwelling (as opposed to the common water closets installed in the halls of old-law tenements). The early new-law tenement (built before 1915) has a blunted T-shape, is 5-6 stories high, between 80-90 feet in length and is constructed on a 100 foot deep lot. The late new-law walk-up (built after 1915) is a decided improvement. It is 5-6 stories high and is 50 feet wide. Lots are 50 feet by 100 feet. Courts are wide (34 feet X 12 feet).

30. The City of New York, Community District Needs - Fiscal Year , 1990, New York, October 1988, pp.187-205 (see Table 3).

31. William K. Tabb, The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1970, esp. pp.21-34.

32. H.U.D.C. , Bradhurst Revitalization Planning Document, New York, (n.d.).

33. Osofsky, Harlem(..) op.cit., p.201.

34. Herman Schwartz, "Affirmative Action", (in) Minority Report - What Has Happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians,and Other Minorities in the Eighties? (Ed.:Leslie W. Dunbar), New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, (pp.58-74)p.61. Although in the last years the number of black elected officials increased (e.g. from fewer than 100 in 1965 in the seven originally targeted southern states to 3,265 in 1989; and the number of African Americans elected to the U.S. Congress in 1992 is 40 (forty)!) as a result of some political (voting) rights achieved, the **overall deterioration process in the quality of African-American life could not been stopped,** however.. (See: ; Chandler Davidson, "The Voting Rights Act: A Brief History", (in) Controversies in Minority Voting (Eds.: Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992, p.43; and Anthony J. Lemelle, "Review of Ralph C. Gomes and Linda Faye Williams, "From Exclusion to Inclusion: The Long Struggle For African-American Political Power" (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992)", Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 22, No:1, January 1993, p.63; cited in: Robert A. Dentler, "The Political Sociology of the African American Situation: Gunnar Myrdal's Era and Today", Daedalus, Vol.124, No:1, Winter 1995, (pp.15-36) pp.21, 24.)

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36. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (..) op.cit., pp.667-668.

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38. Stetson Kennedy, Jim Crow Guide, Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1990 (Ori.1959)p.58.

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40. Ibid., pp.58, 587-588.

41. Ibid., p.588 (Footnote (A)).

42. Ellis E. Cashmore (Ed.), Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations - Second Edition, London: Routledge, 1988 (1984), pp.157-158.

43. Osofsky, The Burden of Race(..)op.cit., pp.469-479.

44. King, "the "moral" leader of the nation", who had "a **dream"** to share with, was speaking before the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963 as follows: "There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "when will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. **We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.** (Stress is mine, Ö.B.) We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing to vote for." See: Stephen B. Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr., New York: A Mentor Book, January 1985, p.253.

45. U.S.National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U.S.Riot Commission Report: What Happened? Why Did It Happen? What Can Be Done?, New York: Bantam Books, 1968, p.1. The Commission was stating the situation in American cities as follows: "White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. At the base of this mixture are three of the most bitter fruits of white racial attitudes: **Pervasive discrimination and segregation.(..) Black migration and white exodus.(..) Black ghettos.(..)** (where) segregation and poverty have intersected to destroy opportunity and hope and to enforce failure. The ghettos too often mean men and women without jobs, families without men, and schools where children are processed instead of

educated, until they return to the street-to crime , narcotics, to dependency on welfare, and to bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular." (Ibid., pp.203-204.)

46. Kennedy, Jim Crow (..)op.cit., p.7. See also: Erdoğan, Amerika(..) op.cit., pp.192-196.

47. Bahattin Akşit, Köy, Kasaba ve Kentlerde Toplumsal Değişme, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, No:16/7, 1985, p.123.

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50. Der Spiegel, No:18, 1982.

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52. Dentler, "The Political Sociology(..)" op.cit., p.34.

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56570

THE TURK(O-GERMAN)ISH AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN (GUEST-)WORKERS/IMMIGRANTS IN THE WORLD-ECONOMY: FROM LABOR MIGRANTS (OF THE THIRD WORLD) TO UNDERCLASS MEMBERS IN (ETHNIC/RACIALISED) HARLEM-GHETTOS (OF THE FIRST WORLD)

VOLUME II

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ÖZER BOSTANOĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

T.C. YÜKSEK ... DOKÜMANTASYON ...

FEBRUARY 1996

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CHAPTER 6

THE (IM)MIGRATION MOVEMENT FROM TURKEY TO (FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF) GERMANY AND/OR THE EVOLUTION OF A TURKISH "UNDERCLASS " (IN GERMANY/EUROPE)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a general evaluation relating to the Turkish labor migration process starting as early as the second half of 1950s and directing itself to some European countries leaded by the Federal Republic of Germany and after the second half of 1970s, to some Middle-Eastern countries will be made basing oneself onto the example of the F.R.of Germany and the articulation forms of socio-spatial structures and/or arrangements caused by the migration process will be surveyed. In this specific field of inquiry there is a gap to be filled in Turkish academic circles (1).

Turkey, as already known, has witnessed an immense urban-rural migration movement right after the Second World War as it was the case in many countries. At the end of this movement, there appeared great numbers of "gecekondu" parts in the cities which were not prepared to such a movement in terms of housing and employment structures and/or facilities.

These gecekondu parts in the cities inhabit in the 1990s for almost more-than-half populations of these cities. The causes of the gecekondu phenomenon are plentitude and are of social, economic, administrative and spatial nature (2).

While and as estimated for the late 1980s, 6,250,000 persons, i.e. one-eighth of the total and one-fourth of the urban population were living in gecekondus, yet in the 1990s, the number of the gecekondu people is estimated to be around 9-10 million making nearly one sixth of total national population which is 62,171,000 in 1995.(3). It will be not an exaggeration to speculate that (and under "ceteris paribus" conditions) the gecekondus will be inhabiting nearly one third of Turkish urban population and one fifth of the total population in the year 2000. Therefore, internal migration has very great impacts upon the housing and urbanization structures of Turkey, indeed. There came into being a dual settlement pattern (4); and the gecekondu phenomenon has evolved into a "subculture" with all kinds of value, aesthetics systems (like "arabesk" ("dolmuş") type of music) and deficiencies effecting the social as well as the spatial structures of the cities to a great extent.

However, the gecekondu-type of ("illegal", "squatter") settlements are met not only in Turkey, but in almost every Third World country. Even if they have different labellings in different countries (for instance "Bustees" in Indian-Calcutta, "Bidonvilles" in Algeria, "Favelas" in Brazil, "Jacele Regions" or "Colonias Proletarias" in Mexico, etc.) (5), their generation causes and existence mechanisms and forms are very close to one each other. In almost

every Third World country the rural-urban migration movement right after the Second World War has been observed.The main reason behind this phenomenon is the radical change brought about by the capitalist "world economy" (6) which had destroyed the pre-capitalist agricultural structures and introduced thereupon a new international division of labor system. The Marshall credit was also provided for Turkey as it was the case in some other Western countries, which has induced rather huge and detrimental changes in Turkish agriculture (7). The mechanization of agriculture and specifically the introduction of tractor have pushed many workers out. Combined with effects of the legal inheritance system and demographical increase, there has been observed pauperization in the country side and thus the rural- urban exodus has started (8). As an example, mention can be made of the fact that whereas there were 90,000 farm workers' families without land of a total of 400,000 farm workers' families, the figure of landless families has risen to 309,000 in 1963 (9). This means migration. We'll not go into detail; but, what we want to underline is the fact that the main reason of rural-urban migration is the dissolution of pre-capitalist agricultural structures and the arising push-factor(s) forcing the villagers in direction to the cities. The Turkish urban population has grown 5.4 times between 1950-1985 (10). The urban migrants display also a tendency to see their gecekondus as a "social security mean" due to the inefficiency of the social security systems in Turkey (11). It is also clear from this tendency that rural-urban movement is not just a physical place change; it is rather a socio-economic phenomenon.

The Turkish rural-urban migration is directed to the big cities. The gecekondu population shares within their total populations of three big cities were fixed as 70%, 55% and 50% in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, respectively, in the late 1970s. (12). The excess of urban population between 1960-1980 (13.3 million) has settled into İstanbul, Ankara, Adana, İzmir and Bursa (13). Besides this internal migration, be it with a delay, a second type of migration has started: International migration. It is rather the internal migration running over the national borders; and it has had dampening effects on internal migration which had reached "crisis" dimensions (14). Because of that reason, international migration could be viewed as Turkish urbanization movement's "long-distance type" (15). However, the urbanization type being shaped at the end of the international migration is somewhat different than the one created by the internal migration. The differences are between possibilities and conditions provided for by a developed country like F.R.of Germany which has almost completed its industrialization and urbanization processes and which therefore could be labelled as "post-industrial" and a developing country like Turkey trying still to finish her industrialization process. Freyer summarizes the situation of the migrants in a big city and/or industrial area as follows:

> "The migration to a big city or industrial area cuts the relations of the migrants which were existing between themselves and their milieu. Therefore the migrants become subjects of social milieu change, as well. (..) Working in front of a machine instead agricultural activities, residing in an urbanized area or in an apartment block as a tenant, the cutting of varied material helps and to become dependent upon wages are radical social changes" (16).

However, the change for people taking part in the international migration is more critical. The very reason is the above-mentioned socio-economic development level differences. "These workers find themselves immediately in the middle of Munich or Kologne. The villagers migrating abroad go into a milieu having other behaving and value systems besides differentiated employment and working conditions totally different from the rural way of life (..) (..) (..). They, so to say, fall just in the middle of big company and industry towns after being broken off from their villages and small towns" (17). The terms "be broken off" and "fall" are very fitting words to describe the situation.

There have been made quite a lot researchs on the first part of the migration process (18). However, the case is not so comfortable with the second part of it. Köksal survey elaborating the housing conditions of Turkish workers in Sweden is the first study in this field (19). Although it is a very important study, it has unfortunately two disadvantages, being: a) There were living in Europe altogether two million Turks (37% of whom are workers and the rest family members). 74% of them were living in F.R.of Germany (20) whereas only 21,288 Turks were living in Sweden (in 1983)(21); b)Sweden was the second country (after the Netherlands) making detailed researchs on Turkish immigration process. Apart from this, it is the country which has accepted the migrant workers not as "guest"-workers, but as "immigrant"-workers since the very beginnings of the movement. The Swedish comprehensive social security system "has regarded the foreigners not as "temporary" groups, but as "minority groups having broad rights" (22).

Therefore Rinkeby, the housing area which Köksal had surveyed and which is one of the newest rental housing areas realized by the metropolitan municipality at 12 km. of distance from the Stockholm city centre (23) is for the immigrants, whose forerunners in the 1960s have had resided in hotel-rooms (with their compatriots and relatives) in the vicinity of the city center or in old dwelling stocks in the suburbs (24), an area "very much" above their expectations (i.e. in terms of housing comfort standards, rent levels and provision by public bodies, etc.) (25).

The Swedish Immigration Act dated 1975 foresees "equality", "freedom of choice" and "collaboration" rights to immigrants. There are some 60 training programmes in different languages and 50.000 children educated in their mother-languages (26). Rinkeby is "Bizim Köy" ("Our Village") for living Turks there and "Svartkalles" ("Blackheads' Place") or "Turkeby" (27) for the Swedishmen. Its inhabitants are from Kulu-Konya, a city the people of which make one-fourth of the Turkish population in Sweden (28), to an extent of 60% (29). There are also "special immigrant bureaux" ("Invandrarbyra") in Rinkeby established to bring services, which were formerly rendered by informal relations, in immigrants' languages; these bureaux' services are free of charge and provided for in full privacy and secrecy (30).

Thus, as a conclusion, it can be stated that there appeared in Rinkeby "a welfare state ghetto" in which there is living a Turkish immigrant group in a rather sterilized, isolated form and benefitting from all kinds of specially (artificially(?)) for themselves created "ghetto institutions" and (not

so) "cheap" and comfortable housing, nursery and education facilities, etc. (31).

The above-outlined study should be accepted as a "special case" while studying (Turkish) immigrants' housing conditions abroad and/or in Europe, however. The Turkish guestworkers are an integral part of the "labor migrations" realized according to the very necessities and conditions of the "world capitalism". Therefore, and after studying the Mexican-Americans within the framework of the US capitalism which imposes its own procedures/programmes to the rest of the capitalist world including F.Germany, as well, the assumptions of this Thesis work taking into consideration (here and in the following chapters) mainly the F.German case will be as follows:

Ass.1. The international migration process has created a Turkish Ghetto;

Ass.2. The (Turkish) Ghetto is a settlement form which is and will be created by the very conditions of socio-economic formations having capitalist market economies;

Ass.3. Labor-recruiting countries ("core" countries) are always more advantageous than the labor-exporting ones ("periphery" countries), and the fact that foreign laborer lives in ghettos is a by-product and/or result of the general policy of the core states to reduce the production and factor costs' level.

Ass.4. Being this the case, however, the governments of the capitalist core countries do and will pretend as if they were doing as much as

possible in order to provide for "decent" housing conditions to the migrants living in their cities. The rather "disguised" mechanisms of directing the "foreigners" to the housing market's "niches" and/or "ghettos" are either related to an "institutionalized" (be it legal or illegal!) state bureaucracy procedure; or to social norms and standards prevailing to the moment being in that respective country with regard to migrant labor/race issues;

Ass.5. The fact that (Turkish) foreign labor forces live in ghettos is also beneficial to the ruling social stratas in labor-exporting countries functioning within the framework of world capitalism;

Ass.6. Without intervening into the functioning of the economic basis of the ghettos, their "removal" is impossible. The "renewal" undertakings of the "foreigner/immigrant ghettos" which are mostly located in and/or very close to the historical central business districts ("CBD") of the capitalist cities are only a way-paving to the ruling class interests by evolving into "gentrification" schemes of higher-income groups. The thus (though not "evicted", but economically) "pushed-out" foreigners/immigrants will seek (or try to "establish" by "transforming" some parts of the "existing" urban housing stock to) other affordable "ghettos" to live in, if, of course, they are meanwhile not "deported" (forcibly) to their respective countries and/or if they do not cross over the "homelessness" line and fall into its rather too deep pit to escape from;

Ass.7. If the policies of "integration" and/or "assimilation" are wished to succeed, the way to solution will and should pass primarily through the "equality" between "native" and "foreigner" groups. Equality

means political (passive and active voting) rights and socio-economic rights within the society at large;

Ass.8. Without intervening into the very mechanisms of the (world) capitalist system, there is only one attainable target which foresees trying to realize (via "advocacy type" political, juristical, and not the least, planning measures and/or undertakings) a "full egalitarian society" functioning also for ghetto inhabitants struggling with the rather "institutionalized forms of racisms" of every type.

The assumptions are summarized above. Their testing results will shed light on the Rinkeby case study, too.

6.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The international migrations are rather a global trend of the twentieth century (32). Especially right after the Second World War they have intensified and gained geographical width. The main sources of these movements have been the Mediterranean countries of Europe. The migration movements from Mexico to the U.S. and from South Asian countries to Middle-Eastern countries, to Malaya, to the U.S. and to Canada, should be mentioned, too (33).

One should discern, however, these movements from the ones occurred in the 19th century in the direction from Europe to the U.S. which, to a great extent, were of permanent nature.

The migration movements of the 19th century might be regarded as occurred at the end of the shaky period during which the once hegemonic

power of the world-system, England, has transferred the colonial value accumulation process to America (34). The impoverization of the masses in newly industrializing European countries had contributed to this re-structuring process very much. The migration movements of the 20th century, however, arise after the Second World War in close relationship and parallelism to the Marshall credit help of the U.S. which had become then the hegemonic power of the world-system. The financial help was intended to contribute to the restructuring process of the war-stroken European countries (e.g. F.R.of Germany) in order the world capitalistic economy to be set in motion towards expansion. The European countries have bought American technology with the funds obtained thus from the US in order to realize their own accumulation conditions whereas "the less developed ones" have evolved into markets and labour force supply sources (35). It is at this period of time that necessary conditions for the circulation of the productive capital were born. To say it in other words, "the conditions, be it in the area of technology and transportation or in the area of labor freedom (i.e. the losing of traditional linkages and means of production on the side of the laborer) were provided for, a situation giving opportunity to the capital to move to every country and hiring every laborer in order to produce" (36). It can be said therefore that the migration movements of the twentieth century are important for the world-system only at the condition that they are "temporary", "flowing", and "gap-filling".

At this point of discussion it will be proper to summarize the migration theoretical models used in the academic circles. The first one is

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"the classical theory" developed by Lee, Price, Böhning and Todaro which regards the migration movement as an "individualistic" one (37). According to this model which is called as the "equilibrist model", too, the individuals making rational decisions do help to the efficient combination of scarce production factors like capital, land, and natural resources; in this way they bring benefits to both countries, i.e. to labour receiving-, as well as to labor-sending countries (38). The proponents of the model argue that "the labour surplus migrating from an undeveloped economy to a developed one causes the marginal productivity of the remaining labor rise, thus induces an efficient use of production factors. Apart from this (..) it exerts positive influences on the balance of payments of the sending country" (39).

The second migration model could be labelled as "the conflict school". Its proponents state that the migration process does not create an equilibrium state relating to the resources and production factors; to the contrary, the migration process should be handled within the framework of class structures and conflict (40). This model which is known also as "asymmetrical growth model" proposes to look at, among others such factors as: i) Interaction between labour markets of sending and receiving countries; ii) Impact of educational systems; iii) Transfer of foreign currency; iv) Conception of development plans; and v) Determination of migratory policies in order to understand the "imposed" policies on "periphery" countries by "center" countries (41). Main proponents of this model are Nikolinakos, Rex, Galtung, Castle-Kosack, Portes-Bach, Abadan- Unat and Arın.(42)

The third model seems to be a synthesis model derived from both models decribed above. The main proponent of this model is Hoffman-Nowotny. According to the model which is called also as "the social systems theory", the immigrants do constitute the bottom layer of the social stratification system in receiving countries. In other words, the immigrants exert influences on the class structures of the receiving countries and do create the most-bottom social strata, the subproletariat (43).

The discussion made before the presentation of the models immediately cancels out the first model. To say it other way: Individual choices are determined by the very system. Even if the immigrant and his/her family have gained and saved a sum of money, a situation observed by many scholars (44), this does not mean that the (sending) country has gained, too, from the process. We'll return to this point later.

6.3 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TURKISH IMMIGRATION PROCESS

The start for the Turkish immigration process was given in 1956 when the Kiel University's "Institute for World Economy" had proposed a vocational training program for Turkish highschool graduates to become foreman in industrial enterprises, in order to facilitate the German capital flow to Turkey (45). The first Turkish 12 trainees with their families arrived in April 1957 in Hamburg in accordance to the request of the Minister of Labor of Schleswig-Holstein as forwarded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey. Although the training program turned out to be a failure, the "guests"

have found easily working places in the dockyards of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck, to start a long process.

Then, a Turkish entrepreneur who was knowing the German labor market's need for manpower has established in Turkey a "Research Institute of Turkish-German Economic Relations" with the aim to recruit workers for German employers, charging 15 DM per worker (46). In this way, Turkish workers have started to contribute to the restructuring process of war-stroken F.R.of Germany on the very grounds of the Marshall financial help. "The Turkish-German Labour Exchange Treaty" has been signed on 31st October 1961 (47).

To recall the important migration movements of both countries will be of help evaluating the "preparedness to migration process at all" situations of the countries. The Republic of Turkey had received great numbers of migrants of Turkish origin from Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia at the decay of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, within the framework of population exchange treaties, there came some 384,000 Turks from Greece whereas 149.851 Greeks have left between 1923-1927. 121,620 Turks from Romania and 300,000 Turks from Yugoslavia have migrated to Turkey between 1923-1970. 30,000 jews have left for Israel between 1948- 1950. All of these types of movements are regarded as "political migrations" related with "human rights" (48).

Being contrary to this type of migratory movements, the migrations into F.R.of Germany are of a specific nature. This country's migration history is at the same time the history of the labour in this country (at least of a part

of it). The start of German labour recruitment process has been detected some 300 years ago in 1685 (so in a period when the protestan minorities were traced very seriously in France between the years 1550-1750) when Germany has accepted a population mass of 20,000 persons (49).

The second migration wave has been observed in the economic development (and unification) years of 1870-1871 during which private business persons have went to Europe's poor regions and especially to Prussia in order to recruit "strong" and "single" men to work in coal and mineral mines of the Rhine region. When there were counted only 16 poles in a population survey made in the Rhine industrial region in1861, after 30 years in 1890 their numbers had risen to 30,290 (50).

There were working almost 800,000 foreign workers within the borders of the German Reich on the twelfth July 1907, mostly of whom were Italians and Dutchs. (4.1% of the total labor force.) The total number of foreigners (including family members) has risen to 1,250,880 in 1910 and to nearly 2 million just before the First World War. Meanwhile the percentage share of Polish immigrants have increased to 13% in some regions and even over 40% in some towns and cities. During allthroughout the XIXth century and until 1926, children of 7-14 years age old from Tyrrhole region have been sold to farmers in the so-called "children markets" to be established in summer months (51).

After the First World War at the end of which Germany and its allied, the Ottoman Empire had lost, foreign workers' employment in Germany has been reduced to a number of 142,000 in 1932. And with the

Nazi régime seizing power in 1933, labor power need has been felt more intensively, because men were taking part in military manoeuvres increasingly from day to day. Especially the Polish migrants were made "forcibly" to work. Starting in January 1940, "the regular-labor-hunting" was realized with help of the police, SS and Gestapo. At the end of the Second World War which was started and lost by Germany, as well, there were 6 million workers who had been made forcibly to work and 2 million workers who were captured during the war (52).

After 1945, the people of lost regions (i.e. the eastern regions of the Reich) amounting to some 10 millions came to western parts of Germany. They were living under miserable conditions. In 1950, one million of them were sheltered at very inferior standards. Between 1949, when the Federal Republic was established in the west and 1961, when the Berlin Wall was constructed, some 2,6 million qualified DDR citizens migrated to the F.R.of Germany and have been employed there.

However, since there was a great need especially in such fields as agriculture, animal husbandry, building, forestry and mining, F.R.of Germany has signed a treaty with Italy on the 20ieth December 1955. In 1960, when there was more need for labor than the actual unemployed ones, the government has decided to recruit workers from Europe's "poor storehouse", i.e. Mediterranean countries: Signed were treaties with Spain and Greece in 1960, with Turkey in 1961, with Morocco in 1963, with Portugal in 1964, with Algeria in 1965, with Yugoslavia in 1968 (53). The government has established "application contact bureaux" in the capitals of

the sending countries which were recruiting young and healthy men to send to the F.R.of Germany while getting 165 DM per head (54).

What kinds of results should be underlined in the foregoing discussion? The first one is the fact that the F.R.of Germany has a long history and/or tradition in the area of foreign worker recruitment and employment. The second one is the fact that the German governments have changed and adapted their foreign worker employment policies according to the need induced by the world economy's impact on their national economy. In other words, the (foreign) labor force is determined, defined and directed by the German national economy; its existence is of economic nature. If one should explain the situation more detailed, it should be stated that the foreign labor force is "injected", so to say, into the national economy with a specific target: To fill the gap in the national employment structure, a gap which is the result of the occupational preferences of native workers and/or the result of insufficiency of labor in some subsectors of the economy. And if the time comes to a specific moment when there is no more gap in the employment structure, it will be said to foreign labor force, first, "no" in order to preserve would be work places for indigenous workers

The labor export from Turkey gains importance in the 1960s with migration to the F.R.of Germany. This country and most of the other European receiving countries have defined these labor movements as a "temporary labor migration" (55). The F.R.of Germany has "invented" the term of "Gastarbeiter" ("guestworker") and adopted a policy which was foreseeing "rotation" of labour force, i.e. employment of the foreign workers

for a fixed period of contract time and then releasing them in order to inject into the national economy some "new" foreign labour force. The rotation principle had also a negative effect on the reunification process of families with workers staying there.

After the F.R.of Germany, there have been signed labor export treaties with some other European countries, e.g. with Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium in 1964, with France in 1965 and with Sweden in 1967 (56). With the "oil crisis" of 1973 a turning point in the labor export process has been reached after which the migration to Europe decreased and instead of it migration to Middle-Eastern (oil) countries has started (57). Australia in the 1970s and Canada in the 1980s have been the principal destination places for the Turkish labor flow. After a calculation made in May 1984, the total number of Turkish workers in the EEC was 706,726 (542,512 of which is the figure for the F.R.of Germany, only); the total number of Turkish workers in the whole Europe was 770,610; the number of workers in the Middle-East and North Africa was 222,934; so, the total sum of Turkish workers abroad was 1,015,544(58). The share of the Turkish workers living in F.Germany was more than a half, i.e. 53.4 percent, then.

As many researchers say, there are a lot of differing estimations made with regard to real figures of the Turkish workers abroad. The latest figures at the end of 1991 (as obtained from the Ministry of Employment and Social Security) relating to the topic are as follows: The total number of the Turkish workers living with their families abroad is 2,857,696. Together with all kinds of economic refugees and illegal workers, the total becomes

roughly 3 millions. A fixed share of 1,250,964 (i.e. less than a half of the total) is making up the Turkish workers abroad as a whole. Of this, 85.3% lives in European countries. The percentage shares of the Turkish (labor) population distribution (within the boundaries of some of the European countries) are summarized below:

(F.R.of) Germany	55.5%
France	8.9%
The Netherlands	7.0%
Austria	4.6%
Switzerland	2.9%
United Kingdom	2.4%

Among the countries where the rest of the workers (amounting to 14.7%) resides are Saudi Arabia (to an extent of 10.4%), and Australia (2.3%).(59)

The labor export process from Turkey to foreign countries was organized at the very start by "İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu" (IIBK) (the Work- and Worker Provision Agency) which was giving priority to the inhabitants of "backward regions", to the members of "Village Development Co-operatives", and also to the local people of "disaster-prone areas". Apart from this, applicants who could get "invitations for their persons themselves by names" from abroad were forwarded without needing to wait. Outside of the scopes designed and mentioned above for being selected to take part in the labor export process, people who have age limit or health problems went "illegally" to foreign countries with their "tourist" passports, and worked as long as they could find suitable working places. Nearly half of the workers sent abroad between the years of 1963-1973 were originating from 8

provinces taking place in western -, and northern Turkey. So, the policy of IIBK aiming at sending abroad unqualified workers and especially people from the developing regions, could not be realized.(60) Here, one should stress that it actually should not be expected that such a policy could be realized because the labor migration process is determined by the accepting country. Therefore, the potential contributions of the labor export process to Turkey in terms of her employment structure deficiencies and her balance of payment deficits are not guaranteed. The economic crises and impasses met in capitalist center economies from time to time in an unavoidable manner can give way to such results which can shake totally and/or destroy the calculations, plans, and even economic developments of the periphery countries which are the main sources of (im)migrant labor.(61)

The governing cadres in Turkey were having big expectations with regard to the international labor migration movements as they were clearly spelled out in 5-Year-Development-Plans in the following manner(62):

1- The external labor migration could be both a temporary solution for the national unemployment problem, and a lasting one for the development of the country, as well.

2- The external labor migration was accepted as a solution for the country's balance of payments problem.

3- The external labor migration would provide for technical know-how, experience, and western-type working habits which were essential for national development through the use of migrant workers (who

would return back home and work for the country according to the assumptions made).

4- The external labor migration would be helpful to the modernization of Turkey and to social change via transferring of western-type technological and social values.

5- The external labor migration would cause the increase of the industrial investments in the country due to the existence of qualified labor force and rather huge amounts of capital accumulated abroad and brought back home.

However, the results obtained were not as expected. "Neither the industrial experiences and earnings, nor the capital transfer amounts of the returnees are providing for an important contribution to the country in general. The benefits of the external migration are limited only with the leap seen in the living of the (im)migrant worker and his/her family. It is, however, within certain limits and for a fixed period of time."(63) "Maybe the only goal" for the returning workers "has been to own a business, the management of which is in their own hands, and which doesn't necessitate very much effort." The realities are also in this direction. As the external migration was of "temporary" nature, the immigrants have been living under provisional conditions, and without setting up a rooted existence mode for years and years. "Coupled with the facts of discrimination on the side of the accepting countries, and of segregating oneself from others which is caused by being of a rather backward origin, the phenomenon of living under provisional conditions prohibits personal development, information, and

integration with the society in which one lives. Being temporary impedes the long-dated imaginations, plans, and brings to the forefront the fact of being squezzed within the walls of the "culture of poverty"."(64) (Starting right here at this point, a door is opened to the together-living of the migrants, in other words to their very ghettoization.)

As a matter of fact, the external migration does provide for to the labor-exporting country which has made for the labor's being grown-up "massive investments"(65), nothing in the long run, besides only a small quantity of foreign currency in the short run. Actually, the economic structure (of the labor-exporting country) becomes more dependent owing to the presence of those "foreign currency sources". An inclination towards "consumerism" makes itself apparent in the economy.(66) In a research made by Krane before 1973(67), it has been shown that 41% of the savings of the returnees were allocated to housing or land, 23% were spent to establishing small businesses, and 20% were spent to buying of consumer goods. According to the Gitmez study, nearly half of the savings were allocated to real estates, and a third was allocated to productive investments.(68) "The worker who obtains material benefits for his/her family, helps thereby also to the fact that Turkey endures her place in the world capitalist system"(69), although he becomes frustrated and disappointed to encounter "the reality of underdevelopment" (i.e. the phenomenon he has also contributed to) upon return when he has actually very few investment opportunities except in housing and small business.(70)

As it was the turn of the 1970s, Turkey had started the production of consumer durables in a widespread manner like the other middle-income countries, i.e. Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico which are forming a sub-group most resembling to Turkey from the viewpoint of industrialization policies basing on the domestic markets.(71) The existing high-income labor-aristocracy (affiliated with the syndicates), and the petty-bourgeoisie were "guarantee"ing the selling of such consumer items in domestic markets.(72) Without any doubt, the returning workers and their relatives have been among the ranks of those guarantors.(73) Of whose interest are these commercial relationships, in other words the savings of the workers? Starting from the village, "the man in the village owing a middle-sized land sells his land and his social ranking"; and the well-to-do people living in small-, and big cities sell their businesses, houses, and plots to the migrants; so they become with the earned capital real estate-, furniture-, and luxury items- (or consumer durables-, of course) dealers.(74)

The point stressed by the researchers of the external migration with the view of evaluating the situation in receiving countries has been the fact that the migrant worker fulfills a fixed gap in those régimes (of the post-industrial core countries) being a docile, very flexible, mostly unconscious (i.e. in the fields of politics, and syndicates)(75) labor reserve army. The existence of more numerous workers than unfilled vacancies prevents the wage rates from rising; the foreign workers do carry out the type of works classied as dangerous, low-status, dirty, and low-income by the indigenous workers; they help to create a "dual" labor force market in

core countries. Whenever it is necessary, both sections of the labor market are used against each other; in this way, the (post- industrial) work order functions in harmony uninterruptedly.(76) The (im)migrants employed abroad and thus forming a "European sub- proletariat"(77) are really the persons "at the very bottom" ("ganz unten") of the societal pyramides in those center countries.(78)

6.4 THE RACIALIZATION PROCESS OF THE TURKS IN GERMANY BY THE (RACIST)GERMAN STATE APPARATUS, INSTITUTIONS, AND PEOPLE

There are also persons, or groups located at the bottom of the very bottom (in those post-industrial center countries). A sociological discrimination of foreign worker groups who are economically at the very bottom can be made which allows today (in the 1990s) the Turkish workers be ranked as the "last" group (i.e. "at the very, very bottom") within the hierarchy of the minority groups living in Germany, a situation illuminating the fact why the Turks here are discriminated against socially and segregated, and kept under pressure, and even being attacked physically, injured, and sometimes even killed by the so-called "Neo-Nazis"! 48% of the Germans do find the Turks "less sympathetic" than other foreign minorities and the Turks are found more intolerable than the Pakistani, or even black African.(79) Table (61) below presents the assumed attributes of the Turks in comparison to two other foreign worker colonies (of Italian and Greek origin) in Germany:

Table 6.1 Turkish, Italian and Greek Attributes (as assumed by Germans(% share), 1982):

Attribute	Turkish	Italian	Greek
Have large families	88	70	48
Exhibit very different behavior	69	47	42
Stay among themselves	64	39	44
Have a hard time here	61	45	47
Do work we don't want to do	60	54	41
Are simple people	59	42	40
Feel excluded	42	24	27
Are very frugal	40	23	28
Take away our jobs	39	32	21
Sometimes they scare you	31	20	9
Are industrious people	29	23	33
Don't care about cleanliness	26	21	10
Are not as intelligent as us	20	13	11
Take advantage of us	18	14	6
Are often brutal, aggressive	17	18	5
Are easily excited	16	36	10
Are friendly and polite	13	26	28
Are scared and unsure	13	7	9
Are nice co-workers	12	20	17
Have badly raised children	11	14	5
Can cook well	9	37	34
Have no culture	8	5	2
Are always happy	8	32	21
(Continued)			
Are good neighbors	8	13	13
Are just like us	6	19	16
One can learn much from them	3	6	6
None of the above			

(Source: (Cited from a February 1982 study by the Allensbach Institute in:) World Opinion Update, Vol.6, No:4, 1982, p.104.)

According to the table above, the Turks "having large families", and "staying among themselves" to a very large extent do "exhibit very different behavior" according to 69 percent of Germans!

Even the men from Mafia of Italy could be tolerated as they are part of the "We-Sense" of a European cultural circle; but the ("Other") Turks are "totally-foreign" ("Allzufremde"), therefore their number should be curtailed!(80) The Turks living in Germany since nearly forty years have been made especially in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s the targets of all kinds of racist attacks on the side of racist Germans, politicians, and mass media (radio, T.V., newspapers), some examples of which will be given below.

There have appeared newly created "Türkenwitze ("Turkish jokes") about Turks living in Germany which are actually full of very serious stereotypes and/or prejudices. Some of them are translated and cited below(81):

> - "What is common between an apple and a Turk?- They are seen most beautifully if they hang.."
> - "The foreigners have all died; do you know also why? - The rats had always faster run to the garbage cans.."
> - "What is a Turk in an empty bottle? - A stinkbomb.."
> - "What is it, if a Turk sits on top of an ashbin? - A house-occupation.."
> - "What is the distinction between the Jews and the Turks? - The Jews have already left behind.."
> - "What is an accident? - If a ship full of Turks sinks! What is a catastrophe? If a Turk survives.."
> - "Turks can (s)elect now! - Namely between Auschwitz and Dachau!"

A writer of "Der Spiegel" quoted the following contemporary ethnic joke while embarking upon the rising tensions between Germans and foreign guestworkers: "What is the difference between a white line (on the highway) and a Turk? - One is not allowed to drive over the white line.."(82)

Another author, Toelken, translates and cites some other wide- spread Turk-jokes ("those told not by Turks, but about them by Germans")(83):

> - "What are the holiest days of the Turks in Germany? - The day on which Germans put out their discarded furniture, belongings and clothing for trash pickup, and "special sale" days in the department stores."
> - "What do you call a Turkish suitcase? - A plastic bag."
> - "How do you recognize a Turkish mare in the meadow? - She's wearing a headscarf.."
> - "What's the result when you put a Turk through the meatgrinder? -Achmet (Turkish name) ("in German this means "Oh! Meat!"")
> - "What sits in the tree and is black? - A Turk after the forest fire."
> - "How do you rape a Turkish woman? - Dress up, pants down! ("The pants here refer not to those of the attacker but to those of the woman: Turkish women's dress includes pantaloons under a long dress.")
> - "Have you seen the latest German microwave? - It has room for a whole Turkish family!"

Toelken says that these texts are representative of two basic kinds of jokes told by Germans concerning (Turkish) guestworkers: "One makes fun of ethnic and national differences in dress, custom or eating habits, while the other presents a much more aggressive and destructive scene. Any observer can see in these texts the blatant expression of animosity toward an ethnic minority(..)."(84) Albrecht has argued that the anti-Turk jokes are a measure of "latent fascism" and an extreme right-wing political tendency in Germany today.(85) Although there is a great share of truth in stating that ethnic jokes could be seen as symptomatic of a disequilibrium in the capitalist system that is felt most sharply by various groups of people who compete with each other, as Davies suggests(86), it is by far not an all-consuming academic explanation, however. A more satisfying answer is given by Toelken as follows:

"So what is the tension out of which these hateful jokes flow? It seems to me that it is an emotionally perceived threat, and not a real economic one, which is not to say that there are no economic problems in Germany or dilemmas that relate to the existence of the guest worker system.(..) The question is, what is that threat? Mainly,(..) , the threat seems for many people to be registered as a racial one. In addition, (it) is a widely accepted assumption that there is a limited supply of those benefits which a culture owes its members: jobs, security, stability of language and custom, continuity of das Volk. (..)If They are getting more, We must be getting less; if They are becoming more numerous, We must be becoming less numerous."(87)

As it is seen from the above excerpt, the concept of race as imbedded to socio-economic functioning of the post-industrial society plays the most determining role in the "foreigner problem" witnessed (to a greater extent) in Germany. However, as Kalpaka and Raethzel made it clear, the discrimination, marginalisation, and refusing of the foreign workers and their family members in Germany is mostly referred to as "xenophobia" ("Auslaenderfeindlichkeit"), whereas the definition of "racism" would be more proper since there is not the same refusing behaviour on the side of the Germans to all foreigners including the English-, American-, Swedish origin foreigners as it is the case for Africans, Turks, Spaniards, and Greeks.(88) Apart from this, since it has also been verified that there may be such differences within a genetically specific group as seen between the members of discrete genetical groups, one can assume that there are not different human "races".(89) This does not mean, however, that there is not a racism. Racism is the social construction of a fixed human group as "race": Some defined (be it real or assumed) physical features are said to be the signifying elements of a group and they are attached to some determined

behaviour modes, way of lifes (e.g. religious beliefs). The coupling of physical (i.e. biological) features with social behaviour modes "naturalizes" the social fact. If a group constructed as "race" is ranked lower-scaled vis-a-vis the self- group and if this conceptualization brings to segregation and marginalization of that group, then one can easily speak of racism.(90) Miles provides a very useful insight into the topic by saying that:

> "Thus, racisms differ on a number of dimensions. The group that is identified as its object, the natural features signified, the characteristics attributed to the group and negatively evaluated -all of these aspects of racism are historically variable. But they are not historically random.(..)Different racisms are therefore not necessarily independent of each other(..). Rather, any one instance of racism will be the product of both a reworking of at least some of the substance of earlier instances, and a creation of novel elements."(91)

It would be proper here to discuss a little bit the historical process of the German-Turco "racial" relationships which have evolved as being "racialized" into the so-called "Auslaenderfeindlichkeit". While this search for "racial" history will be conducted, it will be of utmost importance to view and/or detect the "institutional racism" relating to which Miles says the following:

> "(Institutional racism) refers to two sets of circumstances. First, there are circumstances where exclusionary practices arise from, and therefore embody, a racist discourse but which may no longer be explicitly justified by such a discourse. Second, there are circumstances where an explicitly racist discourse is modified in such a way that the explicitly racist content is eliminated, but other words carry the original meaning. What both circumstances have in common is that the racist discourse becomes silent, but is nevertheless embodied (or institutionalised) in the continuation of exclusionary practices or in the use of the new discourse."(92)

Some (actually many!) Germans think in this way: "No any German has thought to share the income of a bycycle-seller after having bought a bycycle from him. The reciprocal demands have been satisfied during the effort-interchange process. It is the same by a guestworker. They came freely. They have sold their labor and been paid wages therefore. With this it finished."(93) It is clear that the logic of such an thought is at least biased and handles the issue from only one (i.e. capital, i.e. German) angle. However, there are other opinions as well: "There is the demand for the identity of all Germans!" Or: "The Turks in majority do not want to adapt german cultur-, and life-forms!" Or: "Nothing from the Islamic life-traditions adapts itself to our german ideals!" Or: "The Turks stem from a foreign culture the moral-, and value principals of which are alien to us.(..)The Islamic standing with regard to men, state, worldviews, etc. is different in essence from ours, and endangers our state, our social order and lastly but not least, our guaranteed rights and liberties!"(94).

There have been conducted in Germany in last years racial campaigns called "Auslaender-stopp!"-; or "Deutschland den Deutschen!" ("Germany to Germans")-campaigns. (On the walls, one sees posters with such phrases as: "So that we can have a future, the German folk should not die out!" (In other words, German women must have more children!) There was a small cartoon in a popular Sunday supplement showing two German men watching a large Turkish family walk by. One of the men says to the other: "I am really not a racist, but by the year two thousand the German people will have become totally racially polluted."(95)

C. Habbe provides in his book "Auslaender: Die verfemten Gaeste" a number of letter quotations of Germans which were sent to their political representatives. Some of them read as follows: "There should come a man similar to Hitler. Within a month we would have again a clean Germany." Or: "Our nature and race must be preserved." Or: "We have four million foreigners, a birth quota that guarantees extinction, thus this national harakiri." Or: "How many foreigners do you really want to bring into Germany? Now all we are lacking are the Indians and headhunters. If it goes any farther the foreigners will drive us out of the land and then we will be the fugitives, but before it goes that far the population will arise and drive the foreigners out of the land."(96) All of these excerpts do point out to only one direction even if they may include some touchings upon economics and employment: Feelings of "racial threat".(97)

Friedrichs and Alpheis state with regard to the German-foreigner relationships the following:

> "The influx of foreign-born population in the mid-1960s and the resulting increase in ethnic minorities constituted a new problem fo r the Federal Republic of Germany. Except for the integration of immigrants in the early nineteenth century, most of whom were Polish , and the integration of Germans from the former parts of the Reich after World War II, West Germany has had little experience in integrating minorities. Contrary to other European countries such as Great Britain or France, Germany lost its colonies after World War I and thus was never confronted with the problems of integrating ethni c minorities until recently. This is aside from the dramatic fate of the Jewish population during the Nazi period, which obviously documents a very extreme ethnocentrism."(98)

The "little experience" of the Germans in "integrating minorities" has made itself very clear in the case of the Turks. This population group

was "invited" as well known according to the employment contract of 1961 which was a replica of the contract of Germany with Italy signed in December 1955 for importing workers for the agricultural and building sectors. In response to demands of German labor unions, the agreement stipulated that foreign laborers have equal rights in the workplace and receive pay amounts equal to their German counterparts doing the same job. The agreement further guaranteed terms of employment, promised provision of adequate housing, and permitted the return of earnings to the home country, leaving the opportunity for foreigners to bring their families with them subject to the approval of German authorities.(99)

The West German government had envisioned originally the recruitment of foreign labor at a temporary basis to sustain economic growth. However, by the early 1960s the economy's new labor demand had exploded due to the erection of the Berlin Wall (in 1961) which largely stopped the influx of refugees from the German Democratic Republic.(100) Germany had to turn once more to the foreign workers for the expansion of its economy. Starting in 1968 the number of guestworkers has steadily risen to reach a peak of 2,595,000 (accounting for 11.9% of the total work force) in 1973 when Germany (and some other European countries as well) had stopped (in November of that year) the import of foreign workers (under the so-called "Anwerbestopp"-policy) being affected by the OPEC oil embargo and being plunged into a economic recession. Although for the next several years the number of foreign workers dropped sharply as expected, by the end of the decade it has begun to rise again. By the year 1980, there were one million

more resident aliens than there had been in 1972.(101) The flow of the foreign labor makes itself apparent also in the index figures of those years:

Table 6.2 : Growth of the Foreign Population and Percentage of Foreigners in Relation to Total Population - 1961-1979:

	Years									
	1961	1967	1970	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Foreign population index (1961=100)	100	263	434	578	602	596	576	576	580	604
Percentage of foreigners in relation to total	1.2	3.0	4.9	6.4	6.7	6.6	6.4	6.4	6.5	6.8

(Source: (Adapted from:) Elmar Hönekopp and Hans Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany", (in) Immigrant Workers in Europe: Their Legal Status - A Comparative Study (Ed.: Eric-Jean Thomas), Paris: Unesco Press, 1982, p.127 (Table I).)

Looking to the picture above, Klusmeyer concludes: "In short, many of the foreign workers and their families who had entered the Federal Republic as guests were now permanent inhabitants."(102) The labor migration process which was actually started in Germany and by the German employers "commodifying" Turkish labor power(103) was thus yet out of their control! Seemingly, the last words of the labor migration process to Germany would be said by the laborers who were turning themselves into (permanent) immigrants even if they were "unwanted" to a great extent. But, what was the actual official basis prepared by the very German state for the migrant workers? In other words, what was/were the German (im)migration policy/es followed in due course of time?

The first and "fundamental principle" of German immigration policy is that "no alien has the right to reside in the country without a residence permit".(104) And it is the general rule in Germany that the granting of a work permit precedes the granting of a residence permit. The only exception is that workers from the EEC countries are allowed to enter the country without having to ask for a work permit.(105) The policy of the "Foreigners' Department" ("Auslaenderbehörde") which is responsible for controlling the movements of foreigners is based on the following texts: a) The "Aliens Act" ("Auslaendergesetz"); b) The Decree on the Implementation of the Aliens Act ("Durchführunggsverordnung zum Auslaendergesetz"); c)General Administrative Regulations for the Execution of the Aliens Act ("Allgemeine Verwaltungsvorschrift zur Ausführung des Auslaendergesetzes"); d)The regulations of the European Community; e)Bilateral and multilateral agreements (e.g. establishment conventions signed with Greece, Spain, and Turkey and also such instruments as the European Social Charter and the European Convention on Human Rights).(106)

According to Bendix, upon arrival in Germany, a foreign worker was required to register with the police and apply for a residence permit. If he could find adequate housing, i.e. with each occupant over the age of 6 having 12 squaremeter of living space, and each occupant under the age of 6 having 8 squaremeter of living space, he was also allowed to bring his family.(107) Although it was later rescinded, the Turks were prevented from bringing their families initially. They were supposed to be functioning as

docile, and single, and cheap laborers who would rotate back to their home country after being "squeezed" by the post-industrial "host" country!

As the term "guestworker" implies, the German immigration policy was at the outset a "policy of rotation" based upon "economic rationality which was restricted to economic reasoning regardless of the needs of foreign laborers and their families", and taking for granted that the foreign labor force was "to work in West Germany for a limited time only and then rotate back home."(108) This policy could be regarded as being the first official (im)migration policy of Germany. As it will be highlighted upon later on, the other three foreigner-policies persecuted in sequential order have been: i)The "integration (for assimilation) policy" followed between 1973-1980; ii)The "Stop and/or reduce the foreigners" policy of the period between 1980-1990; and lastly iii)The "(all) foreigners are undesirable and/or "burn the Turk(s), burn!""(109) period of the 1990s.

From its enactment in 1965 until the adoption of new legislation in 1990, the Aliens Law regulated the basic terms under which foreigners were admitted, the conditions and duration periods of their stay, and the necessary grounds for deportation. Pointing out to the fact of this law's being the legal basis of the official labor market transactions, Klusmeyer describes the purpose of the law as follows:"The overriding purpose of the 1965 law was to give the government a flexible policy instrument to meet the changing needs of the labor market."(110)

Bendix summarizes the situation more comprehensively by saying that the presence of foreign workers in Germany rests on the twin principles

of residence and work; and that workers who are not German nationals must have a work permit which is regulated through the "Employment Promotion Act" ("Arbeitsförderungsgesetz") of 1969. He goes further by saying:

> "Residence permits may be of limited duration (as in the Legitimationskarte) and potentially renewable, or of unlimited duration, whereby a distinction is made between the permission to reside (which may be granted before arrival) and the right to reside (which may be granted after five years residency) (Aufenthaltserlaubnis and Aufenthaltsberechtigung). Work permits parallel this distinction in residency permits: the "general" work permit is limited to two or three years, valid for one job for one employer in one place(..). The "special" permit may be granted to foreign workers who have been "gainfully employed, continuously and legally, during the previous five years"(..)."(111)

Under such a mess of "police" bureaucracy procedures "pressed", and due to the (here for now and also in the always "postponed" very near future until "returning") living projects "impressed", the Turkish workers begun to think "strange" things to do: Right after the "recruitment stop" policy of 1973, the workers who were afraid of not being able to take their families to Germany via labor import practices anymore, started to call them immediately! The result was that in effect not only spouses and children joined family heads, but also brothers and sisters, as well. Until the year of 1980, the (im)migration policy of German authorities was a search for finding out whether the stay of the workers and their families were of permanent nature; and if it was the case, whether the integration of them into the larger society would be possible or not. The Germans were "hating" the Turks who were serving with all their energy them?

But why? Why are the Turks considered to be the "least sympathetic" foreigners (in Germany)? And, if so, why have the Turks living

there not been "coerced" to return back home in a legally more overt form?(112) The answer to these questions lies in the very fact of the existence of the "racialized stereotypes" related with a(n) (im)migrant population group which fulfills both roles of being the social group bearing all the burden of carrying the stigma of "("guestworker") underclass" on the one hand, and serving a real and unrenouncable function of making the (be it "post"-) industrial societal apparatus work smoothly (as it was also the case with Mexican-Americans and other immigrant minorities in the U.S.)!

At this point of discussion, it will be convenient to think of the existence of the dual labor market; of the fact that the Turks are making with their count of 1,552,000 nearly 34.2% of total foreigners living in Germany, i.e. 4,535,000 persons comprising 9% of the total population in 1983. Of the Turks, a fixed 35.7%, i.e. 565,000 persons are working.(113) The advantages created for the German capital due to both factors namely: a)The role played in the falling of wages by the very existence of two separate groups of workers who are dissected with help of non-economical reasons; and b)The inability of the Turkish workers to get to the consciousness among themselves of the necessity to behave collectively; should be taken into account, too.(114) If the new capitalistic accumulation form in core countries is concentrating itself mainly, as it is the case in the U.S., to high-tech sectors (such as information technics and bio-technology) leaving behind the old-fashion, traditional, heavy-industrial sectors which have been employing densely foreign labor force, then, being parallel to the newly emerging social polarization and pauperization of the middle-income

classes(115), there will be an increase in the quantity of foreign labor unwanted in the center(s), and the Turks will be the primary figures of such a group. As it is a well-known fact, the official governmental policy in Germany is now to support the workers' returning back home with some attractive and/or unattractive measures. One of the last "half-coerced" policies followed has been the "Support Law for Easing the Foreigners' Returning Back Home" (or the "Blum Law") of November 28, 1983 which was promoting the returning workers with 10,500 DM per person starting from 31.10.1983 onwards. Besides, there was a 1,500 DM premium per child. In addition, the workers who would return to Turkey permanently, would be able to get without any delay the payments by workers to the retirement insurance system. This aid which is given upon returning to one's native country permanently, could be used within one year, i.e. the period was expiring on 30.06.1984.(116) The result was not so promising as expected, however. The number of the Turks who 've got the return aid has been only 14,000.(117) Between the years 1983-1984 the total of the returning Turks was around 210,000. With some others joining them until 1988, the returners have reached 500,000 during this period. (118) The rest of the Turks remaining in Germany did not know that the foreigner policy of the "host" society was evolving into a new, and very tragic episode which could be labelled as the episode of: **"Burn the Turk(s), burn!"**

6.5 HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE (SEEMINGLY GERMAN) XENOPHOBIA AND/OR RACISM AS DIRECTED AGAINST THE TURKS

The tragic moment of the fate of the Turks with other and especially capitalistic-imperialistic core countries (such as Germany) is lying rather in the historical fact that Turks have never experienced being dominated totally by other empires, states, or powers except for being exploitated to a fixed extent by and via a tiny ("comprador bourgeoisie") group of their own ruling cadres playing an intermediary role in specific historical periods. Even right after the "Tanzimat" period, namely the new and "regulatory" period in the Ottoman Empire starting as early as 1839, which is together with: i)the "Balta Limanı (İstanbul) Commerce Agreement" of 1838 with England (getting important advantages vis-a-vis the Ottoman Empire with regard to decreased customs taxes on the part of the Ottomans); ii)the external debt search period starting in 1854; and iii)the concessions given to foreign companies and/or states for constructing railways after the 1850s; the symbol of the "semi-colonization" efforts spent in the 19th century(119)), the Turks have maintained their freedom (be it in a very limited form and under severe hardships and sufferings) until the "Turkish Independence War" of 1919-1922 has renewed and regained it completely.

The German-Turco political and/or military relationships established starting as early as 1761 with the signing of the "Ottoman - Prussia Commerce Agreement" were marking the beginning of a historical process between two countries the principal guidelines of which were set to

a great extent by the Germans in order: i)To be not encircled (by other empires, or states) during the global power struggle; and ii)To disperse for exploitative reasons and targets on the soil of the (former) Ottoman Empire, and thereafter of the Turkish Republic (i.e. to realize the so- called **"Drang nach Osten!"** policy)..(120)

Johannes Glasneck who is also famous in our country with his PhD study titled as "Emperyalist Güçler ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Sırasında Türkiye" ("The Imperialist Powers and Turkey Before and During the Second World War") says that fascist Germany was introduced as a "friend" rather than being an "ally" to her, as it is also the praxis "by the(ir) succeeding generations" and that Germany was approaching Turkey with a "friendship rhetoric" by applying to the historical examples and personalities such as H. von Moltke, von der Goltz, Liman von Sanders, all of whom were very influential in shaping the military relationships between the two countries, while also directing attention to the "Treaty Between Ottoman Empire-Prussia" signed by the Prussian king Frederick the II and Sultan Osman the III in 1761. And he adds that the Turkish ambassador to Berlin during the years of 1939-1942, Mr.Hüsrev Gerede, has propagated in January of 1942 and in accordance to the needs of "the German militarist and fascist propaganda machine" the thesis stating that "the Prussian militarist soul (which actually is full of evils) fits genuinely to the Turkish man's essence".(121) Thanks to the God, the Turkish leaders then did not try to realize the content of that thesis by entering into the war(!) so that they

would share the same collapse fate of the Germans as it was the case in the First World War!

Starting with the 1960s onwards, another new and very important common history (and "friendship") page with the (F.R.of) Germany is opened: The Turkish labor force migration directing itself to that country following the actual "invitations" of the German (entrepreneur)s and according to the rather structural conditions of the international labor factor market of the global capitalism..

6.5.1 Germany as the "(Einwanderungs)Land" for the Turks (to Migrate)

There are living now (as calculated in 1993) more than 2 million Turks in F.Germany. This figure is roughly one third of the total foreigners of Germany making six milions. And from this total Turkish population a fixed sum of 632,324 (again one third of the total) are workers and the rest are worker families. The fact that more than the half of the Turks are living in Germany for at least 10 years where they have been living as a group since 33 years, did not provide for a situation by which the migrants could feel themselves "in peace and security", since they were called here "temporarily" to function as "guestworkers". What was expected from them was to carry out the "most dirtiest" works (which were not accepted by the German workers), "to save their earnings" and then "return back to Turkey".

However, the point in time for return back did not show itself up; and the Turks did not go back taking their suitcases which were staying

under their beds and/or on top of their wardrobes! To the contrary, they have become "permanent" workers; and they have earned the status of an **"de facto ethnic minority"**, although not from a political-, but from socio-economic and demographic points of view. In this way, the freightening scenario which was refused by the German authorities for nearly four decades uninterruptedly has turned out to be a reality and Germany became practically the **"(Einwanderungs)land to (im)migrate"!**

Actually, as many researchers have pointed out, Germany was and has been an historical (im)migration land since its emperorship periods. This fact appears very clearly if one examines the migration movements into the (II.) German Empire founded by Bismarck in 1871 (with a belief that it was replacing the first one, namely the Holy Roman Empire (962- 1806) which was founded by Otto the Great). If one should give an example: Between the years 1890-1914, there have migrated approximately a half million people of Polnish origin from the Eastern provinces of Prussia into the Ruhr region. These workers had worked in the unusual, unhealthy and tiring jobs and they were not very welcomed by the German people. They have been accused to be carrying with themselves sicknesses and moreover they have been treated as "bandits"! They have spent their lifes in the ghettos; and they have tried to overcome their homesickness feelings in the Polnish associations. However and in spite of all kinds of troubles, they have stayed in Germany! The main phenomenon lying behind this fact is the pauperization and proletarianization processes witnessed in the agricultural sector and/or rural side caused and motivated by the

industrialization process taking place in the 19th century especially in West-, and Middle Europe and the use of these poor and unemployed masses pushed out of the agriculture as a labor reserve army by the industrialists.

This is so much at the root of the process that one has rejected the Swedish workers to be "imported" to Germany while the empire was being established (during the so-called "Gründerjahre") due to the workers' wishes that their wages should be equal to those of the German workers! Again, one has abandoned the idea to bring workers from China where the Germans were present as "exploiters" (then) due to the "very high" cost of the transport and of the winter saison.. As understood from an historical document, the workers from Galicia who were stereotyped as having "low I.Q. level" were being accepted (maybe just because of that very reason?) into Germany with the same hospitality as one was displaying against the workers from Slovekia with a "meagre level of wage"! The Slavs who were followed in next years by the Nazis due to belonging to the "under-human beings" have contributed to the German war industrialists as "obligatory-workers" during the II.World War..

The SS - forces during the Second War had "imported" over seven million of "foreign workers" to the German weapon factories, a total consisting nearly of two million Poles; 2,25 million persons from the USSR; and several million from Letonya and the Baltic regions! They were not satisfied with letting them work for themselves; besides, they have grouped the workers according to their classes and races and determined their survival chances. For example, the Poles have been made to carry the letter

"P" on a yellow surface as it was the case also with the David's star of the Jews; the workers coming from the USSR should have the blue- white word "Ost" written on themselves. The workers from the Baltic regions, the Serbs, the Croats, the Dutch people, the French people were allowed to walk around freely(!) and without any sign.. For many workers, Germany has been the place where they spent their whole lifes.. One can claim for the "foreign worker" of today that they have become "permanent workers" as a combined result dictated by the economic development struggle on the international arena, by the wage abyss existing between his/her native country and Germany, and by the German social security system.(122)

6.5.2 "Türken Raus!" (Turks Out!) Or German Fascism In!

The German racist politicians and associations have been dealing with the issue of being the "(Einwanderungs)land to migrate" very seriously since the early 1980s. They've organized "Auslaender Stop" and "Deutschland den Deutschen" campaigns before the elections held on 09.10.1980 under the guidance of the NPD ("National Demokratische Partei Deutschlands") which was formed by merging DRP ("Deutsche Reichspartei") established in the 1950s and some other ultra-rightist institutions..(123) It has been published in the "Deutsche Wochenzeitung" dated 06.11.1981 which is the second biggest press medium of the German ultra-right after the "Deutsche Nationalzeitung", a racist document, the so-called "Heidelberger Manifesto" of some "responsible" German professors and issued on 17.06.1981 claiming that the very existence of the foreigners

making up a total of 4,5 million in the country should be rejected since they were "alienizing" the German geography and the Middle Europe as well.(124) After two weeks the ex-chancellor Helmut Schmidt has spoken in such a way: "I do worry because of the fact that the number of the foreigners in Germany has risen very sharply. I am awaiting deadly and bloody events to take place if it goes like this.."(125) It has been indeed the case; and the events started with the assassination of Halit Binici in Frankfurt at the end of January 1981 have widened and continued with such cases as setting fire to the refugees' hostels, hotels and/or camps (as it was the case in Saxon Hoyerswerda in September 1991 and in Rostock-Lichtenhagen in August 1992) and also as arson attacks against the houses and buildings where the Turks are living, causing serious harms and damages to the people who were "victimized" and who sometimes "even burned to death". Aiming at protesting such terrorist, bloody, and criminal events taking place frequently in Germany, a Turkish girl, Semra Ertan, has burned herself right in the middle of Hamburg on 12.05.1982 and died on 15.05.1982.(126) Again, in 1985 in Hamburg, a city having a reputation of being the "castle of the social-democrats", a Turkish youngster, Ramazan Avcı, has been killed on the road as a result of a lynching attack on the side of a group of German "skin-heads", nearly 40 in number, on 24.12.1985, i.e. when one was celebrating "Noel". This loathsome event has provoked the Turks in Hamburg making a total of 55,000 and shown to them that the xenophobia met in this country has evolved (as actually aimed at) into the hate against the Turks. After this event, the Turks could not have been cooled; and nearly

no day has passed whereby it has not come to a confrontation between the Turks and the Germans.More than 20 of Turkish associations, mosque communities, clubs, etc. have come together in order to establish a common movement called as "Aktion Bündnis". This movement has announced its entity in a press conference held at the Hamburger Senat on 07.01.1986. And on 11.01.1986, it has organized for the first time in the history of the Turkish presence in Germany since 30 years, a demonstration parade gathering nearly 15,000 Turks for protesting against the Federal-, and Land (state) authorities, and also the German police. "While creating a big surprise for the Federal authorities, this demonstration has given the first signals on the way to the identity search and to the solidarity of the Turkish community."(127)

The memorial arrangements made for "A. Hitler's 100.th Birthday" on 20.04.1989 have frightened the Turks some of whom were threatened by the neo-Nazis, since the authorities were not inclined to take more serious steps to prevent the racists who were seemingly encouraged by the very results of the election held for Berlin in February of 1989 whereby the "Republikaner", known as "Turkish enemy" in the public at large, had won 11 "seats" in the Berliner Senat pearcing through (with a vote rate of %7,7) the ceiling set, and have been able to send two representatives to the (federal) "Bundestag" in Bonn and also of the election held in Hessen for local governments on 12.03.1989 whereby the same success was repeated. The Turks were then caught in great panic and could not go to work and could not even send their children to school. The information got from the TVs

about "the reality that there are many Republican sympathizers among the police cadres" has induced that "every Turkish house and shop armed itself"!(128)

The thus rising tension between the Turkish minority and the German majority could not have been lowered even by a parade against xenophobia (with the slogan: "The human dignity cannot be touched upon!") consisting of 300,000 people organized in Berlin on 08.11.1992 whereby also the President of the Republic and the Chancellor have taken part. The parade was the biggest among the former ones of the same art as the German Foreign Minister Dr.Klaus Kinkel (who was in the past the head of the German Intelligence Agency) has mentioned in his article published in (Turkish newspaper) Milliyet on 22.11.1992. It was repeated on 14.11.1992 in Bonn with 100,000 people.(129) However, three Turks (Vahide and Yeliz Arslan and Ayşe Yılmaz) have been burned to death by the neo-Nazis in a small town, Mölln near Hamburg (Schleswig-Holstein) on 23.11.1992.(130)

The english newspaper "The Times has reported on the event as follows: "The event in Mölln is a shame for both the country, and the government under Helmut Kohl. One has killed people in an organized manner in Mölln." The Italian newspaper "Corriere della Sera" has also advocated the view that the tragedy in Mölln was a planned activity.(131)

The Turkish minister for Work and Social Security, Mehmet Moğultay, has made an explanation to the press in which he said that "Germany has turned into Hitler's Germany". These words have caused in Germany very angry reactions and they have been protested against even

officially!(132) On 26.11.1992, the Israeli minister for Inner Affairs has called the President of the Turkish Republic by phone and underlined the fact that "the whole world should be careful since the Nazi soul in Germany has risen from the grave!"(133) The general director of the German Jewish Union, Ignatz Bubis has told that "the plunderers left free on their own have committed the murder in Mölln".(134) Seemingly, the representatives of the Jewish society have felt the necessity to act upon the German attacks immediately since they have been the victims of the former Nazi attacks. The main reason for their rush is the explanation made on the side of the attackers who were spelling the slogan "yesterday Jews, today Turks!" very frequently.(135) It is a rather well known fact that the Jews (in Germany) were told that they should "go away"; and that the Jews had speculated that all of this was a sheer "political game"..(136) And then, 6 millions of them were killed in gas rooms, did one easily forget?

Afterwards, it was the turn of the city Solingen: The Nazis have burned here 5 Turks (Saime, Hülya, Hatice Genç and Gülistan and Gülsüm İnce) to death in the night of 29.05.1993. The burned house is "the only house in Solingen which is a detached house and in which only the Turks live". In other words, the attack is a thoroughly planned, targeted one.(137) The German chancellor Kohl was speaking on his trip to Turkey between the dates 20-23rd May 1993 in the following manner: "Germany is grateful to the Turkish workers. They have a big share in our development level as for today. It is a lie that we will send them back. There will not be new Möllns.."(138) However, he had to forget what he said very quickly?! The

Turks in Germany have started "to wake up every morning with death"..(139) The attacks continued; and the fear, confusion and bewilderment feelings of the Turks have intensified; the armament at individual scales has endured and Turkish youngsters in some places have patrolled during the nights. While some responsible Germans like Günter Grass have said that "they were responsible for the racist terrorism", some others like the owner and chief editor of the weekly "Der Spiegel" which does sell 1,5 million exemplars (and which is considered to be "leftist" (?!)), Rudolf Augstein, have claimed that: "The Turks are stemming from a culture which has nothing to do with our culture.(..) Either(..) they accept to become German, or they remain as Turks.(..) It is not tolerable that Turkey takes the shape of the main obstacle nowadays when we're trying to follow a common line in Europe!"(140) And it is very probable that he "translated" the feelings of a great mass of Germans. The attacks are continuing from every front. The "neo-fascist" wave in Möllns, in Solingens is nowadays in Siegburgs, Singens, Verls, Hamms, Remscheids, etc..(141)

6.5.3 Why Germany? Why Fascism and/or Xenophobia? Why Turks?

The "neo-racism" and "neo-fascism" are developing in whole Europe (and not only in Germany) where one tries to realize the "single market" after 01.01.1993 and where one tries to unite as a geographical and economic society of roughly 345 million.(142) It is known that the "fascism" which is the product of "the Western culture, Western society, and Western

history" as it is also the case for capitalism and Marxism and which may be considered as arising "at the imperialist stage of the capitalism" as claimed by Poulantzas(143), was born as a response to the ineffectiveness of the liberal-capitalist regime against the then strengthening communism.(144) The "school models" of the fascism were met in (Nazi) Germany (with the program of the "National-Socialist German Workers Party" ((NS)DAP) made public on 24.02.1920 in Munich demanding from the Germans as the first item "a great Germany" and as the third one "land and colonies") and in Mussolini's Italy (with the program of 23.03.1919 and with the "National Fascist Party" (PNF) established in Rome between the dates 07/09.12.1921).(145) The fascism which has replaced the "equality, freedom and competition" principles of the capitalism stressing the class conflicts, with "ultra-nationalism and etatism", has also replaced the class contradiction theory of the Marxism with the theory of "race contradiction" and defined "ethnic minorities" from inside, and "other folks" from outside as its "enemies".(146)

6.5.3.1 The Racist/Fascist Movements and Organizations in Europe

The neo-fascist and racist organizations existing in some of the European countries are summarized below(147):

a) In France: The "Front National" established in 1972 and gained popularity under the leadership of Jean-Maria Le Pen has 100,000 members, 200,000 sympatherizers, a daily newspaper, "Present", with a

volume of 100,000 exemplares, and 842 representatives elected at the local elections. This party is opposing the (immigrant) North Africans, blacks, Jews and Moslems with a racist and "anti-Islam" approach. It puts forth a policy envisaging that the Moslems should be made to leave France since there is the danger for the country of being Islamized. The importance of this party in France has started with the event that it won 10 seats with its vote share of 10,9% in the European Parliament elections held in 1984. The party has won 35 seats with 2,7 million votes in the general elections of 1986. Le Pen has caught (with his politics of "anti-immigration" against the foreigners) a voting share of 14% during the president election of 1988 while opposing Mitterand, and thus caused a panic. The party has won again in the elections held for the European Parliament in 1989 with a voting share of 11,3%, 10 seats. In the last local elections held in June 1995, the Front National has got three big southern cities (Toulon, Mariguane and Orange) for the first time. Le Pen who defines the foreign migrants as "sidaique" (i.e. making a combination of "AIDS" with "judaique"), tries to cover his racism by making the following remark: "I prefer my daughters to my nieces, my nieces to my cousins, my cousins to my neighbors, my neighbors to my fellow citizens, my fellow citizens to foreigners. What's wrong with that?";

b) In England: The development of racism and fascism in this country owes its essential dimension to the relationships of this country with her (former) colonies since a couple of centuries. The huge masses of immigrants in this country which has followed rather a flexible migration policy as compared according to the European norms, have been the cause

of many fascisan organizations seen after the Second WW. The racist party "National Front" (NF) established in 1967 was having 20,000 members during the 1970s. The most powerful ultra-right organization appeared in 1968 is the "British Movement". (Some of the organizations which were detected later on are as follows: "British Democratic Party", "Column 88", "League of St.George", "National Party", "New National Front", "Constitutional Movement", "National Action Party", "SS Wotan", "British League of Rights");

c) In Belgium: Some of the many racist organizations in Belgium, one can cite the following: "Nouvel Européen", "Nouvelle Sparte", "Delta", "Euro Droite", "Rex", "Grece", "Front National", "Forces Nouvelles", "Ordre Noir", "Westland New Post", "Consortium Européen", "Front de la Jeunesse", "Vlammse Militanten Orde" and "Odal". "De Vlaams Blok" under the leadership of Filip de Winter has 3000 members. If it comes to make a spatial/regional division, one may differentiate between the "Front National" established in 1985 (modelling its partner in France) and located in the Southern (Walloon) region where the people who are of Celtic origin speaking a variant of French (and who are mainly Protestant and Republican) live (it has won memberships in the city councils during the local elections held in 1989); and the "De Vlaams Blok" (the Flemish Bloc) of de Winter which is located in Northern Belgium and which is the Bloc of the Flemings who are a Nordic people speaking a language similar to Dutch and who are Roman Catholic and Royalist having also characteristics of being anti-Walloon, anti-semitic, and pro-Nazi (during the II.WW) (this Bloc has won 3%; 17,7; and 25% in 1982, 1989, and 1992, respectively, of the seats

of the city council of Antwerp which is economically the most developed region of the country);

d) In Spain: The "Cedade" Party under the leadership of Pedro Varela Geiss has 2000 members. Apart from this, at the last local elections held in May 1995, the conservative "Partido Popular" under the leadership of Jose Maria Anzar has won the first place with 36% of the votes and thus ahead of the "Socialist Labor Party of Spain" (of Felipe Gonzalez, the Prime Minister) with a voting share of 31%, i.e. a fact showing a right tendency in Spanish political life;

e) In Austria: It is claimed that there are special linkages between some of the at least 50 ultra-rightist organizations located in Austria and German fascists. The most radical organization is the "Auslaender-Halt (Stop)-Bewegung (Movement)". The other two most important Austrian ultra-rightist organizations are the "Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs" (the Freedom Party) under the leadership of Jörg Haider (and having 58,000 members) which has succeeded to get 16,6% of the votes during the "National Conseille" elections held in 1990, 22,6% of the votes and 23 seats in the local council of Vienna in November 1991, 22,3% of the votes at the national elections on 09.10.1994; and the "Volkstreue Ausserparlamentarische Opposition" established by Gottfried Küssel with some 250 members. (What Haider had told in relation to the mass movements to be expected from the Eastern Europe after the collapse of the "real socialism" is as follows: "To try to change the Austrian demographic structure which lends itself to the German identity is a anti-German racism",

and: "No people will let themselves be turned into strangers in their own homeland. I want to be an Austrian first; everything else is secondary." Haider advocates lastly a "Teutonic-Middle European Union" to be composed of Austria, Germany, Switzerland, the Chech Republic and Northern Italy!);

f) In Denmark: The only Nazi party is the "Fortschrittspartei" under the leadership of Pia Kjaersgaard established in 1971. It has lost its popularity after getting nearly 15% of the votes within the time period of 1973-1977; and has regained it in the late 1980s (with a vote share of 10%) by stressing upon the concepts of "social state" and "anti- immigration";

g) In Holland: The first racist organization established right after the Second WW (in 1953) is the "Nationaal-Europese Sociale Beweging" which was aiming at stopping the Indonesian immigrants. Apart from this, there are the three organizations of "Centrumdemocraten" (under the leadership of Hans Janmaat) (1984); "Centrumpartij' 86"; and "Nederlands Blok" which are considered to form a unique organization;

h) In Norway: The "pro-Nazi" party has won 5% of the votes in 1973. Afterwards it has evolved into "Progress Party" in 1978 and has risen to 10% in the 1980s; has then falled to 5,9% in the 1993 general elections; and has then risen once again to 12% in the local elections held on 10.09.1995;

i) In Sweden: The neo-fascist movement has made it apparent in the 1980s. It has merged with the anti-immigrant "Sweden must Remain

Swedish" movement and then with the "Progress Party" (in 1986) to the so-called "Sweden Party" and then has been partitioned;

j) In Greece: There is the "EPEN" Party of Chryssantos Dimitriadis;

k) In Italy: There is the "Movimento Sociale Italiano-destra Nazionale" (MSI) popular especially in "poor Southern" Italy (founded in 1946) which is among the most settled neo-fascist movements in Europe after the II.WW and which is now under the leadership of Gianfranco Fini (since 1987). The movement has crossed the 10% level across the country and has won nearly 30% of the votes in great cities like Rome and Napoli in the local elections held in December 1993! The other organizations are "Ordine Nuovo/Ordine Nero" (1956); "Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari" and the separatist "Lega Nord" ("Leghe") party under the leadership of Umberto Bossi which has made an attack in the 1980s. The "Lega Nord" is a prototype for the "modern racisms" of the 1980s which are lending themselves to the so-called "welfare chauvinismus" taking the "cultural identity" as a basis to step on. The first "Lega Nord" established in 1983 was the "Lega Lombarda" (Lombard League) demanding "autonomy" for Lombardia. (It has stressed upon the North-South (Italy) conflict and anti-South cultural racism since 1987. Its voting share in the Northern Italy has fluctuated between 6-8% in 1988/1989.) It has evolved into "Lega Nord" in 1989 by coming together with the other "Leghes" established in Venedik, Friuli, Toscana and Liguria and has won 20% of the votes in the local elections of 1990. Its voting share has dropped to 10% in the general elections of 1992; and has skyrocketed to

40% (in Northern Italy) in the general elections held in the summer of 1993! (It has also got the municipal elections made in Milano which is famous as being "the most Europeanized Italian city".) In the general elections held in March 1994, the "Forza Italia" (afterwards known as "Freedom Pole Against Communism") under the leadership of Berlusconi has covered all rightist movements in order to prevent an election defeat due to the rivalry between MSI in the South and "Lega Nord" in the North, and has got 44% of the votes!

I) In Switzerland: The anti-semitic and racist feelings are rising since the 1980s. They have been represented in the Parliament with two parties: "Nationale Aktion gegen Überfremdung von Volk und Heimat" (1961) and "Republikanische Bewegung" (1970). The "Automobile Party" founded in 1985 has characteristics as being pro-welfare consumption and anti-"Greens"; and has moved into "xenophobia" since 1989. It has won 5,1% (and 20% in the German-speaking regions) of the votes in the general elections held in 1991.

The movements and/or parties cited above are the main racist and/or neo-fascist organizations of Europe. It is seen that the racist movements are "not confined to Germany; and that however, Germany with absolutely most foreigners is the leading country, and that the German groups come into contact with organizations located in the US, Spain, Ireland, Great Britain, Switzerland, Australia, Belgium and especially France."(148) What is interesting and common by these organizations is the fact that they have been influenced by the German and Italian fascisms and

that they (departing from ultra-chauvin, racist motivations) do oppose vehemently to the idea that they should live with the foreigners and/or immigrant workers in the(ir) country in an "equalitarian" relationship. The whole weight of the unbearable situation in which the rather historically determined "exploiter/senior" role of Europe(an citizens) as opposed to the "exploited/serf/slave" role of the rest of the (Third) World('s citizens) is solely on the shoulders of the immigrant worker as a (nearly) "antagonistic contradiction". Moreover, the mentioned contradiction deepens day by day.

And each day, the problem is being made a more internationalized topic subject to hegemonic ideological undertakings. As it is well-known, the "Nouvelle Droite" movement in France which had been leaded by Alain de Droite in the late 1960s, had tried to establish "a new ideological- cultural hegemony". Influenced by the "Konservative Revolution" movement (and its founders and advocates like Othmar Spann, Edgar Julius Jung, Ernst Jünger and Carl Schmitt) of Germany which had appeared on the scene a couple of decades before them and , and right after the I.WW, the "Nouvelle Droite" theorists have "supplied" their services to the "Front National" in the late 1980s. Some intellectuals like Armin Mohler ve Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner who have been serving the "Republikaner" in Germany were influenced by the French "Nouvelle Droite". The last thesis of the "Nouvelle Droite" is the rhetoric of the so-called "cultural diversity" according to which "the modern racists" do try to legitimate the(ir) discrimination and segregation practices displayed nearly everywhere in Europe against the immigrants from the Third World who owing to their "culturally diverse traits"

should be "respect"ed because of their "rights to be culturally diverse" within a "global multiculturalism". The above- mentioned "regional union" movements (like the "Leghe" in Italy) basing themselves on concepts such as "welfare chauvinism", "modern Western-type civil society" and "cultural identity" are the last versions of the modern racism and discrimination attacks against the poors.(149)

6.5.3.2 Who Are the Migrants to Germany? Or the Problem of the "Refugees"

Some authors who are in search of describing the xenophobia and aggressiveness against the foreigners in Germany have tried to discern the statistical matters from the categorical ones. It is a statistical fact that to the Federal R.of Germany approximately 15 million people have migrated between the end of the II.WW (1945) and the re-unification of both Germanies (1990). One can cite as being among the migrants the after-war-migrants, the migrants fleeing away from the Soviet troops' invasion areas, the (East) Germans fleeing away from the East Germany, and ethnic Germans og the Eastern and Southeastern Europe. If we take into account the 4,8 million foreigners living in Germany in 1990, too, then the total sum of the migrants to this country since 1945 is making a third of the German population in 1990! This migration scale which has not been met in any other western industrialized country in the second half of this century is thus a unique experience! Added to this, F.Germany (which is formally "not an (im)migration land") since 1987 does actually accept annually more than the

total number of the migrants of Kanada and Australia which are two classic (im)migration countries!(150)

The migrant accepting/sending balance sheet of F.Germany just before the re-unification, in 1988, was displaying 550,000 people. This figure has risen to one million in1989 and 1990 with the newcomers from German Democratic Republic (GDR) and from Eastern Europe. The number of Germans coming from GDR in 1989 has been 344,000; and the number of the ethnic Germans coming from the Eastern Europe has been 377,000. The same figures have been found out to be in 1990, 197,000 and 397,000, respectively. The number of the ethnic Germans has been halved in 1991 and 1992: 220,000. As with regard to the topic of the refugees which is evaluated by the German officials as the main issue contributing negatively to the xenophobia, the application numbers (for being accepted as "refugee") are as follows: 103,000 in 1988; 121,000 İN 1989; 193,000 in 1990; 256,000 in 1991; and 450,000 in 1992. Among the ranks of the applicants,there were seen refugees, politically searched after individuals, people who have left their countries due to economic and/or personal reasons and also people who wanted to escape from the turmoil created by the social and political unrest witnessed in the periphery of the Eastern Europe.(151)

Another important migration potential is a mass of nearly 3-4 million persons who are a "product" of ethnic/national clushes and "ethnic cleansing" movements detected in the former Yugoslavia. 500,000 of this sum are now out of the national borders. A half of the last mentioned figure are officially recognized refugees in Germany.(152)

It is a well-known fact that the damned inner war witnessed in the former (socialist) Yugoslavia which has started to be disintegrated in the very beginning of 1992, has intensified with the intervention of Germany in the form of a "support policy of the Slovenian and Croatian separatism" which was rather a deviation from the general western attitude which was at least at the very beginning against the disintegration of the country due to the fear that the separatist "virus" could visit Eastern Europe and USSR, as well.(153) It is not true to say that at the very root of this German policy lies the "search for stability" as a politologist from the Bonn University claims(154); but the "German imperialism tradition"(155) aiming at the division of Eastern Europe (considered to be the German influence area) into small(er) political units which would be dependent on German help and also the fact that Yugoslavia is an economic bridgehead for the German capital which dominates the Eastern European market since the 1970s.(156) Another point is the fact that Croatia and Slovenia which own the economically most developed "northern" regions of Yugoslavia(157) were under Austria-Hungarian hegemony even before the I.W.War. This case points out to the very interesting reality that Germany, too, has understood from the concept of "New World Order" the continuation or the re-insertion of the "Old Exploitative Order".

If we omit both factors of relatively high unemployment figures (158) and the existing housing shortage, the need for migrants of Germany within a middle-range time period and due to the low fertility rates annually at least 300,000-500,000.(159) Although it is not known yet from where of

Europe and/or of the world the workers are to be provided for, it shouldn't be a prophecy to say that there will not be much Turks (workers) to be sent to Germany if one takes into account the daily formation, target setting and rise of the policies against xenophobia. According to some of the researchers, Germany wishes to fulfill her population gap and labor demand "not from culturally and socially radically different countries, but however from the Eastern European countries and by tapping the human resources of the migrants of German origin.(160) Those workers of German origin coming from Eastern European countries like Poland, Romania and some of the former Soviet Russian republics, do not know enough German because they did not speak German for decades. However, Germany's helping hand immediately finds them. They "gain" citizen rights in a rush. It should also be added that "they are not only preferred for their being German; besides this, they are more educated and qualified than the Turkish workers of rural origin."(161)

The Turks are invited to (especially East) Germany (where after the re-unification process the poverty and the need to industrialize made themselves be felt) no more as "workers", but as "greengrocer, butcher, market owner", "housing constructer and/or contractor" (it is estimated that there will be a deficit of 1,5 million housing units (together both in East and West) within the next five years), and (marginal, and/or second/third class)"entrepreuners" (expected to buy the old fabrics, ateliers, etc.) However, the Turks' antipathy is also discernible here: The Germans have reserved for the Turks from the total investment package prepared for East

Germany's five states (Laender) ("as expected to reach approximately 100 billion DM within the next ten tears") "at least between 500 million and 2 billion DM"?! This amount is nearly (a very great share of the total, indeed?!) and only 2%!(162)

Since the Turks are prevented from going to Germany as workers easily as it was used to in the past and if they go according to the rules of family re-unification process(163), they face many restrictions with regard to time intervals and occupational education matters, the number of the "clandestine" workers has risen sharply who in case of being caught by border patrolling forces, try to apply for "political refuge" in that country! The rise in their numbers is spectacular especially in the 1980s. By this, two factors have been effective: On the one hand, the German government's decision to close the doors to Turkish workers; and on the other hand the military régime of 12.09.1980 has had imposed to the Turkish society a tight and restrictionist socio-economic policy (which was actually the derivative of the famous 24.01.1980 "economic decisions" put into force through the close control of the IMF) under which especially the middle-, and low-income groups have suffered and searched a way to get out of this economic impasse. In the table below, the numbers of the Turks applying for "refuge" from Germany according to years (and as compared to the "total applications" to German officials) are given:

Table 6.3 : Ratio of the Turks Applying For Refuge From Germany

Years	Number	Ratio (%)
1976	809	7,3
1977	1.168	7,1
1978	7.419	22,4
1979	13.246	25,7
1980	57.913	53,7
1981	6.302	12,8
1982	3.688	9,9
1983	1.548	7,9
1984	4.186	11,9
1985	7.528	10,2
1986	8.695	8,7
1987	11.428	19,9
1988	14.873	14,4
1989	20.020	16,5
1990	22.082	(?)
1991	23.877	(?)

(Source: Metin Gür, Otuz Yılın İçinden, Hückelhoven:Verlag Anadolu, 1993, p.41 .)

F.Germany has imposed to Turkish citizens visa obligation starting from 05th October 1980 onwards and in order to prevent "pseudo-refuge applications". This decision is actually a result of the deteriorating economic conditions and the rising unemployment in Turkey(164). The issue of the refugees is rather a pretext.

This practice has brought with itself not very soon the "(im)migrant worker mafias" being organized in Turkey, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italia and (of course) Germany for making "human smuggling" tours starting from Anatolia and ending generally in Switzerland, Austria and Germany. Those mafias are promising to the poor and illiterate people of Anatolia wanting to seek their futures in European countries as workers that they will "get visa and bring them wherever they want to go" for an

approximate amount of 1500-3000 DM and after taking their money, the mafias in most of the cases leave those people on the (half) way to their destination points and disappear.. For example, The sheer number of the Turkish mafias with their "base"s in Romania is estimated to be 200. Some of those mafias are called with their origination points (cities) in Anatolia as "Konyalılar", "Trabzonlular", "Muşlular", "Bingöllüler", "Mardinliler", "Samsunlular", "Yozgatlılar" and "Elazığlılar". The people who are cheated (the so-called "sheeps") are being brought with fraud passports(165) and by buses, TIRs and pick-ups to the border areas and left and abandoned there by themselves with help of some lies and pretexts. The mafia networks in Romania are based in such places as Bucharest, Arad, Oradea, Temeshwar and Satu Mare.(166)

The "refugee" flow between Turkey and Germany has been leaded by the agricultural land workers from the feudal Southeastern Anatolia region which has been one of the most strikingly hit regions under the "economic reform" movements of the early 1980s and especially the "integration with the global capitalism" policy of Özal's governments. The thus created impoverishment has been tried to overcome by the landless workers by making an "economic migration" to Germany. These people have made use of "political refugee" application mechanism to Germany fabricated to disguise the actual economic intentions. They have moreover made use of the so-called "Kurdish ethnic identity" as a device for strengthening their "political refugee" situations.(167) The "scenarios" used are "re- produced" by persons who have connections in Turkey and Germany

as well, and the thus fabricated "jobs" are implemented by some German advocates who have been deeply involved with and specialized in those "refugee" issues.(168)

The (Kurdish separatist movement) PKK has been able to organize in Germany "a terrorism financing" system starting "from tributes to narcotic drugs" by getting its finance sources from two million Turks (450,000 of which are claimed to be coming from the Southeastern region) living here, and acting (until the end of 1994) very freely and without any interruption by the German police.(169) There are some mediatic news that this organization has been also involved with "immigrant smuggling business". The Turkish Ambassador in Bonn, Onur Öymen, has recently made public that 220,000 persons have been brought from Turkey to Germany by the PKK within the last decade (28,000 persons within the last year only) and that the annual income of this "business" to the PKK is around 6 million DM (5,000 DM or more per person).(170)

It seems very probable that right after the re-unification period of two Germanies, the German leaders have given utmost importance to Northern Irak and Southeastern Turkey while preparing a comprehensive Middle Eastern policy because this region is providing a door to the Middle East upon where the traditional German interests do concentrate. The German leaders have thus aimed at playing the so-called "Kurdish card" by creating ethnic conflicts there.(171) We do strongly believe that by this development, another factor has also been taken into account by the German policy makers, namely the Turkish guestworkers in Germany who

as a group were and are on the way to evolve into an "ethnic minority" on German soil.. The German officials who do support the Kurdish terrorist/ guerilla movement are wanting to create thus a "counter-weight" on Turkish soil as a caution for probable Turkish "interests" with regard to the Turkish workers in Germany.(172)

The legal sources for the "refuge/asylum right" in Germany, which are supposed to be manifold by many ordinary German citizens, are mainly two in number: a)The 16th article of the German "Grundgesetz" ("Basic Law") which states that "the persons who are politically sought do enjoy asylum right" ("Politisch Verfolgte geniessen Asylrecht"); and b)The 51st article of the German Aliens Law (which actually relates to the asylum permissions given due to "humanist" reasons and not due to political reasons.(173) Since 1980, nearly every year, there have been made restrictionist interventions to the asylum laws. At the end, with a last amendment made on 01.07.1993, the asylum procedures to Germany have been made more strict by closing the doors to the potential refugees coming from "safe countries" which are selected and announced by Germany. (174) The new provision which is a compromise of the Kohl government with the main opposing party SPD over restricting the Basic Law's asylum provision, denies the right of asylum to persons coming to Germany from another ("persecution-free") EC or "safe third countries" which adhere to the "European Human Rights Convention" or to the "Geneva Convention on Refugees of 1951". As a result of the compromise, the government will restrict the number of ethnic Germans (be they classified as expellees, refugees, "Aussiedler"(175) or

"Übersiedler"(176)) accepted to no more than 10 percent above the number who entered legally in 1991 and 1992.(177)

Besides the legal measures, and especially right after the re-unification of the Germanies, the neo-Nazi attacks directed to the refugee shelters do play in this field their specific roles(!) by discouraging the would-be migrations from the Third World to Germany with the horror athmosphere thus created.

According to the New York Times of September 28, 1992, there were 1,483 acts of rightest violence in 1991, and nine persons were killed. That year was the first in which rightwing extremists (40,000) had outnumbered those persons on the left. Whereas at the start of the 1990s the victims of the rightwing violence were primarily asylum seekers hoping to find refuge from political, racial, or religious persecution, and also from poverty, war, and destitution especially in the crisis areas of the world, soon daytime encounters (on the street, at the subway stations, etc.) became arson attacks at night mostly on shelters for asylum seekers, but also on domiciles of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe.

Then, attacks have increasingly been directed against the Turks (the so-called "local foreigners" originating from the former population of the "guest workers"); and also against the Romanies who have immigrated to Germany in large numbers since the 1980s, and even to the homeless and the handicapped.(178)

Although the asylum seekers are yet so much wanted to be get rid of on the side of German citizens and authorities as well, as the facts that

i)less than half of the applicants can convince the authorities of their political (persecution) fate; and that ii)on the whole, more than 75 percent of all applicants are denied by the "Bundesamt für die Anerkennung auslaendischer Flüchtlinge" (the German Office for the Recognition of Refugees (GORR)); that iii)the lengthy proceedings to determine a case at both the GORR and the Courts of Revision and Final Decision necessitate on the average a period of 6 months (but sometimes 2 yers or more!); and lastly that iv)applicants have in the meantime the right of legal residency and a claim to shelter and nourishment, and since 1991 the right to look for a job(179) ; do witness, there is also another rather not astonishing fact relating to the asylum seekers and their very employment situation in Germany. As in the case of "tourist workers" of the late 1960s who being unable to go to Germany via legal ways and therefore were going as tourists there and starting to work clandestinely in touristic places and forests for much lesser wages than normally set and who before or after caught by police were given (first of all in the states of Hessen and Rheinland-Pfalz) "Duldung" time (of three months to be expired)(180), the case of the asylum seekers was also made an opportunity for the employers to exploit their labor for very small wages. Since within the waiting period a strict employment prohibition for the applicants exist (181), the employers who know the situation make enormous benefit of the situation.

As stressed by the International Amnesty Organization, the refugees coming from Turkey and other countries do live under conditions regarded as "unfit to human dignity and human rights". The great majority of

the refugees do stay in the shelters, or in especially prepared "concentration camps", with their own words in "half-open prisons". For example, the following description of a refugee camp in Dortmund is made by a Turk living there: "They push us from here to there.(..) (he mentiones the last camp:) We, i.e. eight persons coming from different countries, do stay in one room.(..) One can not enter due to the stink. The toilets for men and women are the same one, the bathroom as well. The bathroom has no door, there hangs only a nylon curtain.(..)The foods served within nylon packages were stinking for most of the times.(..) They were giving only 19 DM for cigarette per each 15 days."(182)

6.5.3.3 The Legal/Political Situation of the Foreigners in Germany

It is rather a methodological must to take into account the "foreigner policy" ("Auslaenderpolitik") which has been followed in Germany while examining the topic of xenophobia and/or Turks' hate in this country. The "foreigner policy" followed by the succeeding F.German governments until today's Chancellor Kohl's period(s) has three targets ("three-pronged policy")(183):

1- To "integrate" the foreigners living legally in F.Germany: To Germanize ("Integrationspolitik");

2- To "restrict" the newcomers' flows from countries(184) outside of the European Union: To Stop;

3- To promote the return-back movement: To Force.

According to Turan(185), there were two basic principles which were laid down on the foundation of the German unwritten foreigner policy until the 1970s: a)"Arbeitsmarktpolitik" (labor market politics); b)The principle saying that Germany is not a(n) "(Einwanderungs) land to Migrate". The Adviser on Foreigner Issues of the federal government in 1979, Heinz Kühn, had criticized the implementation of the policy followed until that day and had presented his famous report (covering 47 pages) claiming that an "integration policy" was needed. In his opinion, one should "accept the immigration phenomenon officially" and should realize a "Germanization" operation which would not been rejected by the II., and III. generations and which would be enhanced by policies such as "naturalization" and "provision of local election rights" to ethnic groups.(186)

It is very interesting that F.Germany has hesitated a long time in order to realize the first target of the (above mentioned) foreigner policy, i.e. "integration" and/or "Germanization" policies?! When the federal government of the SPD-FDP coalition had established the office of the "Federal Adviser on the Integration of the Foreign Workers and Their Families" known as "Adviser on Foreigner Issues" on 01.12.1995, the Turks living in Germany were responding to the worker dismission practices put into force since 1973's structural crisis of the world-economy, with family re-unification processes.. This was a sign of their intention to stay in Germany.. Not, however, aiming at an "integration" or "harmony" with the host society; just to the contrary: Aiming at "isolation", "ghettoization", "adhering oneself more to Islam", "radicalizing oneself while searching for a social identity" and thus

"erecting more higher walls between themselves and the Germans"!(187) Instead of making an adaptation to the German society, the Turkish community "has realized the integration within itself and by and for itself; therefore the relationship or non-relationship with itself and the German society has evolved in the form of a "disintegration". The reason(s) for this development cannot be defined only as the legal inequalities.(..) the main fact is the "different and haughty" look of the German society down to the Turkish community, i.e. the discrimination against them." Another point deserving researchers' interest is the fact that "the mostly discriminated foreigner group by the German society is the Turkish community."(188)

It is remembered that the Italians who were then the "guestworkers" were blamed for "taking away the jobs from the Germans" during the economic recession of 1966/67 and were invited publicly to leave Germany. The Turks who have got the reputation of being the largest foreigner group first of all in 1971 with their numbers 653,000, and who have increased even after the stoppage of the labor import in 1973 through family re-unifications to 1,58 million in September 1982, are yet the main target of xenophobia. "The Turks do create negative feelings for many Germans. As witnessed by no other minority group, due to them, there appear self-fears, aggressivities, follies. The Turks are scrutinized with destroying phantasies (the "Turkish jokes"), the (Turkish) women are made object of barbarian and wild sexuality imaginations."(189)

A wall poem(!) written for Turks and stating the following feelings: "Finish with the unemployeds' danger-Kill the guestworker" ("Schluss mit

Arbeitslosennot - schlagt die Gastarbeiter tot") was standing on an official building on the Weinsbergerstrasse in Cologne. The building was the "Employment Office" ("Arbeitsamt") and a German guy who "cleaned" the wall, was the object of a complaint at the police by the building's administrator and was found "guilty"! Moreover, the same "guilty" guy can be thrown stones by other Germans passing by on the street and be injured and hospitalized! Again, the traffic officials in Cologne, although they have been many times warned, do not wipe off the slogan against the Turks (stating: "Dead Turk-Good Turk ("Toter Türke- Guter Türke)) which has been written on countless bus stops!(190) The number of the examples can be increased.. All of these happenings do point out to the very existence of a great xenophobia, a great Turk hate and a great foreigner antipathy in Germany. What is more serious and tragic is the fact that these feelings are made public under a great tolerance, even support and promotion of the German state authorities!

Since especially the Mölln tragedy the federal government has taken some steps to prevent right-wing radicalism, the incidence of hate crimes has been dropping steadily. Chancellor Kohl has declared on December 10, 1992, the following: "Those who believe that our country can be changed by creating a climate of intimidation, of terror and of fear are mistaken. The Federal Republic is a democracy that knows how to defend itself and we will prove it."(191) However, the attacks on Turks living in Germany are still continuing(192), because they are unprotected in many senses.

One of the main reasons of the vulnerability of the Turks living in Germany is their legally very weak and/or fragile position. They, after 34 years of residence in Germany, still live "in the paradoxical situation of being permanently integrated immigrants without an immigrant country". (193) Although the German Basic Law ("GBL") ("Grundgesetz" as expected to evolve into "Verfassung" in due course of time while the two German states (created after the loss of the II. World War) would be united once again) (dated 08.05.1949) describes (in its 20th article) "the German state as a democratic and social Federal Republik", and although the GBL mentiones in its 3rd article (paragraph 1) that "all persons are equal in front of the law", and that "nobody could be adversely or positively affected because of his/her country and descent", the aliens in Germany are handled in a legislatively very discrete manner than the natives. They have a special law titled as the "Aliens Law" which determines also the conditions of immigration movements directed to Germany. This law mentiones in its 6th section that "the foreigners enjoy all basic rights, if those are not reserved for the Federal Germans according to the Basic Law". Thus, the GBL recognizes two categories of rights, i.e. "general" and "reserved". The general rights apply to all persons residing in the F.Germany and include freedom of expression (Art.5), liberty of person (Art.2), and freedom of conscience (Art.4). On the other hand, the reserved rights are restricted to only German citizens, and they include the right of peaceable assembly (Art.8), freedom of movement (Art.11), freedom of association (Art.9), freedom of occupation (Art.12), prevention of one's being deported abroad (Art.16), and election

(Art.20). Thus, the alien who is accepted legally as an equal person as the native workers employed at his/her work place, is hindered legally in the other spheres of the social life in many aspects. Some German experts, like Knösel and Teubner, do reject the view that the alien is "citizen of second class"; however, they confess that "not infrequently (s)he is being handled so as if (s)he would be"!(194)

Historically considered, the aliens in Germany have almost always met discriminatory handling on the side of the German authorities. (Only the degree of the repression was changing according to different ruling cadres replacing eachother in historical periods.) Before the establishment of the German Empire in 1871, the foreigners were not hindered radically in their life developments and processes, except perhaps the guilty-found and/or sentenced persons who were not allowed to reside (in German towns).(195)

After the establishment of the German Empire by Bismarck in 1871, the aliens were made a subject matter for the Empire as a whole. However, each souvereign state ("Land") of the "Union" was authorized to handle its foreigners according to its own rules. The foreigners could not be dispelled out of the Empire. A regulation of 1899 was foreseeing that each ordinary and peaceful alien with necessary material belongings had the right to reside on the German soil. The "Reichs- and Staatsbürgergesetz" of July 23, 1913 (the Imperial Naturalization Law) has regulated the German citizenship issue in such a way that citizenship would be difficult for aliens to attain out of fear that the "Reich" was being inundated with immigrants from the East, and especially Poles and Jews.(196) The citizenship was passed

by descent from parent to child. In other words, citizenship would be transmitted through bloodlines, which is known juristically as the principle of "jus sanguinis" ("Abstammungs-, or Personalprinzip") as contrary to the practice of acquisition of French and British citizenships grounded on the principle of "jus soli" ("Territorialprinzip"), which makes the birthplace the determining factor.(197) According to the "jus sanguinis" principle, the citizenship is transmitted either through the father's blood, or through the mother's blood (out of wedlock cases). If it is once got, it can't be lost (GBL, article 16, paragraph 1.) It is "like one's own nose, even if one likes or dislikes it"!(198)

The German nationalism which had developed in the beginning of the 19th century had preceded the establishment of a German nation-state (in 1871). Therefore the German nationalism has always been an "organic" one, and searched after "its state" basing itself on foundations like "ethnicity" and "culture", whereby it almost always excluded the foreigners in the country in a non-assimilationist manner. It equalized the foreigners with the "Untermensch" of the fascist National-Socialist era and/or philosophy.(199) A Turkish writer had said the following with regard to Germans: "The Germans are considering themselves as the center of the humanity; although they are only a point in this concept.(..) This superiority illness may have many reasons. Technological development, geographical reasons, psychological structure could have been effective in pushing them towards this irrational way."(200)

The liberal regulation of 1899 mentioned above was changed with a new one in 1932, which was dictating that each alien considering to reside, should obey the rules of the law and order. A fascist police regulation (which is actually the forerunner of the "Aliens Law" of 1965) ("Auslaenderpolizeiverordnung" (APVO)) under Hitler's ("Third Reich") government put in force on 22.08.1938 was stating that the residence permit should be allocated to the guests who were capable of evaluating the fact of "being guest" here (APVO; Section I).(201) Another "war regulation" of 1938 relating to the foreigners had made use of the concept of "öffentliche Belange"("public benefits") for the first time. After the issuing of the GBL in 1949, the police regulation of the Third Reich was adopted without any major modifications.(202)

In 1965, the "Aliens Law" stemming from the APVO and preceding the new legislation of 01.01.1991 was enacted. Its "overriding purpose was to give the government a "flexible policy" instrument to meet the changing needs of the labor market" in Germany. According to Klusmeyer, the Aliens Law of 28.04.1965 has functioned as follows:

> "(I)t maximized the discretionary authority of those who administered it. Fundamental guidelines were accordingly left vague, open to multiple, conflicting, and equally plausible interpretations. The most notorius example of this open-endedness was a key provision that directed: "Residence permits may be issued if the presence of the foreigner does not prejudice the important interests of the Federal Republic of Germany." The law offered broad latitude in the eleven grounds it listed for deportation. Included among these were threats to "public morality" and to the "constitutional order," without specifying criteria(..)(..) to impress upon foreign residents their second-class status and to increase the risks of challenging this status."(203)

The second-class status of the foreigners does actually come up from the very spirit of the law itself which had been introduced by the German public officials as "the most liberal alien law in the world", although it is in fact one of the most repressing alien laws of the after-the-war period. The foreigners in Germany,if they are not citizens of the European Union, or if they are not owners of asylum rights, are introduced by this very law not to a law order, but to a police order. The aim of the law was to protect not the foreigner, but the host country (Germany) and its citizens (as if it were necessary) against the foreigner.(204) This protection is secured via help of regulations on the side of the German governments. For instance, although the residence permit should be given on an timely and spatially unlimited basis to the aliens living since five years in Germany and making their life projects an integral part of the German socio-economic life, the reality is far from this: The federal regulations governing that issue are stating that the permit should be given after eight years' residence and to especially persons who are enjoying asylum rights.(205)

Again, the GBL mentiones in its 6th article from the public protection of the wedlocks and families. However, the unification of the aliens (and especially of the guestworkers) with their families can be hindered via help of such arrangements made by official authorities which state that the aliens should have "enough and/or fitting" capacities of housing units(!), although the housing production and provision functions are considered as a public task and although the public bodies are not allocating enough "social housing units" to the vulnerable foreigners. (206)

Another very important issue with regard to the migrant aliens and their second and even third generations (as it is the case with Turks in Germany) residing in the country is the "naturalization process".Considered by many scholars as a very important sign and milestone on the way to a "pluralistic" society, the liberalization of the naturalization process in Germany is not well advanced. It is still treated as the exception. As a minimum standard that is required before foreigners will be considered for citizenship, they must fulfill the following four criteria: 1-Unrestricted legal capacity; 2-Unblemished character; 3- Residence in one's own dwelling; and 4-Proven capability to support oneself and one's dependents. Apart from and in addition to these criteria, officials are bound in their discretionary authority to judge each case by some broad guidelines such as: i)First of all, the official must control and determine not only "whether the applicant in his or her personal standing is a valuable addition to the German population, but also, whether the naturalization of the applicant from a general, political, economic, and cultural viewpoint, is desirable..." In order to be accepted by the officials, an applicant "must demonstrate a definite and enduring attachment to German society, a solid mastery of the German language, a professed commitment to the constitutional order, and a thorough knowledge of it. Membership in any foreign national group or association disqualifies an applicant. Second, a foreign national must have resided in the Federal Republic for at least ten years. This is reduced to five years if the national is married to a German citizen."(207)

Since the naturalization process is so strictly executed, F.Germany has the lowest naturalization rate of any major European country.(208) The number of the "German(y) Turks" in the first half of the 1970s (totally counting then nearly one million(209)) who were wishing to attain German citizenship was around 20,000.(210) The annual naturalization rate of aliens in F.Germany has fluctuated around only 3 percent allthroughout the 1980s! Some scholars try to explain this low rate by arguing that the Turkish guestworkers "do not want citizenship in the Federal Republic" and that "many have clung to the dream of returning to their homelands, despite the fact that the vast majority do not". Moreover, "orthodox Muslims often fear that naturalization is a way station toward Christianization". And many "others simply have no desire to become "German".(211)

A 1989 survey indicated that although there were many foreign inhabitants who would like to obtain citizenship (44 percent of all foreign residents, and 49 percent of the "Turkish minority"), they were dissuaded by the rules of naturalization. Of them, 41 percent have expressed fear over losing rights in their home countries, such as "inheritance rights". 31 percent have said that they would become cut off from their native lands and their families. 26 percent have complained about the complexity of the naturalization procedures, and 16 percent did mention from the high costs (approximately 80 percent of an average month's salary) involved.(212)

The controversial issue of "dual citizenship" would actually overcome many of these problems. Being a political wish of nearly 10

percent (i.e. 160,000 persons) of the Turks living in Germany, however, neither in F.Germany, nor in Turkey (although there have been some positive steps anyway), the government policies have fully been developed in that direction yet.(213) Far from that: The new German Alien Law of 1990 has introduced more strict measures to the foreign inhabitants than ever. The law strengthened the "institutional discrimination" existing in the society at large with regard to the non-EC migrant workers, i.e. the Turks living since three generations in Germany still considering them as being "aliens" and/or "second class inhabitants" with limited rights in the fields of residency and work permits.(214) However, the new law did liberalize some provisions from earlier law, such as allowing women and children to receive a separate resident permit. It also made easier for young persons between the ages of 16-23 to acquire citizenship. The law has also forced the application of many Turkish youth members of the second, third generations for becoming German citizens, because the new law foresees for these youngsters that they will not be able to get unlimited residence permits if they have not paid insurance payments for a period of 60 months (i.e. 5 years)! (In addition, the law has extended the minimum period of residence from five to eight years in order to be eligible for this right.)(215) If one thinks that the overall unemployment rate in Germany for 1994 is around 11-12%, and that the unemployment rate among the Turks in Germany is very high as well (10.7% on 31.12.1990(216); and 12.6% in December 1991(217)), then the future perspective of the Turkish youth within the framework of the Alien Law is very dim, indeed. With regard to the work permit to be obtained by the

non-EC minorities, there are some conditions to be met: They must have been continuously employed for five years within the last eight years or be married to German citizens.(218)

"Despite their long residence, the ethno-culturally heterogeneous families of former guestworkers, especially those from non- EC member-nations, are kept at a distance", once again. As contrary to this old-fashioned legal handling of the naturalization issue, some people do propose a new type of citizenship, that one of "post-ethno-national" nature, according to which the modern concept of nationality in a pluralistic civil society rests on the assumption that people want to live together under a common government and common laws, with the implied provision of shelter for minorities, regardless of race, descent, language, gender, social class, political worldview, or religion. Thus, the proponents of the "comprehensive immigration policy" accordingly seek the broadening of the "jus sanguinis" rule to include elements of the "jus soli" principle, following either the U.S. or the French examples.(219)

This step on widening the interval of the foreigners to naturalize, would be a necessary one for Germany which has become "a reluctant land of immigration" (having 80 million people, including 6.8 million resident foreigners with a share of 8.5 percent which is higher than the U.S.(8.0 percent)!) on the way to achieve a consensus on immigration and integration issues. Immigration is for Germany an issue which should continue in the future because official German population projections show that the population will shrink from 80 million in 1993 to 70 million in the year

2030, assuming minimal immigration. However, estimated population projections for 2030 range from 68 to 92 million according to different immigration assumptions. Therefore, immigration is a must issue for Germany, at least, in the near future. Dual citizenship, as the German Government's Commissioner for Foreigners said, is and will be "the key to integration".(220)

However, for an immigration country like Germany which has a"front door" for ethnic Germans (currently 215,000 per year are admitted) and for "family unification immigrants" (50,000 annually); and which has also "side-door" programs for foreign workers (250,000 people in 1992 consisting of seasonal workers, border commuters, subcontract employees, and trainees); a new "immigration law" is to be put in force as early as possible.(221) This new law would get "equal rights and opportunities" to the "permanent residents" of Germany, i.e. to German(y)-Turks who after 35 years do not have active and passive election rights at the local, regional, and/or national levels.(222) Presently no aliens are allowed to vote in German municipal ("communal") elections as opposed to the practice in many other European countries which have already enforced the municipal election rights also for aliens (in Ireland in 1963; in Sweden in 1970; in Danemark in 1981; in the Netherlands in 1986; and also in two cantons (Neu Chatel and Jura) of Switzerland; and even in East Germany where the foreigners, i.e. the Vietnameses (approximately 53,000 in 1990) and the workers from Mozambique (approximately 35,000) were discriminated against and forced to live in ghettos(223)).(224) However, some futile

attempts were made. For instance, the SPD and FDP coalition of the Federal State of Hamburg in 1987 had decided to give to the foreigners the right to vote in local elections. Similarly, a law had been enacted by the Federal State of Schleswig-Holstein on February 21, 1989 giving foreigners coming from the Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden the voting and the standing right at local elections. Both of these developments created annoyance by the German Parliament. 235 members of the Parliament (which was having altogether 519 members (of which 226 were of SPD origin), for instance, during the 9th legislation period in the 1980s) of the CDU (185 members in the 9th periode) and the CSU (52 members then) have therefore applied for control by the Federal Constitutional Court located in Karlsruhe. And these legal attempts were struck down on October 31, 1990 by the mentioned Court's Second Senate on the basis that the interventions were "incompatible with the German Constitution": It is stated in the 20th article of the Constitution that the "sovereignty belongs to the people"; the people here refers to the "people of German descent"!(225)

Thus, in matters related with alien workers in some of the European countries are the national laws often not as comprehensive as it would be necessary. In such situations, the "International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families" which is a significant new human rights instrument enacted by the United Nations Organization in 1990 should be approached.(226) Although it is a well-known fact that the United Nations and other institutions at both global and regional levels have sought to protect the rights and interests of

migrant workers in many contexts(227), their situation in numerous countries is far from the desired levels. The Convention mentioned has been designed out for mainly four purposes: a)To unify the body of law applicable to migrant workers; b)to complement other instruments; c)to improve the distinctive situation of migrant workers and their families; and d)to reduce the clandestine trafficking.(228)

Another legal device in matters related with the rights of migrant workers is the "European Human Rights Convention" which enables individuals to bring suit against states at the European Court of Human Rights, which exerts pressure on the member states to fill their obligations under the Convention. The Association Agreement (AA) between Turkey and the European Community (known also as the "Ankara Agreement" signed on 12.09.1963(229) and entered into force on 01.12.1964), and the resolutions of the Association Council have recently been applied by the German Courts. The "free movement" (of Turkish and European workers) was mentioned in the 12th article of the AA and was expected to be completed until 1986 in three sequences (to be realized in 1976, 1980, and 1986). The plan was approved with the "Protocoll of Brussels" dated 23.11.1970. (230) However, some of the Community member countries and especially Germany have hindered the process to be developed as it was foreseen because they feared that the poor Turks of Anatolia would "invade"(231) their lands while in search for their living! (The German Federal Work Institute had calculated that 8 million Turks were sitting on their suitcases and waiting for the day to depart for Europe!(232)) Since the application of Turkey for full

membership (as the 13th state) to the EC on 14.04.1987(233), and the refusal on the side of the EC, some people do try to make Turkey believe that the 2,5 million Turkish workers in the EC countries who are the "hidden member" of the EC, are a strong foothold in the EC (instead of Turkey herself)!(234) They easily forget that Turkish workers in Europe have been meeting many employment and/or work/residency permit problems caused by their very fragile legal existence basis. Since the Alien Laws of European countries were not of much help to them, and moreover opposing to them and their interests in much of the cases, the only legal device was the "European Human Rights Convention". Starting with the "Salih Zeki Sevince vs. Staatssecretaris van Justitie-Holland" decision of the Court of Justice of the European Community dated September 20, 1990 (with number 192/89), and followed by two others, namely the "Kazım Kuş vs. Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden" decision dated 16.12.1992 (with number Rs C-237/91), and the "Hayriye Eroğlu" decision of the year 1994(235), the "European legal device" has been effectively and successfully used by the Turks in Europe (and not by the Turkish government, unfortunately!(236)) against the European countries in their struggles to (permanently) stay in those countries where they have been spending their most valuable and healthy life and working periods

Although not wanted in the European Union (EU)(237) due to "being very large, very poor and Muslim" as "The Economist" stated and as the German ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt added to these (in "Die Zeit" dated 27.01.1989) the issues of "human rights" and "minorities problem"

once (238), Turkey will nonetheless strive for the European membership according to her present foreign policy choices. Being Muslim and Western-minded laicist at the same time, i.e. a political "model" for the Islamic countries which are under huge pressures exerted upon themselves from the "Islamic fundamentalists" who want to radically oppose to the Western Christian world, Turkey can contribute to the EC politically in a very positive way.(239)

And the issue of the invasion of the EC countries by the Turks is not so much realizable for the workers, because the free movement right necessitates to find a work and a fitting housing unit within three months to be spent in any EC member state.(240) Thus, the labor migration flows from Turkey to Germany and other EC countries will be limited by the very employment and housing markets existing in those EC member states.(241)

Besides this the EC countries have started right after 1974, i.e. the year of the workforce recruitment stop, to erect a legal and police-guarded wall against the unwanted visitors from the Third World countries. Starting from the adoption of an "Action Program in favor of migrant workers and their families" in December 1974 and passing through the steps of:

- "EEC/Turkey Association Agreement-Decision 1/80 of the association Council of 19.09.1980; and Cooperation Agreements between EEC and Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia-entered into force in 1978; and between EEC and Yugoslavia-entered into force in 1983 and suspended November 01, 1991; -the adoption of "Guidelines for a Community Policy on

Migration" dated 01.03.1985; -taking a "Decision" based on Article 118 of the Treaty of Rome (1957) on July 08, 1985 (introducing a procedure for "prior communication and consultation on migration policies in relation to non-member countries");

- agreeing on an institutional reform of the European Community at the meeting in Luxembourg in December 1985 which had opened the way to the "Single European Act" to be entered into force on 01.07.1987 (and stating in its Article 8a that "the internal market comprises an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty");

- signing an agreement at "Schengen" on June 14th, 1985 by Germany, France and the Benelux countries on the removal of controls at their common frontiers by January 01, 1990 (the postponed agreement has been enlarged in scope on June 19th, 1990; it now envisages to halt the economic immigration in form of political asylum (giving specific attention to the elimination of the Turks by making "racial" controls according to the "physical outlook" of the persons), and to limit the issuing of touristic visas via help of "positive -" versus "negative - lists" of the countries);

- creating within the Council's secretariat in October 1986 (under the U.K.presidency) an "ad hoc Immigration Group" giving a significant start to "inter-governmental action" with the object of "easing and ultimately abolishing the internal frontier controls";

- reiterating, however, at the European Council that took place in Strasbourg December 08-09, 1989, that "the progressive abolition of border

formalities shall not affect the right of Member States to take such measures as they consider necessary for the purpose of controlling immigration from third countries";

- issuing of the "Dublin Convention" of June 15, 1990, relating to the determination of the country responsible for examining an application for asylum;

- agreeing at the "Maastricht" European Council of December 09-10, 1991 on a Treaty on European Unity which has been signed on 07.02.1992 that would enter into force on January 01, 1993 (stressing the need of a formal cooperation between the Member States relating to the asylum policy, crossing of the external borders of the Member States by persons, immigration policy (conditions of entry, residence, movement and treatment of unauthorized immigration), drugs, fraud on an international scale, civil matters, criminal matters, customs, and police cooperation ("Europol")(242);

the EU countries are in search of a "regional wall" much more longer and stronger than the Berlin Wall which would and could hinder the uninterruptible flow of the unwanted would-be migrants from Third (World) countries! It will not be easy for the migrants to enter into Europe in the future, although it is not impossible!

6.5.3.4 The Reproduction of the Turkish "Underclass" in German Urban Areas Via Help of the (German) Education System

The debate whether or not there is a Turkish "underclass" in Europe in general, and in Germany in particular, is not ripe enough to get a compromise on that topic. However, many characteristics of the Turkish colony abroad do point out to the very development process of an "underclass" as observed and described in the U.S. case.

It is well-known at the academic circles that after Oscar Lewis' anthropological concept "culture of poverty" which became his generation's equivalent of "underclass", Gunnar Myrdal "invented or reinvented the term underclass in his 1962 book "Challenge to Affluence", (using) the word as a purely economic concept, to describe the chronically unemployed, underemployed". By the late 1970s, social scientists had identified the underclass with "acute or persistent poverty" rather than joblessness. According to Gans, around the same time a very different definition of the underclass emerged which has become "the most widely used", and is also "the most dangerous" one since it includes within it two novel elements: The first is "racial"; the users of the term see the "underclass as being almost entirely black and Hispanic". The second issue relates to the very "behavioral patterns" added to the economic definition.(243)

William J. Wilson who with his very famous book on the underclass in the U.S.(244) has re-opened the topic to a hot debate in the 1980s, states that the social problems of urban life such as poverty, urban

crime, drug addiction, teenage pregnancy, out-of-wedlock births, female-headed families, welfare dependency, dropping out of school, etc. in advanced industrial America are, in major measure, associated with race and that they have been rising steadily in the last several years.(245)

Opposing to him, Jencks and Peterson of the Brookings Institution reject those propositions.(246) According to them, the word "under" means the lowly, passive, submissive, dangerous, disruptive, dark, evil, and it also suggests subjection, subordination, and deprivation. And because the word has so many diverse meanings, the underclass term is used by conservatives, liberals, and radicals alike. The difference between the mainstream of working-class and middle-class America and those who seem separate from or marginal to that society is the principal reason for the liberals to use the term.(247)

Wilson develops the following propositions in order to explain his thesis of "the truly disadvantaged" living in a continuing poverty situation in the inner cities of the U.S.:

> "- (T)he United States has been moving from a unionized, oligopolistic, manufacturing economy to a more competitive, less unionized, service economy(..).
> - As a result, the percentage of urban, working-age minority men(..)has fallen dramatically.
> - Without a decent job, men are undesirable marriage partners(..).
> - These changes have been aggravated by the increasing social isolation of the inner-city poor caused by the outward migration of middle-cla ss whites and blacks, who are moving to suburbs(..).
> -Thus there are growing concentrations of low-income minorities in the inner cities, within which dysfunctional social behaviour becomes contagious.(..) It is here that one finds(..)the urban underclass(..)."(248)

One can easily insert "Germany" instead of "the United States" phrase above. The then emerging low-income minority group will be ours beloved, Germans' hatred Turkish workers! They are the racial and/or ethnic minority group which evolves in its second and third generations into the very "underclass" of the (inner) cities of Germany. Before going into the details and characteristics of this evolution, some remarks relating to the big cities of Germany will be made in order to prepare the stage.

Jürgen Friedrichs who observes the urban scene existing in Germany with a professional patience and eagerness since so many years states that the situation in the big cities of Germany closely (if only with a time-lag of 10-15 years) follows the situation in the United States because three developments take place in both countries: a)The capitalist economy; b)The economic restructuring (and/or transformation) process; and c)The economic pressure being exerted and felt strongly in order to adapt oneself to the international markets through adoption of new technologies.(249) He further says that as in the U.S., the type and speed of economic transformation in (West) Germany varies by region. "However", he goes forth, "the general tendency is the same for all large cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants: a decline in employment in manufacturing and an increase in service jobs."(250)

Haeusermann and Siebel state that the term "North-South Abyss" (in Germany) describing the lower development rate and the higher unemployment rate in the northern regions (some of the keywords referred to here are "sinking", "mentality of subvention", "unemployment". etc.) of the

country as opposed to the higher development-, and lower unemployment rates seen in the southern parts (some keywords used within this framework are "development", "entrepreneurial dynamics", "welfare" and ""innovation") should not be taken too seriously.(251) They conclude that the real essence of the North-South abyss is between and within the "agglomeration centers" and/or "big cities". According to them, although the greatest difference still lies between the rural regions and the agglomerations, the number of employed persons in the populous agglomerations diminishes from day to day, a fact exemplifying the processes of the "tendency to the deconcentration of the employed persons"(252) and also of the "ongoing shifting of the industrial workplaces to the structurally weak regions" (253). What makes itself apparent is the differentiating process between the agglomerations themselves: On the one hand there are uninterruptedly growing ones as opposed to the declining ones. And because of the fact that the concentration points which have not been struck by the declining process to a great extent are located at the south of the Main (River)-line, the term "South-North abyss" is justified.(254)

Haeussermann and Siebel further argue that three processes do influence the regional agglomerations and/or their economic restructuring in Germany: 1-The deindustrialization process (which is seen in the regions (such as the "Ruhr" region and Saarland) where the traditional leading industrial sectors like textile, coal, iron have determined the economic structure) ; 2-The tertiarization of the production (i.e. the tendency from the "blue-collar"- to the "white-collar" (or to the "rationalized") jobs (a process

which contributes to the so-called "hierarchization" of the "headquarter-cities" like Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich on the one side and the rest of the German cities on the other side; and which causes also elites' shifting between those cities); and 3-The process of the "neo-industrialization" which according to the "theory of the long waves" points out to the future industries (like micro-electronics, bio-, and genes-technology) to be adopted in Germany where one is at the end of the old "wave" (characterised by such products like airplane, car, telephone, radio, and TV).(255)

Friedrichs who makes some forecastings and prognoses for the future of the German cities and their populations says that the total population of Germany will drop by the year 2000 to 52,140,200 (from 61,546,100 in 1982). (Excluding the GDR, of course.) According to him, a rising percentage of the population will be consisting of "foreigners" (roughly 12% in 2000); the number of the households (HH) will grow from 23,456,000 in 1981 to 24,045,000 in 1990 (% of the 1-person HHs will be 33.4 in 1990; the average size of the HHs will drop from 2,42 to 2,28). He adds that the number of (fe)male-headed families will grow as it has been the case between the years 1970 and 1981 whereby an increase from 745,000 to 905,000 was recorded. Since the secondary sector will decrease as the tertiary sector will increase in some branches, one of the end-results of this turmoil will be the diminishing of the middle class. Together with the increasing unemployment, this event will be effecting the income differentiation pattern harmfully, and the demand for specific housing

sub-markets will rise. At the end of all these happenings, the "social segregation" (of the subcultures) in the cities, the demand for housing, and the suburbanization rate will grow. The "yuppies" ("young upward mobile professionals") will demand "gentrification" of the inner cities to a greater extent. Friedrichs further argues that the situation existing in the U.S. as regards the division of the big cities into two parts consisting of "city of the rich" and "city of the poor" is not probable. However, he foresees a rise in the spatial segregation of the age-groups. And, the demand of the foreigners (whose number will grow steadily) for housing will be increasing, as well. The conflicting policies about the foreigners will cause the cultural tensions grow and translate themselves into (new) "Chinatowns" to emerge. The problem of the "integration of the foreigners" will be loaded to the shoulders of the "second generation". If the German society fails in providing the second generation members of the foreigners with the necessary economically and politically equal chances, then, one should be afraid of the times to come when there will appear in especially big cities "youth gangs" and when the urban criminality will be rising.(256)

So much for the urban setting. The issue to which we'll turn our attention now will be the Turkish migrants who had been "distributed" as the "guests" invited to work (in a "rotational" manner) for a while to the production sites and cities and regions according to the German economic structure's needs. Of a total of 1,828,654 Turks (recorded on 31.08.1992 by the "Statistisches Bundesamt", Wiesbaden) living in Germany, 745,400 are female Turkish people, of whom again 195,800 are Turkish female labor

force. The number of the Turkish male workers is 930,476.(257) While there are 424,287 actively working males, the figure of the actively working females is 170,299. However, unemployment among Turkish women is very high. The rate was 42.5% for the Turkish women with a profession in 1985. Much of the time, the Turkish women are being employed as unskilled labor. "Today Turkish women try to contribute to the family income by working as house or office cleaners, without social security benefits"! The statistics does not entail those (Turkish women) who work in small family businesses and those working as house cleaners.(258)

The male Turkish labor force is the largest foreign labor force in Germany constituting 43%of the total stock of foreign labor in 1989. (It is with a rate of 10.5 percent as of December 1990 also the group which is affected most by unemployment.) There were 81,400 unemployed Turks in 1990, making up 35.28% of all unemployed foreigners. The majority of the Turkish workers in F.Germany are employed (closely resembling the general pattern displayed by the foreign labor force in Europe) in the manufacturing sector (to a fixed extent of 63 percent!) which is followed by the services sector (restaurants, cafes, etc.) (to an extent of 15%), and construction, trade and energy-mining.(259) (See the table below.)

Table 6.4 : Sectoral Distribution of Turkish Workers in Germany (as of Number)

Sectors:	Number:
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	4,989
Energy, mining	21,835
Manufacturing sector	371,666
Construction	37,779

Trade	34,216
Transportation	19,711
Insurance, banking	1,363
Services	88,230
Non-profit organizations	4,802
Social insurance, etc	9,888
Others	107
TOTAL	594,586

(Source: Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1990 Yılı Raporu, Ankara: 1991, p.12; cited in: Centre for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey to the European Community, Brussels: A Publication of The Migrants' Forum of the European Communities, January 1993, p.31 (Table 15)

As seen above, the Turks are mainly "manufacturing sector-" and "service" workers as contrary to the myth which has been made very popular in especially last years by the "Centre for Turkish Studies" (with which we'll deal later on) saying that "the Turks in Germany have moved on the socio-economic ladder of this country very fast and have become "bosses" of some 35,000 Turkish businesses (as of the end of 1993) having an investment capital layout of 7,2 billion DM; and having an annual turnover capital of 28 billion DM. The number of newly opened workplaces is over 125,000."(260) Although it sounds very provocative and challenging, the realities blocking the ways of the Turks going to theirs' and their childrens' "happy and comfortable lifes" in Germany are far much stronger and more serious than the artificial, politically- intended and colorful myths and dreams circulating in the air.

Friedrichs says that the functional transformation of West German cities from once centers of goods-processing to centers of information-processing has reduced the role of these cities which were providing before

employment opportunities to especially disadvantaged and ethnic minorities. The vivid examples for this situation are the cities in West Germany's Rhine-Ruhr and the Saar regions where economic transformation and resulting blue-collar-job declines have been most severe since the early 1970s. Whereas the total number of the workers in Germany was around 20,335,802 (composed of 18,496,943 Germans, and 1,838 859 foreigners) in 1970; the same number was found as 20,730,107 (19,138,560 Germans and 1,591,547 foreigners) in 1986. The percentage shares of the manufacturing, mining and construction workers were 52.7 (total), 49.7 (German), and 82.8 (foreign) in 1970; and 48.6, 47.2, and 65.4, respectively, in 1986.(261) The decrease of the working population in old production branches and regions like the "Ruhr" region has also been made "public" in Turkey in a Turkish newspaper by the German minister of the Work, Health and Social Affairs of the Nord-Rhine Westphalia "Land". He described the Ruhr region as a region which has ceased to be the "coal and steel region" and as a region concentrating in itself rather services. He further added that many Turks in the mining sector who work in that region were anxious about their futures. "If we work together in a cooperative manner and if everybody knows his responsibility, the problems will be overcome more easily. The regeneration of the industrial society has to be maintained", he said.(262) It is not known, however, how the serious problems created and/or contributed to by the simultaneous transformation and selective decline of employment in the cities, such as unemployment, "a widening gap between urban job opportunity structures and skill levels of disadvantaged residents"

("mismatch"), and public assistance(263) will be solved "in a cooperative manner!

For instance, the unemployment which was virtually unknown until the 1970s, and only 3.4% in 1980, rose sharply in the following years to reach a forecasted number of unemployed persons totalling to 2,4 million in 1990.(264) Besides this, there is also the fact of the varying unemployment rates among cities. By 1984, Duisburg, Bremen, Saarbrücken, and even Hamburg exhibited high unemployment rates, thus indicating the crisis in some industries, such as steel, mining, and shipbuilding. Some economically prosperous cities like Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and the southern cities of Stuttgart and Munich were below the national rate.(265) The foreigners living in German cities were much harder hit: In 1984, the unemployment rate for foreign labor was quite the double of the rate for German labor. The reasons for this difference lie in the facts that the foreign labor has comparatively lower qualifications and that it is more represented in the declining manufacturing sector.(266)

As Kasarda and Friedrichs have put once, declines in blue-collar and other entry-level jobs in central cities and growth in white-collar (information-processing) jobs which require substantial education and/or training have occurred.(267) And as a result, the gap between the skill levels of minority groups usually residing in central cities and those skill requirements of the new urban growth industries has widened. The result has been a demographic-employment opportunity mismatch which can be defined after Cheshire as being a discordant distribution of labor

qualifications with respect to the qualifications required for available jobs. It is found out that for 1980-1984, in the 67 cities of a population of 100,000 or more, an overall decline in jobs requiring low qualifications (ten or less years of schooling) and a rise in jobs requiring high qualifications (thirteen or more years of schooling) were detected. And since the foreign labor is less qualified, the workers are harder hit if one changes qualification requirements. Therefore, the number of jobs for Germans with low education dropped by 11% whereas the rate for foreigners was 21.8 percent. This difference largely explains why the central city unemployment rates in Germany are most of the time above the national average and also inordinately high among the ethnic minorities.(268).

The foreigners whose statistical and ethnical characteristics are seen in the following tables below are distributed to the big cities where the general demographic trend is a decrease of the native German population due to death rates exceeding birth rates, as well as low fertility rates, also due to moves to the suburbs and the share of foreign-born population which is growing both by immigration and higher fertility rates.(269) (See the table below which shows the distributional pattern of the foreigners to big cities.)

Table 6.5 : Total and Foreign-born Population in FRG (1960-1986)

Nationality	1961	1970	1980	1986
Total	56,174,800	60,650,600	61,657,900	61,140,500
Foreign	686,200	2,600,600	4,453,600	4,512,700
(%)	1.2	4.3	7.2	7.4

(Source: Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities

in Western Europe and the United States (Eds.: Elizabeth D.Huttman and (coeds.) Wim Blauw, Juliet Saltman), Durham and London: Duke University

Table 6.6: Foreign-born Population in FRG, Percent by Nationality (1960-1986)

Nationality	1961	1970	1980	1986
Turkey	1.0	9.5	32.8	31.8
Yugoslavia	2.4	7.8	14.2	13.
Italy	28.7	22.8	13.9	11.9
Greece	6.1	11.1	6.7	6.2
Spain	6.4	9.8	4.0	3.3
Portugal	0.1	1.3	2.5	1.7
Other	55.3	37.7	25.9	32.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	686,200	1,806,700	4,453,300	4,512,700

(Source: Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities (..)op.cit., p.119 (Table 6.2).)

Table 6.7 : Population and Percent Foreign Population, West Germ Cities of 500,000 or More (1970, 1980, and 1986)

City	Population Total 1986	%Change 1980-86	Foreign Born (%) 1970	1980	1986
Berlin	1,879,225	-6.0	3.5	10.7	13.7
Hamburg	1,571,267	-4.5	5.4	9.0	10.2
Munich	1,274,716	-1.9	14.0	16.4	17.3
Cologne	914,336	-6.4	9.1	13.6	15.0
Essen	615,421	-5.0	3.8	5.5	6.1
Frankfurt	592,411	-5.9	13.3	20.2	25.0
Dortmund	568,164	-6.6	3.7	8.5	8.9
Stuttgart	565.486	-2.6	13.1	17.7	18.1
Düsseldorf	560,572	-5.1	9.2	12.3	16.0
Bremen	521,976	-6.0	3.8	6.4	7.5
Duisburg	514,718	-7.8	6.2	12.2	13.0
Hannover	505,718	-5.4	6.1	9.8	9.7
FRG	61,140,500	-0.8	4.3	7.2	7.4

(Source: Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities (..)op.cit., p.121 (Table 6.4).)

Esser states that the labor migration process starting in the 1960s has created in Germany many socio-spatial results which are actually not very different from the ones that were seen in the U.S. in the 1920s and 1930s, and also in some of the European countries such as Frankreich, Great Britain, and the Netherlands after the II.World War. "Ghettoisation", "xenophobia", "multicultural society", and "marginality of the second generation" are some of these results of the migration movements.(270)

The minorities in F.Germany which were making a total of 170,000 in 1952, have increased to 2,600,600 in 1973, and then to 4,512,000 in 1986. By the end of 1986, 31.8% of the newcomers were Turks and the foreign population has made up 7.4 percent of the entire population as seen in the table given. Because minorities are concentrated in large cities, their percentage shares in cities are above the national averages. Whereas the shares of the foreigners were at a relatively early point (1970) of their migration movements only in some southern cities like Munich, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt/Main above a fixed rate of 12.5%, and in the northern F.Germany 11.3% only in the VW-city of Wolfsburg as an exceptional case, their shares were rising in the northern cities in the next decade as well. Between the years of 1972- 1982, the foreigners' population share was rising 27% in the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg; 42.6% in the Bavaria; and 80.2% in the northern states of Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Niedersachsen (Saxony) and Bremen altogether, whereas the

national average was 56.8 percent, i.e. a geographical shift of the foreigners to northern Germany was detected.(271)

This basic knowledge about their presence in Germany does lack some important insights into the very topic however. According to Esser, the settlement process of the foreigners was taking place in three concentration rings: 1-Their settlement process was directed to the regions where the industrial agglomerations were existing; 2-The concentrations within these regional centers were taking place in those big cities where the "foreigner-specific" branches like metallurgy, machine-production, textile-industry, construction-industry, and services sector were heavily represented; and 3-The actual living places of the foreigners were selected (were made to be selected!) at those places where the foreign workers could find housing facilities for themselves and their rather large families, i.e. in the urban renewal areas and in the places with huge environmental deficiencies from where the German inhabitants had gone away in most of the instances.(272) Friedrichs & Alpheis do add to this information by saying that the foreign-born persons in all cities represent an overproportionate share of the population in two types of residential areas: Those adjacent to the central business district (C.B.D.), which are often designated for urban renewal, and in peripheral large new housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to these characteristics, "all cities have neighborhoods in which the percentage of foreign born in primary schools exceeds 60 or even 80 percent of the school population."(273)

Another socio-spatial characteristics of the foreigners living in Germany relates to the "public assistance" issue mentioned above. The rates for persons on public assistance increased as paralleling the rise in unemployment between the years of 1980- 1986. In Germany, the unemployed person receives "unemployment money" for one year; if unemployment endures, (s)he receives "unemployed aid" for a further two years. After that periode, (s)he is on public assistance.(274) The situation with the foreign workers is a little bit "harder", of course(!). Akçaylı describes the situation for the foreigners as follows:

> "According to Federal German Law, a worker who works in that country for three years without interruption is entitled to unemployment insurance payment for a year (312 days). This payment is about 68% o f his net wages. After this one year elapses, the unemployed worker receives for a year unemployment subsidy. And this money is 58% of his net wages.(He is able to receive this subsidy if there are no persons in his family like a parent or spouse who is obliged to support him.) These two kinds of payment are called **Arbeitslosengeld.** At the end of the second year, the unemployed worker begins to receive social subsidy in accordance with the European Medical and Social Subsidy Treaty (**Europaeische Fürsorgeabkommen**). The states have different practices at this stage; the unemployed worker receives social subsidy for 2 to 6 months **and his residence permit is cancelled after that.** (Stress is mine, Ö.B.)"(275)

As is seen, an unemployed Turkish worker living in Germany is able to support himself financially for about 2,5 years. Afterwards, (s)he is sent back to his/her original country! The residential permit functions wonderfully for the German authorities! (Here, one might also see an "opportunity" for the foreigners not to fall into the very trap of the "underclass", if one is too optimistic, of course..) Thus, the Turks who might

fall into unemployment and/or poverty will be taken care of their families(!); and if they would "insist" upon falling into it in order to join the joyfully ranks of the "underclass"(!), then they would be sent back to Turkey to be taken care of there! Here we'll open a parenthesis.

If one remembers the facts about the financial contributions made by the Turks to the German state apparatus, then one will be astonished very shockingly, indeed(276):

-The annual contributions of the Turks to the retirement insurance system in Federal Germany are nearly 2.4 billion DM. What they have paid to this retirement system in 22 years is estimated to be 46 billion DM. In 1980, the total sum paid by all the foreign workers to this insurance system was 11 billion. Out of this, 1,798 billion were paid to foreigners as "retirement payments"; 401 million were paid back as "over-payments" to the retirement system; and 8,8 billion were left to the insurance system!

-The annual contribution of the Turks to the health insurance system is nearly 2,1 billion DM;

-The payments by Turks to the unemployment system within 22 years has exceeded 7 billion DM;

-The annual contribution of foreigners to the domestic demand is around 40 to 50 billion DM;

-The expenditures by Turks in 1981 in consumption exceeded 8 billion DM; and:

-The savings of Turks deposited in the German banks are estimated to be around 20 to 25 billion DM!

The figures cited above point out to a "giant sleeping". There are 53% of foreigners as opposed to 44% of Germans; and 75% of foreign youths over 15 years as opposed to 53% of German youths over 15 , who are working as workers. This means consequently that foreigners are much more contributing to the welfare of the German society at large than anyone else! There is also the fatal fact of the Turkish first generation: Their average life expectancies are around 50-55, whereas the retirement age in Germany is 65 for men and 55 for women! Therefore, the German officials do calculate not to pay very much to the first generation, anyway, because as stated by Nurhan Akçaylı, "(w)orking in dangereous and heavy jobs, working in undesirable shifts, not being able to see the doctor for fear of being laid off, being looked down upon and being mistreated have sapped the life of the first generation. In fact, the Germans also consider the first generation as a totally lost generation. Those who shaped the policy in Federal Germany concerning the foreigners are perfectly aware of this."(277) The parenthesis is closed.

It is very tragic that the Turks with their past earnings and with their lost lifes are not allowed to sustain themselves and/or their children of the second, third generations who could fall into unemployment situation very frequently due to their strategic, however "buffer" roles played in the German work apparatus as "unspecialized labor" (to an extent of 68.7%(278)) working in manual, hard, dirty, accidentfull, low prestigious jobs characterized with frequent entering-leaving cycles.

Let's turn back to the very issue of the public assistance. Below will be given a table summarizing the situation in figures

Table 6.8 : Unemployment and Public Assistance, West German Cities of 500,000 or More (1980 and 1986)

Cities	Employed 1986	%Change 1980-86	Unemployment Rate Total 1980	Total 1986	Foreign 1986	Public Ass. Recipients 1984 Per 1,000 Inhabitants
Berlin.....	732,500	+0.4	4.3	10.7	14.6	67
Hamburg..	714,900	-6.8	3.3	13.3	23.7	62
Munich.....	656,700	-0.6	2.4	5.9	10.2	28
Cologne....	413,300	-2.8	6.0	14.0	21.0	36
Essen.....	218,700	-6.3	5.6	14.7	21.8	45
Frankfurt....	448,200	-2.5	3.0	6.5	9.4	54
Dortmund..	206,500	-8.9	6.1	18.2	23.6	58
Stuttgart....	360,500	-0.7	2.0	4.9	6.2	30
Düsseldorf.	334,800	-2.0	4.1	12.0	15.0	53
Bremen.....	234,800	-6.6	5.2	15.5	24.6	70
Duisburg....	191,400	-13.9	6.6	17.7	20.5	49
Hannover...	281,600	-7.3	4.4	12.6	22.4	55
FRG....	20,730,100	-1.1	3.8	9.0	14.2	34

(Source: Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities (..)op.cit., p.124 (Table 6.6).)

While explaining the table relating to the public assistances, Friedrichs and Alpheis say that one would expect that the foreigners who are on public assistance should be more than the Germans due to their being more unemployed than the Germans. However, it is not the case! In 1984 the ratio for the twelve cities was 34.9 per thousand Germans; whereas the same ratio was calculated as 31.7 for the foreigners. The scholars mentioned state two reasons for this situation, as we've pointed out above:

First, although the foreigners are eligible for public assistance, they have to prove that the person cannot be supported by his/her family in order to receive it. And, secondly, "it is legally possible to expel foreign persons not able to finance their living costs and who instead live on public assistance".(279)

So much for the public assistances which, as we already know from the discussions going on in the U.S., are regarded as one of the principal characteristics to be taken into account whenever one is to detect whether there is an underclass or not. In the case of Germany, they are of no great help, because the reception of them by the foreigners are strictly controlled and limited by the German (police) authorities! However, under such strict measures, there are foreigners as much as at non-omittable levels, obtaining public assistances although they risk their very existences in that country. This fact solely is a solid proof for the very deep poverty condition of the "foreign underclass" developed in Germany!

As we already know, the Turks of the first generation in Germany are now at their retirement ages. There were altogether 258,851 foreigners above the age of 60 and over in Germany on 30.09.1990, whereas 25,777 of them were Turks. This age group was only 1.6% of the total Turkish population living here. According to the data provided by the "Center for Turkish Studies", there were 47,129 Turks (only!) as of 01.01.1991 who have got their retirements in Germany. Of the Turkish elderly people over 55 and over, a fixed 31 percent would like to return back to Turkey, whereas 20% of

them would like to stay there, and another 34% would like to live interchangeably there and in Turkey.(280)

The Turkish population cohort in Germany is to a great extent "young" as it is seen in the table below:

Table 6.9 : Turkish Population in the FRG According to Age Structure (as of 30.09.1990)

Age Groups	Amount	% Share
0-17 years	597,619	35.7
18-20	127,766	7.6
21-29	332,779	19.9
30-39	192,503	11.5
40-49	249,202	14.9
50-54	100,419	6.0
55-59	49,846	3.0
60-64	17,960	1.1
65 or above	7,817	0.5

(Source: Zentrum für Türkeistudien, Aeltere Auslaender, Zwischenbericht, Essen, 1992; cited in: Centre for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..)op.cit., p.21 (Table 5).)

As seen, the Turkish population under the age limit 30, is around 63.2 percent, i.e. it is still very young after so many years due to also the family formation process whereby a spouse is "imported" from Turkey. This means that the Turkish minority group is within the potential worker groups and that in the near future the numbers of the Turks who will enter into the ranks of the educational system's "customers" and of the "suppliers" of the labor markets will be rising.(281)

This "young" quality of the Turkish population gives rise to specific needs such as "education" and "vocational education" for the second and third generations. However, these needs are only partially satisfied, thus

preparing the very grounds for the reproduction of the Turkish underclass living in urban areas of Germany. Although the "Center for Turkish Studies" claims that the education became visible as a problem after 1973 with the beginning of family reunifications on German soil; and that the children, parents and European authorities were "all caught unprepared for the rising needs and demands for education, especially because of the language problem"(282), we believe that the unpreparedness is an issue only for the Turkish side. The German side was deliberately prepared to produce and to let the labor force of the country reproduce itself by making use of the Turkish minority's succeeding generations and through manipulating the educational channels open to the immigrants' children. Castles and Kosack who have had researched the lifes of the immigrants in some European countries (including F.Germany) in their classical work in a brilliant manner, had concluded their chapter related to the education of the immigrant children as follows (paving the way to and supporting our conviction):

> "If the respective governments-as they claim-want to make sure that immigrant children have the opportunities to integrate and enjoy equal status with indigenous children, special provisions have to be made. Yet(..)little is done. The question is whether this is due to mere negligence or whether it is more or less deliberate policy to ensure that in future there will still be people willing to take the jobs with low pay, low status, and bad working conditions which today are occupied by immigrant workers. The evidence points to the prospect that the children of the present lowest stratum will themselves belong to the lowest stratum in future Western European society."(283)

We'll see that this foresightful view of the authors has been proved by the realities. But before going into the details of proving the above-stated conviction, a preliminary introduction will be made by giving

some figures relating to the very topic. Below are given school enrollment figures for different demographic cohorts in Germany:

Table 6.10 : School Enrollment of All and Turkish Children in Germany as of 1989

School Type	Total	Foreigners	Turks
Kindergartens	1,663,600	167,968	+ 6,749
Primary schools (Grundschule).....	2,448,200	289,911	137,083
Elementary schools (Hauptschule).....	1,254,400	232,397	120,939
Middle schools (Realschule).....	857,800	67,253	27,507
High schools (Gymnasium).....	1,546,600	73,914	20,531
Mixed schools (Gesamtschule).....	272,300	38,739	21,324
Night schools.....	41,100	3,697	1,680
Sonderschule.....	246,200	42,727	23,578
Vocational schools.....	2,512,000	170,186	80,289
TOTAL	10,842,000	1,068,792	439,680

(Source: Yurtdışı İşçi Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1990 Yılı Raporu, Ankara, 1991, pp.21-22; cited in: Centre for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..)op.cit., p.35 (Table 17).)

The first strikingly low figure in the table is that one showing the "kindergartens". Here lies one of the core problems of the allegation made by the "hosts" for their former "guests", the Turks in Germany saying that "the Turks are not inclined to integration with the (German) society!" As it is well known, the language has been a real barrier for the Turkish immigrant children at every level of the education system since their parents did not know German to a satisfying extent, a fact which has also hindered them (if they were capable to under so many constraints such as time shortage due

to (over-)work conditions, shifts, being too tired, etc.) for helping to their children by their homeworks. (One should pay to the homeworks in German education system a great attention: The school day in Germany ends between 11:30 a.m. and 1:00 p.m.. It is assumed that the child will be fed at home and then tought and helped by the homework which occupies most of the child's time during the afternoon by a parent at home. The "middle-class" family is taken as a standard in which the mother is not at work! The Turkish working-class family type does not "fit" to this standard!(284)). For the children who are lacking such a life-saving "tool" as the language to be "educated" for being "accepted" and "integrated" and/or "assimilated" into host the society at large, the importance of the "pre-school facilities" like the "kindergartens" which are not provided sufficiently for especially the immigrant children (285) is clear. However, and not surprisingly, the figure of the Turkish children who visit the kindergartens is so small that one can even omit it! Şen states that:

> "The greatest problems for the Turkish parents during the seventies and early eighties arose in the pre-school education of their children. The fact that this concept does not exist in Turkey, and that most o f the German nursery schools were run by the Protestant or catholic Churches meant that Turkish parents did not send their children to German kindergartens. During the late seventies in particular, Turki sh parents kept their children away from the German kindergartens to protect them from discrimination and from the Christian influence, while the Koran schools run by Turks began to take on more importanc e as nursery schools."(286)

Here one should add the deliberate negligence and even a deliberate direction of the cultural/educational policy makers on the side of Germans(287) who are saying rather in a societal chorus that the Turks are

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"invading" everywhere and "consuming" everything in a rather "exploitative" manner! The realities are far from the allegations: In 1982, only 39% of the Turkish children attended German kindergartens as opposed to 80% of the German children, 75.5% of Portugiese children and 68.0% Yugoslavian children!(288) Whereas 32% of the German children attend the "open-way-type" educational system, i.e. the type guiding one up to the high school, the rate for this by the foreigners is only 8%! There are also in the vocational education system imbalances: 25% of the young foreigners are without any type of vocational education; this rate of the Germans (between the ages 15-18) is only 7%!(289) Although it is a legal obligation in Germany to send the children to school, there were approximately 40% of Turkish children who were not even recorded in the school lists (in the beginning of the 1980s)!(290) (Whereas the German families which are preventing their children from going to school are being strictly controlled, persuaded, and promoted to send their children to school, the Turkish families are being left in this issue relatively "free", why?! Is it rather a "European programme" at the end of which the future street-cleaners, dishwashers and house-cleaners are expected to be "raised" as Castles and Kosack stated and many others supported besides them?!)

Ozankaya who had made a research near Frankfurt in 1981 among 200 Turkish pupils between 10-16 years, says that the main problems of the Turkish children are twofold: 1-Turkish children are faced with grave problems originating in their lack of opportunities to learn neither their own native language nor that of the host country; and 2-They are

unable to benefit from the educational services provided , mainly because of the language barrier.(291) According to him, the major factor influencing Turkish childrens' language difficulties is their heterogeneous composition with respect to both language learning and school attendance: One part of them are born and brought up in the host country; another part are born in Turkey, but have been brought there at around an age to start school; and a third section is formed by those who have come to Germany after attending primary school for a few years.(292) After adding to these the facts related with the parents who don't know enough about the host country's educational system, its opportunities and requirements; who pass their rather low-levelled expectations to their children; and who don't send their children and especially their daughters (forced to cover their heads with scarves and to wear long dresses) to kindergartens under influences of radical religious sects active in Germany(293), Koran courses (functioning nearly in each city part where a mosque has already been "opened"(294)); the author argues that in the case of the Turkish immigrant children (and/or the Turkish "second generation") "a vicious- cycle goes on: low education, low income, low skill and low status jobs, transmission of these inadequate social and economic conditions to new generations through inheritance."(295) (Suffice it to say here that we're familiar with such a statement from also the United States!)

Now we can proceed to see the German education system in more detail. The primary school starts at the age of 06, and is 4 years. After this, there are three schools to attend. The elementary school is 5 years and it makes with the primary school together 9 years (i.e. up to 15 years of age).

This school guides the children to the "life" within a relatively short period of time and by preparing them only to the vocational schools. The middle school lasts six years and prepares the children to the vocational (high) schools or with more 3 years to the gymnasium. The gymnasium (with its 5 different types as "altsprachliches- ", "neusprachliches-", "naturwissenschaftliches-", "sozialwissenschaftliches Gymnasium", and "Frauenoberschule (for females)") and lasting 9 years is the only school giving way to the universities (within a time span of 13 years, the primary school included) in a formal way. The vocational training (the so-called "dual system") starts after the obligatory 8 years and it necessitates 4 days working in a vocational place and a full day or one and a half day (9 or 15 hours) per week training in a vocational course related with his/her job and lasting three and a half years until the age of 18.(296)

Education experts like Rist say that the German education system is based on two concepts: Traditionalism and selectivity. With regard to the traditionalism existing in the German education, Rist states the following:

> "The postwar reconstruction of the Gymnasium in its classical nineteenth-century form, where Latin is still today the first foreig n language for many students, where entrance is decided at age 10, whe re successful completion has been a guarantee of a position in the university and a subsequent high status occupation, and where the financial investments in the students are as much as 100 percent greater than for those students who do not gain admittance, suggests the degree to which traditionalism defines the German educational experience.(..)In a society in which creativity, ingenuity, and technological sophistication are highly valued, the schools have mirrored a German past that was authoritarian, dogmatic, and hierarchical." (297)

Thus, in the German education system, the characteristics of a

nineteenth-century system still prevail. The functioning of the first principle of selectivity implies and implants the creation of elites in such a manner that the original class structure of the society is reproduced and reflected. Then the anticipation with regard to those who were in attendance in the more selective components of the system would be of a higher social class background justifies itself. Confirming this view, Littmann has found out that only a quarter of all children of the appropriate age group enter the Gymnasium.(298) An official report prepared by the Federal Ministry for Education and Science in 1970 has further said that "despite manyfold effors to bring about improvements (..) the three-limb structure of secondary education (vocation, general, and university preparatory) and early selection after the fourth primary school year still have the effect of perpetuating and reproducing a social class system within the educational system."(299) The mentioned report has added also how the mechanism for selection worked as follows:

> "In the primary school, children's attainments are still measured against standards of what is in the final analysis a specifically class educational tradition. These standards are decisive for selection after the fourth school year. Those children who are not encouraged by their parents and environment to adopt the content, forms of expression, and standards of this tradition cannot live up to these standards. Thus, the formally equalitarian primary school contributes to perpetuating the social class system."(300)

Being this the case, the Turkish children are prevented from the education system "structurally", as stated also by Turan who says also that the German school system envisages (since April 1976) a so-called "double strategy" for the foreigners which regulates a curriculum for the foreigners

consisting of German classes on the one hand and native language classes on the other. Turan describes this situation as ambivalent and asks: "How will it be possible to carry two consciousness in one body? How will it be possible to behave like a German in the German classes and like a Turk in native language classes?" He replies his question by himself pointing out to the real aim of the German governments with their actual wishes: i)The real aim is to implement a foreigners' policy of "rotation with a time period" (which is the "modern type of slavery"); but being unable to do this and not wanting to "assimilate" the foreigners beyond a fixed quantity either, however, ii) to leave the problem of the education of foreigners unsolved! (Because they know very well that within the "structural" inequalities of the system, the foreigners can not compete with their German peers! And so it will be possible to guarantee the supply of the "labor reserve army" for the German industry without causing much nuisance!)!(301)

Another rather very tragic way of "selecting for deleting" the Turkish youngsters is to send them to the "Sonderschule" because of their above-mentioned language deficiencies. Originally intended for handicapped, disabled, crippled, and/or retarded persons, these schools are a "boarding-house" for the Turkish children who are "bilingual", but who can't speak neither Turkish nor German at a satisfactory level having therefore "communication problems".(302) These schools (which we've been also in the U.S. primarily for use for the ethnic minorities like the Mexican-Americans) are known by the Turks as "mad schools" and they do really harm the children (who are being "stigmatized" within their ghettos by

attending such a school) psychologically very severely! It is not rare that many children become really mad after starting to attend these schools because they begin to believe that they are mad as said to them by the "expert Germans" who know their subjects thoroughly!

Rutter who did research the class system in West Germany since 1945 has stated that little reform has been effected in the very field of education and that "the system that historically had given a basic education to all, but advanced academic training to only a few, continues to operate on a traditional selective three-track pattern at secondary level ("Hauptschule", "Mittelschule", "Oberschule")". And, the writer goes forth: "Children failing to be selected for entry into an intermediate school remain in the senior level of the primary school before attending part-time vocational training school ("Berufsschule").(303) Let's make the situation a little bit clearer. What is that "class situation" in Germany which is being reproduced by the education system mainly at its secondary level? Rutter gives a sociological categorization attempt of the German society made in 1955 by an American sociologist, Morris Janowitz, whose work has been frequently used thereafter (304):

Table 6.11 : Social Classes in Germany as of 1955

	Rate(%) of larger
Upper-middle: Professionals, managers and proprietors establishments, and upper civil servants.....	4.6
Lower-middle: Minor officials, clerical and sales persons, small businessmen, and independent artisans, farmers.....	38.6
Upper-Lower: Skilled workers and employed artisans.....	13.3
Lower lower: Semi-skilled and unskilled workers, farmworkers.	38.6
Unclassifiable: (including social security pensioners).....	4.9

Dahrendorf had developed his class scheme in Germany (published in 1968) thinking of it as "a house with seven rooms" consisting of: 1-A small "élite" (less than 1%); 2- The "service class" (Dienstklasse) of mainly non-technical civil servants (12%); 3-The "middle estate" of independents (20%); 4-A "worker élite" of skilled workers (5%); 5-A "false middle estate" of "Arbeiter"; "Angestellte" within the tertiary industries (12%); 6-A "worker stratum" (45%); and lastly 7-A "lower stratum" of socially despised elements, or "Lumpenproletariat" (5%).(305) It is rather justified, we may think, that the Turkish minority in Germany be regarded as belonging to the last groups in each classification given.(306)

Rutter once again directs the attention yet to the education and says that the education is in the "achievement society" of Germany perhaps the "single most significant filter of life chances". Moreover, the census data for 1970 reveal that, of those members of the population with some form of qualification(307):

77.8% had only a basic school-leaving certificate

8.6% had a middle school leaving certificate

8.2% had a vocational training school certificate

1.0% had an engineering school certificate

1.6% had "Abitur" (conferring right to enter a university)

2.8% had university or teacher training college degree.

After stating in relation to the table above that it reveals a tremendous effect of the education on the achievement levels to such an extent that it would be an understatement to equate the tripartite schooling

system with the broadly three-class structure of the society (e.g. "Hauptschule" equals working-class, "Mittel-Realschule equals middle-class, "Gymnasium"/University equals upper-class), Rutter mentiones that the rate of the students with working-class fathers was 4.4% in 1952/53 whereas it (only) raised to 14.8% in 1978, a fact which shows that "the parental social position determines that of their offspring".(308)

So, it is now more understandable that the Turkish immigrant minority children in Germany "do form a caste-like structure and do pass the line (set for them) very rare"!(309) The prospects for the Turkish children both at school and in employment have never ever been good as other foreigners, let it be for the Germans! It has been a very rare event for the Turkish children to receive a certificate of school completion until the mid 1980s. The majority of them were (and still are) to be found in the "Sonderschule" and/or secondary schools called "Hauptschule". Although graduation from a "Realschule" or "Hauptschule" is the necessary requirement for entry into the (so-called) "dual system" (i.e. the systematic and regulated training on the job ("apprenticeship") with instruction in part-time vocational schools ("vocational education")), to be a graduate from a "Hauptschule" does not give to the student the right to get the apprenticeship (s)he wishes. "Furthermore, it is difficult for Turkish pupils even to enter the dual system in Germany and drop-outs among them are common.(..) Studies indicate that 60% of migrant youth at the age of 20 in Germany had neither a high school diploma nor a certificate of apprenticeship." Moreover, especially right after the unification of

Germanies, the priority for limited number of places in vocational training has been given to students from Eastern Germany. Finding a vocational place for the Turkish youngsters has really been a challenge since especially the second half of the 1980s.(310)

Thus, the breeding grounds for the Turkish "youth criminality and youth gangs" are ready for letting the Turkish unemployed, "drop out", discriminated against, culturally diffused, psychologically disturbed, socio-politically marginal youngsters to say their words on the German urban scenes rather in an unwanted manner and violence!(311) The police and security measures to protect the "law and order" existing in cities and being threatened by the immigrant minority youngsters such as the Turks are one of the classical weapons of the "liberal/conservative" governments to be used in such cases! However, and although the ethnical and racial "containment" of the minorities by the host state apparatus instances is at such a big scale that these whole (potential) members of criminally oriented gangs, clubs, etc. are "segregated" and "isolated" "spatially" (in ghettos) and moreover "institutionally"(312) (Sonderschule, for example), different kinds of police (counter)measures and/or institutional youth rehabilitation centers/facilities are yet and also will be in the future, as well, functionless since the essence of the problem remains untouched: Great socio-economic inequalities supported and exacerbated by the very ethnic/racial prejudices, beliefs, and discriminative policies also institutionalised on the official instances of Germany; and the very existence and daily ground-gaining growth of the Turkish "underclass"!

Gündüz Vassaf compares the situation of these young Turks with the situation of the youth members of the "old dominions" of the Western countries. As the Western exploiters did regard the members of the exploitated with a psychological (and also spatial, we've to add(!), remembering the dichotomy of "traditional", "old" districts of the exploitated versus "modern", "new" districts of the exploiters) distance and as they did "teach" those youngsters how to eat, drink, speak, etc., in order to make them believe (and "obey" them at the end) that the Western civilization is the "most ideal order" one can reach, the Europeans in general, and the Germans in particular, do approach to the second (third) generation Turks just in the same manner. They want to "create" from an "assimilated and/or acculturated part" of those Turks a new social layer consisting of members performing either(313):

1- The role of the "comprador bourgeoisie" for selling their products to the Turkish community in Germany (and to Turkey in the last instance) (one should remember the Turkish "35,000 business people (as of the end of 1993)" newly "introduced", their associations like the "Turco-German Businessmen Association" ("Türk-Alman İşadamları Derneği") established in Berlin (in 1989), Mannheim, Essen; the "Discussion Group of the Turkish Immigrants in F.Germany" (in Bonn) ("Federal Almanya Türk Göçmenleri Tartışma Grubu"); the "Turco-German Club" in Frankfurt ("Türk-Alman Klubü"); the "Turco-German Entrepreneurs Association" established in Kölln in 1990 with 37 members in different branches; and lastly, the "European Association of Turkish Academics"(314); for collecting

the savings of the Turkish immigrants at their (German) banks and insurance firms, or for distributing the so collected financial supplies to some Third World countries (among them also to Turkey!); or:

2-The role of a "supervisor/controller" group doing such jobs as "police", "guardian", "guards", "zone (duane) controller", "translator", "social service experts", "psychologists", "officials to be assigned to the child courts", "officials working with youth police", "waiter", "janitor", "driver", etc. who come into contact with the Turkish minority members frequently and for not very humanistic reasons if the socio-economic situation of the Turks is taken into account. (The number of the Turkish children fleeing away from home due to different reasons such as "fear from father", "robbery", "youth gangs", "alkoholic beverages", "drug addiction", "gambling", last but not least, "female and/or male prostitution" is rather at an alarming dimension! (315)) And the last role foreseen for some selected Turks is:

3-The role of "soldiers" in the national military armees which can not replace their cadres due to the low fertility rates existing and also due to the unwillingness on the native youngsters' side; and/or the role to be made to play "the adopted child" for families not having children and wanting to adopt a child as a "step-child" (a process which is called by Vassaf as "collection (of children) of European type (as opposed to the Ottoman type of "collection" ("devşirme") of Christian children"(316)).

There are some German scholars like Thomas Faist who do study (just for the sake of sheer "propaganda"(!), we think) the case of the second generation Turkish children in Germany with rather an "optimistic"

eyeglass and therefore do claim that although "there has been persistent inequality between Turkish and German youth in access to training slots", (u)nderclass formation has not occurred during the 1980s"!(317) He denounces, we believe, his statements by himself, as follows:

> "One crude measure of the disadvantages most Turkish youths face is the distribution in the broad sectors ofindustry and commerce ("Industrie und Handel") and the trades ("Handwerk"). In the mid-1980s, more than half (55.3%) of alien youths were apprentices in th e trades, only 41 percent in industry ("Industrie"). For German youths , the distribution has been just the opposite(..). Almost no immigrant or Turkish youth had entered training in the advanced service sector (e.g., banks, insurance, public administration)(..). Nationally, immigrant youths enrolled in training have consistently had higher than average rates in energy/mining, manufacturing, other services, construction and nonprofit organizations.(..) Immigrant youths are concentrated in very few apprenticeship fields. Young males(..) have tended to cluster in fields such as car mechanics, and females(..) as haircutters(..). Most of these jobs offer little hope for future employment as skilled workers ("Facharbeiter" in blue-collar occupations or "Angestellte" in white-collar occupations.) It is exactly in trades such as haircutter or baker that unemployment among young adults with completed apprenticeships was highest in the 1980s."(318)

He further adds that the young Turkish men as the "second proletariat"(!) are highly represented in large-scale engineering-based industries in the secondary sector (like "steel") the firms of which have "a high proportion of first generation migrant workers"; or have difficulties recruiting Germans due to the unattractiveness of the work (e.g. coal mining). The situation with the female Turkish youths who are pending "between exclusion and full-time vocational schools"(319) is more grim.

As it is a well-known fact that in the German case markets and the state are linked through intermediary organizations, such as unions, and

employers' associations to form a "(neo) corporatist" framework which is "class-based", the Turkish immigrants' interests are not represented in those "class-based corporatist institutions"(320) because, as we've tried allthroughout the Chapter to show, they are an "underclass" (as contrary to the belief "tentatively" stating that "they have not begun yet to constitute"(321)) not to be accepted to the "class-based society" at large as a "class"!

Thus, one may conclude from the socio-spatial facts displayed by the foreign workers in Germany as described above that the foreigners in general, and the Turks as their majority in particular have "reached" a socio-economic level of an "underclass" in the society at large as it is the case also for the ethnic minorities in the United States.

6.5.3.5 How Does the German Propaganda Machine Work With Regard to the Turks? Two Examples

In this part of the Chapter, I'll try to "introduce" two German institutions very active in their respective working fields and/or in carrying out some propaganda activities for specific German policies as foreseen by German state officials. My intention here is of course not to engage in a "polemic" or to blame some actors (be them Turks and/or Germans) on the scene..(322) The only aim for handling this issue is to try to show that even seemingly a very isolated research institute like the "Center for Turkish Studies" might be involved with such a big topic like the entering of Turkey into the EU! One knows from the history that the Germans are very sensitive

to us, since Turkey with her very strategic geographical and geopolitical location just at the heart of the famous "Orient" lies there where also the German interests have historically been directed to (as we've seen somewhere else before). Involved with some 2 million Turkish immigrant workers with their all kinds of pros and cons, there is ample ground for Germany to approach and try to influence Turkey as foreseen within its own world strategies and policies. To this end, Germany makes use of the propaganda weapon to a very great extent. Two German propaganda and/or (German) policy "distributing/dissemination/inserting" institutions will be taken as examples.

6.5.3.5.1 One Example From Germany: "Center for Turkish Studies" ("Zentrum für Türkeistudien")

The "Center for Turkish Studies" has been established in Bonn on 01.10.1985 with financial sources from the "German Science Foundation" and the "Freudenberg Foundation".(323) The Center has moved to Essen in May 1991 in order to join the Essen University which has been considered one of the leading migration research centers in Germany.(324)

The Center under the directorate of Prof. Faruk Şen who has been educated (after the "Alman (German) Lycée" in Istanbul) at the Münster University (Germany), has extensively researched in the very fields of economics, social sciences and migration. Within a decade, the Center has been enlarged from a "think-tank" organization with limited resources to a rather "institutionalised" "German Research Center" for supporting and

carrying out researches demanded by German, Turkish governments and/or even international organizations such as the UN, ILO, etc., among others. The branch of the Center in Bonn (Bad Godesberg/Wissenschaftszentrum) is yet functioning; a new branch in Bruxelles has been opened and put into service in 1994.

The institutions supporting the Center have been enlarged to cover also the Federal (German) Ministry for Science and Education; the Federal Ministry for Work and Social Order; the Ministry for Work, Health and Social Issues of the Nord Rhine-Westfalia; the Essen University; and the Essen City authorities. The research cadres of the Center are composed of the following sections: a)The "Turkey" section (formed by 7 (6 Turks+1 German) researchers consisting of economists, politologists, Turcologists); b)The "migration" section (consisting of 10 people, including only(!) 3 Turks; and c)The relationships with mass media (1 Turk, 1 German). The scientific advisory committee consists of 14 members including 2 Turkish-origin professors (Adanır and Bahadır) living in Germany; the rest being German professors (Boos- Nünning, Kappert, Endruweit, Grothausen, Schiller, Gumpel) and foreigners (Dumont, Rüstow).

We've been informed that the working scope of the Center would include such new projects like "small industrial plants in Turkey (their targets, problems)"; "the enlargement of EU to the south to cover also Turkey".(325) The expectations from the Center were cited by the city mayor of Essen as follows:

"Whether it is asked after the employment-, and life conditions of the Turkish immigrants living in Germany;

-Their environmental consciousness, or their knowledge relating to the AIDS;

-The many Turkish entrepreneurs in German industry or the migration politics (I've underlined it, Ö.B.) of the Germany;

-The touristic services in Turkey or the benefits and deficits involved with the would-be full-membership of Turkey into the EU";

By all these kind of questions, the Center will be "the" institute to talk to for the German, and Turkish official instances, and also for the ILO!(326) (What an "influential" Center it is!)

To the last question posed, there has been published at the Center a book which states the following:

> "(I)t would not be wrong to say that the developments in the Balkans, in the former Soviet Union, in the Middle East, in the Muslim world and in North Africa carry great significance for the EC, and the Community cannot be indifferent towards these developments. Finding solutions to the conflicts in the Middle East, attracting the new republics in Central Asia to the Western world, and hindering anti-Western fundamentalism in the Muslim world, should be the primary objectives of EC foreign policy.(..)If Turkey is accepted as a membe r of the EC, then Turkey can more intensively contribute to achieving the targets of EC foreign policy."(327)

These same opinions have been developed by Şen and "distributed" via a (Turkish book) and for "determining the horizons" in Turkey in 1994.(328) The "method" of the handling of the very topic has been selected as to "search for the would-be benefits of the EC from the membership of Turkey instead of looking for the benefits of Turkey and the

losses of the EC, as it has been usual."(329) However, different political and cultural developments in Turkey with which the EC experts have been dealing with including the "process of democratisation", "human rights violations", the "tendency to reislamisation" and the "problem of minorities" are not seen in accordance with the standards of the Community and are considered as hindrances to full membership of the EC. "Whether Turkey really represents a "bottomless pit" for the EC, which is a debatable claim, will only be assessed with certainly after the conclusion of the investigations" (of the Institutes that deal with the issue of the membership of Turkey in the EC, i.e. the "German Development Institute in Berlin", the "Foundation for Science and Politics" in Ebenhausen, the "Institute for Agriculture" in Braunschweig, and the "Centre for Turkish Studies" in Bonn).(330) According to Şen, the Turkish independent enterprises in the F.R.of Germany making altogether 30,000 at the beginning of 1988, and which are "an example for the dynamic of the Turkish economic potential"(?); and moreover the remittances of Turks living in Germany and being deposited in the Central Bank of Turkey amounting (by May 1988) to a total of $5,847 billion, are signals for the "economic integration of Turks living in the EC countries".(331)

As with regard to the Turkish immigrant minority living in Germany, for whom Şen tries to "fabricate" actually many "myths" aimed at preventing rather focusing on their plight in Germany and thus directing the attentions either to the "35,000 Turkish businessmen"(332), or to the "economic, vocational, social, and political steps made by the Türkish

minority forwards in the 1980s"(?)(333), en functions rather as an "pseudo"-intermediary (with "black" eyeglasses), between the German officials and interests on the one side (and being actually a real representant of them) and the Turkish minority in the last stages of the evolutionary process of its being an "underclass", on the other!

Although the realities are far from his statements about the socio-spatial behaviour of the Turks in Germany, he distorts the picture by saying that "we (the Turks) are getting out of the ghettos!" He says that whereas the first Turks were residing in the "Heims" of the firms they were working in, then they have started in the 1970s, when they were reuniting their families in Germany, to make some "preferences" to live in specific districts in many cities such as Berlin Kreuzberg, or Duisburg Hüttenheim, because their primary aim was to save money as much as possible by paying also low rents! (He seems having forgotten the very fact that the rents in those (ghetto) districts were not low(er than the average); just to the contrary!) He "confesses" that many German homeowners have discriminated against the Turks. (However) The "feeling to be together", "the wish to reside as close to the workplace as possible" (the workplaces of the Turks in Germany are too "dynamic" to be taken as "reference points" for renting dwellings!), and the "opening" of many shops serving foreigners "before"(?) the Turks have resided in those districts, have been most influential in the creation of the ghettos! As for today, the Turks, especially the members of the second generation (being influenced by the German youths!) (and with their non-existent jobs, and meagre financial means one should add) are wanting

to get out of the ghettos and are ready to move to better equipped dwellings while paying higher rents! Besides, he goes forth, the Turks have started to buy houses more end more. ("45,000 Turkish families have bought a house in Germany in 1993.")(334) He does not say, however, that the Turks buy houses because of discrimination, because of fear of losing their dwellings (meaning their expelling out from the country), and/or due to the very lack of the rental dwellings in the urban housing markets!

One of the other and important topics mentioned by Şen (although this is the theme of his PhD work, "The Turkish Workers' Companies Established in F.R. Germany", not "elaborated" at a satisfying extent in his books circulating in the book-, or think-tank markets(?)) is the topic of the "Turkish workers' companies" which have started to be established in Germany as early as 1966 (by "Türksan"'s pioneering undertaking in Cologne). While they were 28 in number with a total shareholders' figure of 28,220, the topic was entering into the attention/interest field of Germany very soon and an agreement with Turkey ("Ankara Anlaşması") was signed (in 1972) (in order to arrange the return movements of the workers also with help of those firms and fabrics). The number of the companies has risen to 56 in 1975, to 183 in 1978, and to 322 in 1983 (with a total of 345,000 shareholdersof which a fixed part of 154,800 were living and working abroad). As called properly in the literature, this "Turkish Model" was regarded at first as the most fittest model in the returning schemes of the Turkish migration history. However, due to causes such as wrong product-, and production site selection, lack of experts and managers, insufficient

supply of credits, etc., the model has been (rather brought to) a "failure". Many of them went bankrupt especially in the 1980s, i.e. those years when Turkey was involved with her own huge socio-economic problems and with her own "structural adjustment programs" initiated and guided by the IMF! The "DESİYAB" ("Devlet Sanayi ve İşçi Yatırım Bankası", 1975) taking care of them was merged in 1989 with the "Tourism Bank" and was under a new name, the "Turkey's Development Bank" ("Türkiye Kalkınma Bankası")), being put to the service of the worker companies according to a rehabilitation project helped by Germany!(335) (Rehabilitation after death? One knows yet that the "Turkey's Development Bank" has met with severe financial losses due to its last director's (Ö. Baysal) delinquent acts who has been sentenced to nearly two years imprisonment (Hürriyet, 29.06.1995, p.7).. What is not known till now is whether the mentioned rehabilitation project was prepared by his "Center" and/or by Prof. Şen himself alone and along the lines and proposals developed by his PhD Thesis?!)

Let's close this section with the "futurology" of Şen who has mentioned from it very recently during a panel discussion organized by his Center in the "Tüyap Book Fair" in Ankara on 16.04.1995 and with regard to the Turkish workers' position in Germany to be met in the year 2030: According to him (and/or his Center's experts), the total number of the Turks which was in 1992 1,854,945 will increase to 3,238,566. The number of the Turkish businessmen will grow nearly threefold to 92,500 (from 37,000 in 1993)! Lastly, to a question (of "how many Turkish "workers" who make up yet the actual mass of the Turks in Germany will still remain there in the

future? Will they all evaporate?") directed to him by the Thesis writer, Şen has said that "the number of the workers will diminish as parallel to the old-fashioned industrial sector's decline; some of them will open their businesses and/or move to services' sector and that the number of workers paying to the social security funds will be only around 900,000; i.e. 25-29% of the total (Turkish) population!"(336) Whether this rather "challenging" futurology will prove itself in due time, remains just to be seen! What, however, seems to be possible to a larger extent in the mentioned case for the future is the would-be diminishment of the Turkish workers, yes, but just as being parallel to the ever growing mass of the unemployed Turks who will enter the ranks of the "underclass"!

6.5.3.5.2 Another Example From Turkey (As a Host Country to): "Konrad Adenauer Stiftung"

Another example is drawn from Turkey. The "Konrad Adenauer Stiftung" is the second example for the German propaganda/policy (dissemination/distribution) machine.

It is a historical fact that Germany has also a big interest in the Turkish urban planning and/or urbanization issues. The most prominent sign and/or proof of this claim is the planning history of Ankara as the capital (to be newly created by, for and) of the young Turkish Republic established by Atatürk and his followers in 1923.

One of the first undertakings of the new Republic was "Ankara" which was then a small Anatolian city with a population of only 30-40,000

persons. However, the "mission" of Ankara in displaying 'a new, national, modern and humanitarian city life" to Turks themselves, to other Turkish cities, and to foreign countries, as well, against some of which (like Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece) Turkey has won her "multi-sided" "Independence War" (1919-1923) (while sacrificing and loosing necessarily some of her historical city heritages), was very great, indeed. Ankara would provide for the new and "national" (as contrasted with the rather "cosmopolitan" Istanbul, the former (Turkish) capital (between 1453-1920 of the Ottoman Empire and the Byzantian one (between 395-1453)) and also the only Turkish example of "capital cities created by their respective states in a massive scale, short time, and with a plan disciplin" such as Canberra (Australia), Islamabad (Pakistan) and Brasilia (Brazil).(337)

The famous "Ankara Development Plan" of 1929-1932 has been prepared as an end-product of a city planning and/or design competition held only with a limited number of "invited" foreign architects (of whom two were Germans from Berlin (J.Brix and H. Jansen) and one French, Léon Jausseley, from Paris) by the German (city) architect Hermann Jansen who was a student of the great Central European architectural theorist Camillo Sitte. Jansen had also won the design competition of "Greater Berlin" under his slogan of "within the limits of the possibility" ("in den Grenzen der Möglichkeit") in 1909, a slogan which had helped him by the Ankara Plan, as well.(338) Other reasons which have had played their roles by this result are cited by Gönül Tankut as follows: a)The role played by two high-ranking state bureacrats (the Minister for Inner Affairs: Şükrü Kaya (who was close to

German language and culture; and the Ankara Mayor: Asaf Bey (close to French language and culture)(339); b)The existence and influence of some foreign (and especially German) technicians and experts working then in Ankara (like the Austrian, however in his soul "German" even (4 years) before Austria had united (through "Anschluss") with Germany(340), architect and the "only" technician of the newly established "Ankara City Development Authority" ("Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü" (1928)): Robert Oerley, who had also "contributed" to Jansen's election and plan implementation processes by "informing" him about Ankara and Atatürk, as well(341); Ernst Arnold Egli: The Swiss architect (of e.g "Musiki Muallim (Teacher) Mektebi (School)" (1927/28)); and Clemens Holzmeister: The Austrian architect (of primarily the "Turkish Grand Assembly" (T.B.M.M.) and also the adviser of the Ministry of Public Works(342)); and lastly c)The composition of the "plan election jury(es)", most members of which were knowing either German or French and thus were "close to their cultures".(343)

As seen above, the Germans have had a great influence in the fields of city planning and architecture, as well(344) , in Turkey starting from the early years of the Turkish Republic. Their influence was also supported by their "diplomatic" attacks: Whereas some of the (western) foreign countries (like Great Britain) were hesitating to move (their embassies) from Istanbul to Ankara which has been announced as the new Turkish capital on 13.10.1923, Germany was the first foreign state to let its embassy be built in Ankara!(345)

Another great "German" influence in the field of city planning was felt with Ernst Reuter, the ex-mayor of Magdeburg who was on "asyl" in Ankara (due to the "Nazi régime" (which was discriminating against the Jews because of "racial" considerations!) like some other 70-80 (to a great extent "Jewish") scientists (who had thus enabled Atatürk and his political cadres to realise the so-called "(İstanbul) University reform of 1933"), politicians and/or artists fleeing away from Germany and taking refuge in Turkey as stated above by F.Neumark (see Ref.(341)) from June 1935 until November 1946. He'd taught urbanism, communal administration and communal finance at the "Department of Urbanism" of the "High School of Political Sciences" of the Ankara University between 1938/39-1946 (i.e. altogether 8 years). However, his teaching activities which were supported by three books written by himself(346) were very influential, indeed. Even today, his works and ideas are cited frequently at the Turkish academic and political circles. Reuter, after returning back to Germany, had become elected as the Governing Mayor of the Greater Berlin in 1947. In 1951, he had been elected for the second term and served at this post until his death in 1953.(347)

Germany, having re-built(!) its war-damaged cities after the II.WW, has tried to look for and to strengthen renewed relationships with Turkey. Although the presence of nearly 2 million Turks in Germany was creating enough socio-spatial problems to be solved (of course) by the Germans in their own country(!), they were again on the road to Turkey because of their global strategic priorities and their foreign policies. There

have been some German initiatives during the 1980s especially directed to Istanbul where a new and rather "global vision" represented by Özal, his party ANAP and his Mayor of Greater Istanbul, Bedrettin Dalan, was making a big attack in order to transform Istanbul to a second "Beirut" (348) (as it was before the war) of the Middle East. One of them is an "urban transportation plan" prepared in Essen and by three German experts (Oskar Gerdom, Wolfgang Bielke, and Michael Gailer) from the Essen University in 1986. The aim of this plan was to "connect without an interruption" Kadıköy and Bakırköy regions to the newly designed "skyscrapers' (of 60 stories height) region" located in Dolapdere and Piyalepaşa and had thus given way to the famous "Tarlabaşı destruction operation" by which some 386 "Pera" buildings most of which were "turn-of- the century-buildings" were destroyed and lost for ever..(349)

The other German initiative has been related with "the export of poisonous garbage" to Turkey! Starting from 1987 onwards, Germany has tried to "sell" its industrial (poisonous) garbage to Turkey. In the first case, the "Verband für Angewandte Umweltforschung" ("VAU") located in Heidelberg (Baden-Württemberg) was wanting to "export" "burned solid waste of house garbage" to the Bandırma Municipality on the seashore of the Marmara Sea as against a "garbage depot"!(350) In the second one, Germany was aiming at exporting "industrial solid waste" to a cement fabric (Göltaş) located in Isparta as "solid fuel" with help of a German firm (Weber) and a Turkish guy whose firm (Ete) was located in Frankfurt.(351) Export attacks of some other types (like batteries) of "poisonous solid waste" from

Germany to Turkey have continued for a long time.. The former "Federal (German) Minister for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development" ("Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau") O.Schneider has had once written in his book published in 1986 that the ecological "prevention principle" to be realized by adopting the environmental spatial planning laws is a must in order to save our future.(352) (The question of how would it be possible with the German poisonous solid waste to be get rid of, remains to be answered, anyway?!)

The last German initiative in Turkey (since the late 1980s onwards) has been the undertakings of the (CDU-tendenced) "Konrad Adenauer Stiftung" ("KAS"). As it is known, the KAS has been established in 1964 for the name of Konrad Adenauer who was the first Federal German Chancellor (1949-1963). The KAS which is in quintessence a German foreign political institution (out of a total of five F.German political institutions (353)), is (also) aiming at "the development of the democracies via contributing to the activities undertaken in the field of education/training of persons and/or officials working in the local governments".(354) In more than 100 countries where the KAS is active, it organizes seminars and carries out other "training" activities directed to the local governments.

In Turkey, the KAS which is aiming at spending efforts and carrying out "scientific activities in fields like the creation of a more liberal democratic environment and the improvement in the socioeconomic level of the Turkish community", is collaborating mainly with three Turkish organizations like the "Turkish Democracy Foundation" ("Türk Demokrasi

Vakfı" ("TDV") crated in 1987 by some politicians from ANAP); the "Turkish Foundation For Small and Medium Business" ("Türkiye Orta Ölçekli İşletmeler, Serbest Meslek Mensupları ve Yöneticiler Vakfı ("TOSYÖV") established in 1990 for providing support to some 200,000 Small- and Medium Enterprises in Turkey) (see for an interesting "relative" foundation Ref.(296)); and lastly but not leastly, the "Turkish Municipal Association" ("Türk Belediyecilik Derneği" ("TBD")) (established in 1945 by some academicians, high level bureaucrats and intellectuals as a public association to contribute to the development of the Turkish municipalities within a "pluralist, free, modern democratic structure").(355)

According to the aggreement signed between the KAS and the TBD in November 1986, both organizations do realize seminars in many parts of Turkey for informing local officials and mayors with the expertise services of the representatives of the ministeries dealing with municipalities (like the Ministry for Inner Affairs), the Turkish and Middle East Institute for Public Administration (TODAİE), State Planning Organization (SPO), İller Bankası (the Municipal Bank), universities and other public authorities. Under this training project, over 1500 seminars have been organized in-, and outside of Ankara; some 85,000 persons/officials have participated therein. The KAS and the TBD have formed in 1994 the so-called "Local Administrations Education, Research and Development Center" ("Mahalli İdareler E/itim, Araştırma ve Geliştirme Merkezi" ("MİM")) in order to expand their programmed activities (via seminars, symposia, roundtable meetings, international seminars, research and consulting services to be provided for)

and also to train elected and appointed administrators.(356) The seminars which are "free of charge", of course(!), cover different aspects of municipal administration.

Besides seminars, the KAS and the TBD do publish books about different topics and undertakings of municipalities.(357) The quarterly journal "Mahalli İdareler" ("Local Administrations") published by the KAS in 1994 (only four issues) has been merged in 1995 with the "İller ve Belediyeler" ("Provinces and Municipalities") journal of the TBD. The "İller ve Belediyeler" journal which was being published by the Turkish capital(!) (of the municipalities) since 50 years, will be published from now on with "the contribution of the KAS".. The "mission" of the "Mahalli İdareler" which was defined as to inform the municipalities (1500 of which (from a total of 2710 in 1994) were not getting the "Official Gazette", i.e. the only published medium to follow the legal procedural developments in Turkey) from new laws, by-laws, etc., put in force (by the KAS)(358), has thus been "transferred" to the other "classic" journal!

If we're not going to be regarded/blamed as being too much sceptical and/or "conspiracy-theorizing", it is possible to write a "scenario" about the possible strategy of the KAS which will be composed of three stages: The KAS will, first of all, "inform" the local government officials at the seminars in a "face to face" manner; then, secondly, it will "circulate" its ideas, plans and proposals through the classic (municipal) journal(s) and books to be published and distributed to the local governments; and, thirdly, it will try to persuade and/or promote the fitting (e.g. the "Inner") ministerial

officials (who are efficient and influential by putting out new legal "regulations") and/or the experts and academicians of the TODAİE (which is the only public body developing and disseminating ideas to introduce "reforms" in the Turkish bureaucratic structure) for realizing the aimed and wanted-for changes!

It is rather a fact shared by many experts that Germany tries to impose its "federal government system" to other (European) member states in order to gain a leadership position within the European Union. For instance, it has been claimed by a journalist (from "Meydan") who had joined a Turkish group of experts by their "technical" study tour made to F.Germany in May 1992 organized by the KAS (under the rubric of: "Seminar on the Local Administrations in Germany"), that the Germans had tried to "market" (and sell) their "**federalism**"(359) (which is actually"a federalism hiding its central(ist) power" as against the French "centralist" one transferring in the last years some concessions to local units (with, for instance, the "Decentralisation Act of 02.03.1982"(360)))! The main aim of this "ideological" attack was summarized by the same journalist as follows: "**F.Germany wants to be the leader** and basic model of the "**European Community**. Because of this, they want to impose the implementations and balances pouring out of the federal system to the **European Community**."(361)

The KAS has newly, i.e. in 1984, opened branches in some of the Central Asian countries such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, supposingly in order to "educate" them as well.. Since "researchs about European and Arab

countries have come to the conclusion that **education can reproduce the existing systems but can also change society considerably**", as the KAS- representative in Turkey has said at an occasion(362) last year, we should, as Turks having much closer contacts to Germans than the Arabs, pay a much greater attention to the activities of the KAS from now onwards, aren't we?! The relationships with our German "friends" who have started "to make peace with their (Nazi) history" as a result of or speeded by the famous "discussion of historians" like (neo-conservatist) Ernst Nolte and (social(ist) democrat) Jurgen Habermas (in 1986) and who now spell their "**imperialistic dreams**" (as "the German responsibility area extends from the Urals to the Canarian Islands"(!)) more avowedly(363), are deserving this attention today at a larger extent than before. In addition to this, shouldn't we, maybe, establish an official "Turkish Urban Research Institute" in Germany to deal with the (be it **federal** and/or **regional**) urban problems/politics there and should scrutinize the developments (with a keen interest to the Turks living in Germany, of course) much more "closer" (timely) and "on the spot" (spatially)?!

6.6 CONCLUSION

We've seen allthroughout the Chapter that the former Turkish guestworkers, and the new urban ethnical minority members of the German society with their rather "marginal", however hard-working, low-income, low-ranking, mostly blue-collar jobs and with their low(est) socio-economic status and legally too weak, too precarious existence conditions have

actually completed their "evolution" and/or "involution" processes into the "underclass" of the "host" society.

Although the German officials and the German scholars, academicians active in the field of social sciences in general, and in urban planning and/or urban sociological matters in particular, do not accept the above- stated fact as it is, **the "baby" is borne** and is crying whether it is being heard or not.. The father of the **"Turkish underclass baby"** in Germany has already (and had even four centuries ago) been "fix"ed as the **"(world) capitalism"** which necessitates labor reserve armies (as everywhere in the capitalist world).. And the mother is the "western", "white", and "racist" **"German society"** with its all kinds of "state power and authority" to back- up the "unintended"(?!) birth.. The German state structure with its rather class-based educational system is ready for the reproduction of the "Turkish underclass baby/child" even at a larger extent than before.

The "chance" which was presented to Turkey for "replacing" worker cadres of the low-skilled, low-paid, highly-dangerous, risky, and unwanted jobs in Germany which was recovering itself from the wounds of the II.WW (caused by itself) in the early 1960s, was unhesitatingly accepted by the Turkish ruling classes and/or governments in order to solve the rather chronic unemployment-, national budget deficits-, and/or foreign exchange problems which are structural illnesses of a capitalist dependent development.

To the questions "**why Turkey**?" and "why not someone else?", it is possible to give (under the light of the materials presented in the Chapter

6) the answer that "**Turkey with her nearly semi-colonial relationship with Germany**" stemming from the late 19th century (and still going on albeit in a more (post)modern and hidden way and mostly in the field of "education" covering nearly every sphere of life) was "the" country to be selected by Germany to feed its "industrial gigantic machine" with her labor power due her very being socially, economically, culturally and (not the least) psychologically "inclined" and/or "vulnerable"(364) (due) to **German(y's) "traditional friendship"**.

In the next Chapter, we'll go onto the German urban space in order to describe the ghetto/housing conditions of the Turkish underclass within a historical framework.

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20. Ibid, p.59.

21. Ibid, p.65, Table 4.

22. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., pp.45-46.

23. Köksal, op.cit., p.100.

24. Ibid, pp.102-103.

25. Ibid, p.103. Here one should point out the fact that although the condition of the housing units which are occupied by Turks are well above the expectations, they are disadvantageous from other perspectives: In Sweden, the newest housing rental units produced and owned by the municipalities and used to a greater extent by the immigrant groups are the " most expensive" housing units due to some financial credit-, and rent policy machanisms! Apart from this, the Turks (together with Yugoslavs) have been found out to be the most valuerable immigrant groups in the field of housing in Sweden. (See for the points made: A.Şule Özüekren, " İsveç'te Yaşıyan Türkler ve Konut" (" Turks Living in Sweden and Housing"), (in) Kent, Planlama, Politika, Sanat - Tarık Okyay Anısına Yazılar - 2.Kitap, (" City, Planning, Politics, Art") (Ed.:

İlhan Tekeli), Ankara: O.D.T.Ü. Yayını, March 1994, (pp.505-514) pp.506-507.

26. Köksal, Refah Toplumunda (..) op.cit p.139.

27. Ibid, p.99; Şirin Tekeli; Stockholm'deki "Bizim Köy" ("Our village in Stockholm"), Cumhuriyet 25.09.1986, p.5.

28. Köksal, Refah Toplumunda (..) op.cit p.125.

29. Ibid, p.126.

30. Ibid, pp.174-175 This " secrecy" seems to be a functional prerequisite from the 'officials' viewpoint, since " openness" could bring some questions which would " wake up" the immigrants about their weak positions in the Swedish housing markets!

31. Ibid, pp.180-181.

32. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., p.1.

33. Ibid.

34. Keyder, "Kriz Üzerine (..)", op.cit., p.32.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid, p.36.

37. E.S.Lee, "A Theory of Migration", Ekistics, Vol.23, 1967, pp.211-216; W.R.Böhning, The Migration of Workers in the United Kingdom and the European Community, London: Oxford University Press, 1972; W.R.Böhning, "Some Thoughts on Emigration From the Mediterranean Basin"International Labour Review, 3ğ3, 1975, pp.251-277; M.P.Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries", American Economic Review, Vol.58, 1968, pp.138-148; Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., p.3; Ali S.Gitmez, Yurtdışına İşçi Göçü ve Geri Dönüşler ("International Migration of Labor and Returning Back Again"), İstanbul: Alan Pub., No.11, 1983, p.75; See also: İlhan Tekeli, "Göç Politikaları ve Göç Teorilerinin Yanıtlamaya Çalıştığı Sorular Üzerine Bir Tipleştirme" ("A Typology Recommended for Migration Theories and the Questions they try to Answer"), (in) Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak - İç Göçler ("Internal Migrations - As an Adaptation Process of the Spatial Structure") (Eds.: İlhan Tekeli, Leyla Erder), Ankara: Hacettepe University Pub., No.D-26, 1978, (pp.17-42), esp.pp.23-24.

38. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., p.4; See also: C.P.Kindleberger, Europe´s Postwar Growth and the Role of Labour Supply, Oxford, 1967.

39. Güven, Dış Göç (..), op.cit., p.17.

40. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., p.4.

41. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Migratory Labour From Mediterranean Countries" (in) Migration and Development (N. Abadan-Unat, R.Keleş, P.Penninx, H.Van Renselaar, L.Van Velzen, L.Yenisey), Ankara: Ajans Türk Press, 1976, (pp.1-4), pp.2-3; Güven, Dış Göç (..) op.cit., pp.17-18; Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Migration as an Obstacle to Re-Integration in Industry: The Turkish Case", Turkish Public Administration Journal, Vol.3, 1976, (pp.191-208), esp.p.207.

42. Marios Nikolinakos, Politische Oekonomie der Gastarbeiterfrage-Migration und Kapitalismus, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1973; M.Nikolinakos, "Anmerkungen zu einer allgemeinen Theorie der Migration im Spaetkapitalismus", (in) "Dritte Welt" in Europa-Probleme der Arbeitsimmigration, (Eds.: Jochen Blaschke, Kurt Greussing), Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1980, pp.60-71; John Rex, Race, Colonialism and the City, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973; Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research, Vol.8, No.2, 1971, pp.81-117; Stephen Castles, Gorula Kosack, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973; Alejundro Portes and Robert L.Bach, Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985; Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Summing Up", (in) Migration and Development (..) op.cit., pp.371-386. Cihan Arın," Arbeitsimmigranten aut der türkei: Eine gegenüberstellung der repro, uktionsbedingungen vor und nach der Migration" , (in) Auslaender in Wohnbereich, Berlin: Express Edition, 1983, pp.71-102

43. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., pp.4-5; Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Türk Dış Göçü: Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını", ("Turkish Immigration: Its Past, Present, Future"), Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, No.86, April 1987, (pp.45-47) p.45; J.Hoffman-Nowotny, Soziologie des Fremdarbeiterproblems, Stuttgart, 1973; Gitmez, op.cit., pp.78-79.

44. Gitmez, op.cit.

45. Ibid, p.17; Ersin Onulduran, Herman Van Renselaar, "International Relations, Legal and Political Dimensions", (in) Migration and Development (..) op.cit., (pp.27-42), p.27; An interesting fact relating to the German-Turkish relations in the very field of labor migration is the fact that Germany had recruited thousands of Turkish workers to Germany under the disguising label as "technical practice" as early as in

1913 in order to fill the gap induced by the military activities just before the First World War; See: (Not given), Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi - Cilt 1, ("History of Turkish Worker Class - Vol.1"), İstanbul: Vardiya Pu., 1975, s.16; Cited in: Yazgülü Aldoğan, "Fransa'daki Türk İşçileri", Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol.XXXIII, No.3-4, Sep.-Dec. 1978, (pp.143-162), p.145.

46. Ibid.

47. Gitmez, op.cid., p.18; Köksal, op.cit., p.18; Köksal, op.cit., p.56.

48. Abadan-Unat, (Kemiksiz), op.cit., p.6.

49. Rolf Meinhardt, Pollacken, Itaker, Kanaker-Zur Leidensgeschichte der Fremden in Deutschland", (in) Türken raus? Oder Verteidigt den sozialen Frieden, (Ed.by: R.Meinhardt), Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1984, (pp.9-21), p.9.

50. Ibid, pp.9-10.

51. Ibid, p.10.

52. Ibid, p.11.

53. Ibid, pp.11-12.

54. Ibid, p.12.

55. Köksal, op.cit., p.57.

56. Gitmez, op.cit., p.18.

57. Köksal, op.cit., p.56; See also: Muharrem Varol, "Libya'da Çalışan Türk İşçilerinin Sorunları" (in) Prof.Dr.İbrahim Yasa'ya Armağan (..) op.cit., (pp.171-188), p.173.

58. Burcu Bostanoğlu, "Türk İşçilerinin Kurdukları Şirketler ve Günümüzde Bu Şirketlerin Durumu" ("Turkish Workers' Enterprises and Their Last Situation"), (Seminar report prepared for Prof.Dr.Nermin Abadan-Unat), Ankara: S.B.F., March 1985, p.6 (Table 2).

59. Sudi Apak, Yurt Dışındaki İşçi Potansiyeli ve Türkiye Ekonomisi ("Worker Potential Abroad and the Turkish Economy"), İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, October 1993, p.52. Sevimli summarizes the incongruity met while searching for real figures. He then attempts to give some figures of the Turkish workers living abroad as seen in the table below:

Country	Total Turks	Workers
Germany	1,613,000	638,000

France	204,000	91,520
The Netherland	176,000	82,000
Austria	100,000	42,423
Belgium	84,102	35,100
Switzerland	59,000	30.698
Denmark	27,000	11,431
Sweden	22,414	10,000
England	17,000	5,000
Norway	4,552	1,500

(Source: İbrahim Sevimli, Uzun Bir Göç Öyküsü - Halk, Göçmen, Azınlık ya da Ulus Olmak ("A Long Story of (Im)Migration - To Be People,
(Im)Migrants, Minority or Nation"), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, June 1993, p.19.)

The latest figures are as follows:

Country	Total Turks
Germany	1,965,577
France	238,638
The Netherlands	228,414
Austria	117,000
Belgium	84,935
Switzerland	69,493
Denmark	29,680
Sweden	40,000
England	50,000
Norway	4,552
Australia	45,000
Saudi Arabia	130,000
Libya	10,220
Turkish Rep.of Northern Cyprus	7,307
Other	22,711
Total	**3,043,686**

(Source: Güray Öz, "Yurtdışındaki Türklerin Seçme ve Seçilme Hakları Sınırlanamaz" ("The Voting Rights of the Turks Abroad May Not Be Limited"), Cumhuriyet, 09.11.1995, p.10 (Table 1).)

In a very recent newspaper article, the figures of the Turkish citizens living abroad (and totalling to 3,305,303 persons mostly of whom are workers) have been given (as obtained from the official resources) as follows:

Country	Total Turks	Continued	
Germany	1,918,395	Italy	15,000
France	268,000	Spain	848
The Netherlands	176,000	Finland	1,800
Austria	150,000	Luxembourg	220
Belgium	88,248	Lichtenstein	528
Switzerland	78,231	Saudi Arabia	130,000
Denmark	34,658	Libya	6,236
Sweden	35,713	Kuwait	3,500
England	37,802	Jordan	1,591
Norway	10,000	Katar	400
U.S.A.	135,000	KKTC (Northern Cyprus)	6,308
Canada	35,000	Russian Federation	40,000
Australia	49,370	South Africa	500

(See: Miyase İlknur, "5 Kıtada 26 Ülkede Çalışıyoruz" ("We're Working in 26 Countries on 5 Continents"), Cumhuriyet, 05.02.1996, p.18.)

60. Rinus Penninx and Herman van Renselaar, "Evolution of Turkish Migration Before and During the Current European Recession", (in) Migration and Development(..) op.cit. (By: Nermin Abadan-Unat, Ruşen Keleş, Rinus Penninx, Herman Van Renselaar, Leo Van Velzen and Leyla Yenisey) pp.5-26.

61. Gitmez, op.cit., p.257.

62. Ibid., p.103.

63. Ibid., p.275.

64. Ibid., pp.267-268. The "culture of poverty" thesis as constructed by Oscar Lewis in his books and especially in "The Children of Sanchez" has rather global characteristics transcending national differences. Some of the economic characteristics detected by him are as follows: Uninterruptedly working for survival, unemployment, insufficient andğor low incomes, making use of child labor, not being able to save (and hence to spend and to consume the last coin at hand!), and to use second-hand items and costumes. See: Oscar Lewis, Sançez'in Çocukları: Bir Meksikalı Ailenin Otobiyografisi ("The Children of Sanchez") (Trans.: Leyla Ragıp), İstanbul: e Yayınları, No:53, August 1971, (esp.)pp.xxiv-xvı. See for a larger account of the mentioned thesis: Oscar Lewis, Anthropological Essays, New York: Random House, 1970, esp. pp.67-80 (Ch.4 as originally written in 1966). See also: Peter Worsley, The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984, pp.190-194; and Özer Bostanoğlu, "Birinci ve Üçüncü Dünyalarda (Kentsel) Yoksulluk Üzerine" ("On (Urban) Poverty in First and Third World Countries"), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.25, No:3, September 1992, (pp.147-161)p.160.

65. John Berger and Jean Mohr, Yedinci Adam: Avrupa'daki Göçmen İşçilerin Öyküsü ("The Seventh Man") (Trans.: Cevat Çapan), Ankara: V Yayınları, 1987, p.73. (According to the authors, the cost of a worker to hisğher country is 6-, or 8-times more expensive in developed nations as compared to the developing ones! (See pp.73, 79.))

66. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Genel Değerlendirme (Sonuçlar)" ("General Appraisal (Results)"), (in) Göç ve Gelişme (..)op.cit. (By: Nermin Abadan-Unat, Ruşen Keleş, Rinus Penninx, Herman Van Renselaar, Leo Van Velzen and Leyla Yenisey) (pp.399-412) pp.400-401; Gitmez, op.cit, pp.248-251. See also a recent contribution: Faruk Şen, "1961 bis 1993: Eine kurze Geschichte der Türken in Deutschland", (in) Deutsche Türken: Das Ende der Geduld - Türk Almanlar: Sabrın Sonu (Eds.:Claus Leggewie/Zafer Şenocak), Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, Oktober 1993, (pp.17-36) p.18.

67. E. Krane, "Effects of Cyclical International Migration Upon Socio-Economic Mobility", International Migration Review, Vol.8, No:4, 1973, pp.391-509; cited in: Gitmez, op.cit, p.239.

68. Gitmez, op.cit., p.239.

69. Ramazanoğlu, "Return Migration and Investment: Some Theoretical, Empirical and Planning Problems From a Study of Returned Migrants in stanbul", (Mimeo.), Ankara, 1977; cited in: Gitmez, op.cit., p.239.

70. Ibid.; as cited from and concluded thereupon by: Çağlar Keyder and Ayhan Aksu-Koç, External Labour Migration From Turkey and Its Impact: An Evaluation of the Literature, (A Manuscript Report 185e), Ottawa: IDRC (the International Development Research Center)-CRDI-CIID, April 1988, p.72.

71. Korkut Boratav, "İktisat Politikası Alternatifleri Üzerine Bir Deneme" ("An Essay On Economic Policy Alternatives"), (in) Kriz, Gelir Dağılımı ve Türkiye'nin Alternatif Sorunu ("The Crisis, Income Distribution and the Alternative Problem of Turkey") (Korkut Boratav, Çağlar Keyder, and Şevket Pamuk) (2nd Edi.), İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1987, (pp.70-110)p.91. The mentioned industrialization policy is generally called as "import-substituting industrialization" (ISI). It is a dependent industrialization policy started in the 1950s with the impulse given by the winner of the World War II, i.e. the U.S., and followed mostly in the 1960s, 1970s and oriented to produce mainly the consumer items behind the customs walls erected in the (semi-)periphery countries while making use of imported production means, machinery, and (fabricated) inputs and/or intermediate-, or finished goods from the core countries. While this policy worked well enough in many states to produce average annual growth rates of around 7%, including Turkey and Mexico, which also

relied on a less formed "guestworker" program, with the four-fold increase in oil prices in 1973, this era came to an end for less developed countries without their own energy resources. "In Turkey", as Norman Furniss in his article ("Foreign Workers in the Political Economies of Western Europe", (in) Turkish Workers in Europe: An interdisciplinary Study (Eds.: İlhan Başgöz & Norman Furniss), Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1985, (pp.67-77)p.73) goes forth, "remittances from guest workers began to fall as recession hit Western Europe and as states such as Germany ceased to recruit additional workers. Public and private debt increased markedly. Turkish goods were harder to export to European countries. And in 1978 Turkey was forced to agree to an International Monetary Fund stabilization program." So, in this way, the ISI policy has given way to the so-called "export-oriented industrialism" of the late 1970s and 1980s and has been implemented in South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Philippines, Malaysia, Chile, and lastly Turkey. See for mentioned policies: Mustafa Sönmez, Türkiye Ekonomisinde Bunalım - Kitap I ("Crisis in the Turkish Economy - Book I") (3rd Edi.), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, No:11, 1985 (Ori.:1980), pp.48-53; again Mustafa Sönmez, 100 Soruda 1980'lerden 1990'lara "Dışa Açılan" Türkiye Kapitalizmi ("The Turkish Capitalism "Opening Itself to Outside" From the 1980s to the 1990s in 100 Questions), stanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, No:58, March 1992, esp. pp.10-21; and İlhan Tekeli, "Sunuş" ("Introduction"), (in) Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Yaşanan Ekonomik Bunalım ("The Economic Crisis Felt in Turkey and in the World") (By: İ. Tekeli, Ç. Keyder, E. Türkcan, G. Yalman, N. Ekzen, O. Türel and K. Boratav), Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, No:10, 1984, pp.7-28; and also Korkut Boratav, "Dünya Ekonomisi, Türkiye ve İktisat Politikaları" ("The World Economy, Turkey and Economic Policies"), (in) Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Yaşanan Ekonomik Bunalım(..) op.cit., pp.257-275; apart from these, see: Taner Berksoy, "Uluslararası Ticaret, İktisadi Kalkınma ve İthal İkamesi" ("International Commerce, Economic Development and Import Substitution"), Toplum ve Bilim, No:13, Spring 1981, pp.39-66. (The last author says that "the import substitution process in search of finding a remedy for the balance of payments problem by curbing import causes the import to rise quickly and the economy to become more dependent to the continuous flow of the import". (p.61.))

72. Çağlar Keyder, "Yeni Birikim Modeli, Gelir Dağılımı ve Dışlanma" ("The New Accumulation Model, Income Distribution and Exclusion"), (in) Kriz, Gelir Dağılımı(..) op.cit., (pp.179-199)p.185; Mustafa Sönmez, 100 Soruda 1980'lerden 1990'lara (..) op.cit., pp.15-17.

73. The economic relationship between the worker and hisğher relatives is very interesting, because the "invisible hand" of the capitalism makes itself apparent as the "visible hand" of one's relative in case of being absent! Ramazanoğlu mentiones as an example of the relative's help in financial matters from a fixed share of the remittances of the worker allocated specifically for the investment by a trusted relative for building a

"two or three-flat building, one flat for the relative, one flat for the migrant's dependents, and perhaps one for another relative, or for rent." See: Ramazanoğlu, op.cit., p.113; cited in Keyder & Aksu- Koç, External Labour (..)op.cit., p.71.

74. Gitmez, op.cit., pp.249-251; see also: Rinus Penninx and L. Van Velzen, "Yurt Dışına İşçi Göçünün Boğazlıyan İlçesi Üzerindeki Ekonomik Etkileri" ("The Economic Effects of Migration in Boğazlıyan District"), (in) Göç ve Gelişme (..)op.cit., (pp.209-284)pp.272-273.

75. Berger & Mohr, op.cit., pp.146-156. "The presence of a permanent pool of unemployment-"the industrial reserve army" in Marxist terminology-was the traditional mechanism which kept labour's share of the national income from increasing, and thus ensured high profit rates." See for the citation: Castles & Kosack, op.cit, p.377. Such a "labor" is "de-humanized labor". Max Frisch had described the conflict such a labor has created in the post-industrial society very aptly in saying that laborers were called upon, but the ones who came turned out to be human beings! (See:M. Frisch, Oeffentlichkeit als Partner, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1967, p.100.)

76. Gitmez, op.cit., pp.94-95.

77. Güven, op.cit., p.44; see also Ernst Klee, "Gastarbeiter als Subproletariat", (in) Gastarbeiter. Analysen und Berichte (Ed.: Ernst Klee), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, No:539, 1972, pp.25-35.

78. Günter Wallraff, En Alttakiler ("Ganz Unten") (6th Edi.) (Trans.:Osman Okkan), İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, No:58, June 1986 (Ori.:April 1986). This book is really a very important milestone on the way which is crossed daily by the Turkish "guestworkers" trying to make their living in Germany rather very tragically and "bitterly". It is a first-hand witness by a German author who has in a disguised manner worked in different jobs in (F.R. of) Germany as a Turkish guestworker ("Ali Levent") starting as early as 1983 and documented thereby many types of "racial discrimination" incidents, and acts targeting Turkish workers. As a particularly example of the bitter experiences of the Turks working in Germany, one could recall the "case of the Atom reactors andğor nuclear plants" employing Turkish workers "temporarily", i.e. maybe for several days, or even hours for the most dangerous works. Wallraff states that although the annual upper limit of being posed to radiation is 5.000 milirem, some of the foreign (to be read Turkish) workers do face such an amount of radiation within very short time intervals, be it counted in several days, hours, or even seconds! And nobody informs them prior to the actual works to be done about the potential health risks awaiting them during that employment such as cancer! "The quantity of the cleansing and welding workers employed in German Atom plants annually is approaching ten-thousands.(..)Half of them are foreigners. Most of them

do return back (to their homelands) before the negative effects of the radiation make themselves apparent." (See for the "radiation" section, esp. pp.210-256.)

79. Der Spiegel, No:18, 1982, p.39. According to a categorisation made with respect to the German valuations of foreigners, it was found out that the "positive" valued first category is covering "noble foreigners" of British, French, American and Swedish origin; that the second "foreigners'" category is "neutral" and is composed of Spanish, Yugoslav and Greek people; that the third "neutral, with a negative tendency" category is covering "alien foreigners" of Portugal, Italy, and Vietnam; and lastly that the fourth **"rejected or denied foreigners"'** category is composed of North Africans, Black Africans, Pakistanis, Persians, and **Turks**! (See: John Bendix, "On the Rights of Foreign Workers in West Germany", (in) Turkish Workers in Europe(..) op.cit. (Eds.: İlhan Başgöz & Norman Furniss), (pp.23-55)p.44 (Table 5).) And, according to a research made by the Leipziger Institute of Social Researchs and conducted among German youngsters and people of 16-21 age (as reported by the "Centre for Turkish Studies" located in Germany), the **Turks were** found out **"the second most antipathetic nation after gypsies"** as selected from a list of twenty nations! The first three places were occupied by the U.S., France, and England; the ninth one by Poland and the tenth one by Russia. See: Faruk Şen and Andreas Goldberg, Türken in Deutschland: Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen, München: Verlag C.H.Beck, 1994, pp.131-132; also: Necati Doğru, "Sonda Çingeneler -Bir Önce Türkler" ("Gypsies at the last Rank; Turks Right After"), Milliyet, November 30, 1992, p.5; and: İsmet Acar, "Çingenelerden Sonra Almanların Sevmediği İkinci Millet, Türkler" ("The Second Nation After the Gypsies Most Antipathetic to Germans are the Turks"), Hürriyet, April 09, 1993, p.3. (Here one should remind that the German gypsies (most of whom are with permanent living places and "German nationals") are (only) 60,000-75,000 in number (of a world total of nearly 10 million, and a European-population of 6 million; and the Turkish section covers 500,000 thereof), and that more than a half million (around 600,000) of them were killed in gas chambers of Auschwitz by the Nazis during World War II! The so-called **gypsie-holocaust** was accepted by the German authorities as "early" as 1982! (See: Friedrich Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation: Soziologie inter-ethnischer Beziehungen, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1992, pp.9-12; D. Kenrick and G. Puxon, Sinti und Roma. Die Vernichtung eines Volkes im NS-Staat, Göttingen, 1981; T. Zülch (Ed.), In Auschwitz vergast, bis heute verfolgt. Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa, Reinbek, 1979; and (as cited from "**Stern**" by:) Anon., "Hiç Bitmeyen Bir Çingene Masalı" ("A Never-ending Tale of the Gypsies"), Cumhuriyet, November 21, 1992, p.9.) According to a research made by Hundsalz, the German gypsies who are still stigmatized with the claim of being "nomades", are to an extent of over 90% permanent settlers. Over one third of the total

gypsies should be declared to be "(under the threshold of the line of the) poverty people"; 25% of them gets "social help"; and 25-30% of the families were earning a monthly income of less than 1000 DM in the very beginning of the decade of the 1980s. (See: A. Hundsalz, Soziale Situation der Sinti in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Lebensverhaeltnisse deutscher Sinti unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der eigenen Aussagen und Meinungen der Betroffenen, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln- Mainz, 1982; (cited in:) Heckmann, op.cit., pp. 11-12.) The gypsies are one of the most discriminated peoples of the world and their fate can only be compared with the Jews who as a contrast to them, were socio- economically much more better-off than them. The gypsies had arrived in Mid-Europe as early as the year of 1400. Their existence was strictly controlled by the authorities of the countries where they were living. Germany was not an exception in that sense, too. Actually, it was one of the leading countries which were very seriously holding the gypsies under scrutiny. A special information office service with regard to the gypsies was established in 1899 ("Nachrichtendienst in bezug auf die Zigeuner"); a new law dated 1907 was making the issuing of the craft-licences dependent on the very existence of a "**steady living-place**" and (therefore) was forcing the gypsies to migrate to the big cities; a special police-bureaux ("Zigeunerpolizeistelle") was reserved and a special law ("Zigeuner- und Arbeitsscheuengesetz" - 1926) was put in force for the gypsies in the state of Bavaria; a law against gypsies in Hessen (for "Bekaempfung des Zigeunerwesens") was issued in 1929, etc.. (Heckmann, op.cit., p.10.)

80. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, December 02, 1982; cited in: Stephen Castles, "Wie begegnen wir dem neuen Rassismus?", (in) "Fremde raus?": Fremdenangst und Auslaenderfeindlichkeit - Gefahren für jede Gemeinschaft (Ed.: Rolf Italiaander), Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, No:4255, July 1983, (pp.135-144)p.135.

81. Die Interessengemeinschaft "Auslaendische Mitbürger in Baden-Württemberg e.V." (Ed.), Materialdienst, Heft 24ğ25, August 1982, p.52; cited in: Hans-Jochen Gamm, "Gestern Juden, heute Türken? Die Stigmatisierung von Menschen im Witz", (in) Türken raus?(..) op.cit. (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.55-65)p.58.

82. Der Spiegel, "Auslaender: Das Volk hat es satt", No:18, 1982, p.32.

83. Barre Toelken, ""Türkenrein" and "Türken, 'raus!"- Images of Fear and Aggression in German Gastarbeiterwitze", (in) Turkish Workers in Europe(..) op.cit. (Eds.:İlhan Başgöz & Norman Furniss), (pp.151-164) esp. pp.153-154.

84. Ibid., p.152.

85. Richard Albrecht, "Was ist der Unterschied zwischen Türken und Juden?", Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, No:78, 1982, (pp.220-229)esp. pp.223- 224.

86. Christie Davies, "Ethnic Jokes, Moral Values and Social Boundaries", The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.XXXIII, No:3, September 1982, pp.383-403.

87. Toelken, op.cit., p.156.

88. Annita Kalpaka and Nora Raethzel, "Wirkungsweisen von Rassismus und Ethnozentrismus", (in) Die Schwierigkeit, nicht rassistisch zu sein (2nd Edi.) (Eds.: Annita Kalpaka and Nora Raethzel), Leer: Mundo-Verlag, 1990, (pp.12-80) p.12.

89. Ibid., p.13; see also: Stuart Hall, "Die Konstruktion von "Rasse" in den Medien", (in) Stuart Hall. Ausgewaehlte Schriften. Ideologie, Kultur, Medien, Neue Rechte, Rassismus, Berlin (West)/Hamburg, 1989.

90. Kalpaka and Raethzel, "Wirkungsweisen(..)" op.cit., p.13.

91. Robert Miles, Racism, London and New York: Routledge, 1989, p.84.

92. Ibid., pp.84-85.

93. Hoffmann & H. Even, Zur Soziologie der Auslaenderfeindlichkeit, Basel/Weinheim, 1984, p.42; cited in: Kalpaka and Raethzel, "Wirkungsweisen(..)" op.cit., pp.25-26.

94. (Cited from) Ibid., pp.53, 67, 77; in: Kalpaka and Raethzel, "Wirkungsweisen(..)" op.cit., pp.26-27.

95. Toelken, op.cit., p.157. The mentioned racial campaigns were actually started first by the right-wing political party "NPD" ("Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands") before the federal parliamentery elections of October 05, 1980. The political speeches full of racial attacks (especially on the Turks) were broadcasted on the T.V. at 20.15 o'clock, i.e. at a time very fitting for political agitation. There were established in many German towns "Auslaender-stop-Initiativen" (like "Bürgerinitiative Auslaenderstop" ("BIA") in Nordrhein-Westfalen; or "Kieler Liste für Auslaenderbegrenzung"; or "Hamburger Liste für Auslaenderstop" ("HLA")) which were guided by the NPD. A part from a propaganda text by a "Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Befreiungsfront" in which a salvation war of people ("Volksbefreiungskampf") towards the "auslaendische Volkszerstörerbrut", and especially the Turks is opened reads as follows: "There have appeared everywhere slums and "**Türkengettos**", there was established a Turkish state right in the middle of the German people." (From: **Milliyet** of August 25, 1982.) There

were other racist organizations active in the field like: "Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten" (ANS); "Aktionsgruppe Schlageter"; Auslaender-Vernichtungs-Kommando (AVK)"; "Nationale deutsche Arbeiterpartei", etc.. The number of xenophobia cases andğor attacks which counted only 119 in 1980, was rising to 297 in 1981. The first and most serious arsonous attack was realized on August 22, 1981 on a "Auslaenderunterkunft" in Hamburg, and two foreigners had died. (See: Detlef Lüderwaldt), "Auslaenderpolitik als Auslaenderverdraengungspolitik", (in) Türken raus?(..) op.cit. (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.105-118)p.105; Andreas Geiger, ""Auslaender raus!" Rechtsradikale Organisationen machen gegen Auslaender mobil", (in) Türken raus?(..) op.cit. (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.130-137) pp.130-131; see also (for some "pioneering" witnesses of the very topic by a turkish journalist): Murat Çulcu, Neonazizmin Suçüstü Tutanakları (Yeni Alman Irkçılığı ve Türkler) ("The Neonazism in Flagrante Delicto (The New German Racism and the Turks)"), İstanbul: Eti Kitapları, March 1993, esp. pp.28-29.)

96. Christian Habbe (Ed.), Auslaender: Die verfemten Gaeste, Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1983, esp. pp.157-166.

97. Toelken, loc.cit. Hausmann said that what the Germans are mostly suffering from is "fear": fear of loss of workplace, or of "over-foreignization", of criminality among foreigners, of overpopulation, and fear **for the purity of the German race**. (Bernd Hausmann, "Die Auslaender und die Aengste der Deutschen", ZAR, 2.Jhg., Heft 2, pp.97-100; cited in: Bendix, op.cit., pp.44-45.) As it will be remembered from the history of the raceğracism issues, the **German race topic** has an immense importance for the development of the foreign policy course of Germany and thus for the international (diplomatic) relationships of this country with the rest of the world. The **"gang of four" of race issues** consisting of (a Frenchman) Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), (an Englishman) Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), (a German) Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) and (the most famous German) Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) (leader of the fascist German National-Socialists ("Nazi-Sozis"; i.e. "Nazis")) had been most influential in Germany. **("Count") Gobineau** had written his four volumes of **"Essay on the Inequality of Human Races"** (between 1853-1855) and had claimed that "the great human civilizations are but ten in number and all of them have been produced upon the initiative of the white race". **"The Nazi Prophet" Chamberlain** had developed a theory (in his work: **"The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century"** published in 1899) by which he was stating that the foundations were dating back to the year of 1200 when the "Germanen" emerged "as the founders of an entirely new civilization and an entirely new culture". One of the major theses of Haeckel was the one stating that "in the struggle for life, the more highly developed, the more favoured and larger groups and forms, possess the positive inclination and the certain tendency to spread more at the

expense of the lower, more backward, and smallest groups". Basing themselves on a **Darwinian foundation, Haeckel** and his followers (i.e. **the "monists")** became the first to formulate a **programme of racial imperialism,** and **Lebensraum for Germany**. (See for the cited personsğ works: E.Ellis Cashmore, Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations (Second Ed.), London: Routledge, 1988 (Ori.: 1984), pp.47-48, 120-124.) Hitler, the great practitioner andğor implementer of those views, had said the following: "We, the National-Socialists have to follow the aim of our foreign policy: This aim is to provide for the necessary land on the globe to the German people who have a right to it." (See: Adolf Hitler, Kavgam (9th Edi.) ("Mein Kampf") (Trans.by: A. Nejad), İstanbul: Toker Yayınları No:73ğ18, 1989, p.686.)

98. Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States (Ed.: Elizabeth D. Huttman; coeds.:Wim Blauw and Juliet Saltman), Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991, (pp.116-144)p.116.

99. Ulrich Herbert, A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980 (Trans. by: W. Templar), Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1990, pp.205-206; cited in: Douglas B. Klusmeyer, "Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens: The Politics of Inclusion in the Federal Republic of Germany", Daedalus, Vol.122, No:3 ("Reconstructing Nations and States"), Summer 1993, (pp.81-114)p.87.

100. Elmar Hönekopp and Hans Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany", (in) Immigrant Workers in Europe: Their Legal Status - A Comparative Study (Ed.: Eric-Jean Thomas), Paris: Unesco Press, 1982, (pp.115-144)pp.115-116.

101. Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)" op.cit., p.88.

102. Ibid. (The stress is mine. Ö.B.)

103. Hönekopp and Ullman do describe the recruitment process from the perspective of the Germans so: "The prospective German employer initiated the recruitment procedure by notifying the competent employment office of his desire to hire foreign labor, specifying his requirements as regards the number of workers, their level of qualification and their nationality. After ascertaining that no German workers were available for thr jobs offered, the employment office forwarded the employer's request to the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit ("Federal Labor Department" (Ö.B.)) at Nuremberg. This federal department was in charge of the well-known "German commissions" established in the recruitment countries. The commissions operated in Athens, Belgrade, Lisbon, Madrid and Istanbul and served as intermediaries for the local administrative authorities who assumed the

sole responsibility for recruiting manpower under the terms of bilateral agreements. They also checked on the health and levels of qualification of the proposed candidates and took care of formalities connected with employment contracts, work permits and residence permits. A foreigner so recruited could enter the Federal Republic armed with an employment contract with a particular employer which was valid for one year. The workers were provided with an identity card (**Legitimationskarte**) and were transported as a group."(Hönekopp and Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant(..)" op.cit., p.122.) The "other" face of the medallion (of the worker) is described by Bendix as follows: "A foreign worker in one of the above-named countries had only to provide an application, some form of identification and proof of marital status to the employment office in his country(..), and there he was given a medical examination. If judged fit to work, he was given a bilingual labor contract to sign, a German identification card (**Legitimationskarte**) and information about his work and workplace. He would then be transported with other countrymen to Germany. There was precedent for the **Legitimationskarte** and the attempt to control labor flow in this fashion. After 1907, all foreign workers entering Prussia (mostly Poles) needed to have **Legitimationskarten**, though they were supplied by a private rather than a public agency." (See: Bendix, op.cit., pp.28-29.) Yücel adds to the topic the following remarks: "One precondition of labor import is that the employer provide accomodations for all the workers he wants to import and that he pay a fee for all the recruitment expenditures. In the early sixties this fee used to be only 165 (..) (DM) per person. Later it was increased to 300 DM and on September 1, 1973, to 1,000 DM per person in the hope of discouraging employers(..)." (See: A. Ersan Yücel, "Turkish Migrant Workers in the Federal Republic of Germany: A Case Study", (in) Migrants in Europe: The Role of Family, Labor, and Politics (Eds.: Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler), New York, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987, (pp.117-148.)p.122.)

104.Hönekopp and Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant(..)" op.cit., p.116.

105.Ray C. Rist, Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, p.75.

106.Hönekopp and Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant(..)" op.cit., pp.116- 117.

107.Bendix, op.cit., pp.29, 31; Hönekopp and Ullman, "The Status of Immigrant(..)" op.cit., p.118.

108.Friedrichs and Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)" op.cit., pp.117- 118; Peter Knösel and Werner Teubner, Auslaenderrecht in Deutschland (Ed.: Sozialpaedagogisches Institut Berlin), Münster: Votum Verlag, 1991, p.10. (Here the authors describe the (im)migration policy of the time- period from 1955 to 1973 as follows: "The foreigner policy was the job- market policy". ("Auslaenderpolitik war Arbeitsmarktpolitik".))

109.This phrase has been adapted from the famous catchword ("burn, baby, burn") of the late 1960s which was heard during a series of "race riots" beginning with the Watts (of Los Angeles (1965)), and seen in virtually every major U.S. city. See: Cashmore, Dictionary of Race (..)op.cit., pp.161, 266.

110.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)" op.cit., p.88.

111.Bendix, op.cit., p.30.

112.As Paine states, in 1973 Germany had considered the "enforced" return of the Turkish workers in Germany after 5-7 years (as reported in Cumhuriyet of May 12th, 1973, p.7.); in January 1974, the German Labour Ministry had considered to offer foreign workers a departure gratuity of between 165-, and 230 English pounds a head (The Times, January 11th, 1974 and the Guardian, January 11th, 1974). (The Netherlands had subsequently introduced a program which was offering foreign workers 750 pounds per head.) See: Suzanne Paine, Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case, London: Cambridge University Press, 1974, p.23.

113.Hartmut Esser, "Auslaendische Bevölkerung und grosstaedtische Entwicklungen", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp.117-146)pp.121-123 (Table 1).

114.Keyder, Emperyalizm(..) op.cit., p.85. Castles & Kosack state the following with regard to labor union policies followed in Germany as relating to foreigners: "When discussion on the employment of foreign workers in Germany first started in the mid-fifties, the "Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund" (D.G.B., German Trade Union Federation) and its member unions reacted cautiously.(..)(..) the unions demanded that foreign workers should be guaranteed the same wages and conditions as German workers.(..) In fact the German trade unions have done nothing to oppose the entry of foreign workers.(..)(..)("I.G. Metall") states that the unions have taken a positive attitude towards the employment of foreign workers "in the interest of full employment and continued economic growth".(..)In this context, a policy which was favourable to the prosperity of German industry could also be regarded as being in the long- term interests of the workers and unions." See: Castles and Kosack, Immigrant Workers(..) op.cit., pp.129-130. From this excerpt, it is deducible that the wages will be kept under control according to the wishes of the unions. Nikolinakos points out to three reasons why the alarming wage-pressure effect due to the existence of the foreigners could not realize itself: "Firstable, the job market is not homogeneous; there exist part-markets which do not compete with each other; (s)econdly, the transport costs,

and other side-costs do play a role in the demand of the firms for the foreigners; if these mentioned side-costs -for training, housing, and dormitories, etc.-are kept low enough(..)it will be possible for firms to keep the wages low for a longer period of time via introducing more foreign workers. But if the (..)costs do rise until the point at which the firms start to think of the foreigner employment becoming no more profitable, there comes the possibility of wage increases.(..) Lastly, as a third reason for the insensibility of the wages due to the employment of foreigners should be cited the degree of being organized on the part of the native workers, which becomes visible in the position and power of the labor unions." See: Nikolinakos, Politische Ökonomie(..) op.cit., pp.97-99. (The translation is mine, Ö.B.) Here, it becomes very important to underline the existence of non- economical distinctions between the native-, and foreign workers functional to bypass the strict regulations of the labor unions! It should also be added in this context that only between 16 and 20 percent (i.e. only one fifth) of all German workers were unionized at least for the period of 1960-1970! See: Ray C.Rist, Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, p. 110.

115.Keyder, "Yeni Birikim(..)"op.cit., pp.185-186.

116.Nurhan Akçaylı, "Problems and Recent Developments Concerning the Massive Returns to Turkey of Turkish Workers in federal Germany", Turkish Yearbook of Human Rights, Vol.5-6, 1983-1984, (pp.99-122)p.113.

117.Faruk Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları ("The Horizons of Turkey"), Köln: Önel-Verlag, March 1994, p.95.

118.Faruk Şen, Bonn-Ankara Hattı ("The Bonn-Ankara Line"), Köln: Önel-Verlag, (n.d.), pp.13-14.

119.Şevket Pamuk, 100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi - 1500-1914 ("The Ottoman-Turkey Economical History in 100 Questions - 1500-1914"), İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, No:55, January 1988, esp. pp.194-195, 198-199, 206-210,213-215. Pamuk classifies the periphery countries of the 19th century into three categories: **a)Official colonies** (like the colonies of England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and of other European countries); **b)Countries** which (although politically independent) are **included to the "unofficial empire"** of an imperial state (like Meso-, and South American countries); **c)Formally independent countries** which are also **serving** as the stage of and for the competition and sharing out struggles among the **imperial states** (like **China, Persia and the Ottoman Empire).** (The **last category** equalizes itself with the concept of the **"semi- colony".)** (See for the classification mentioned: Pamuk, 100 Soruda(..) op.cit., pp.189-192. Pamuk, however, does stress that the Ottoman Empire has never been a

semi-colony in its full sense. He adds that the fact **that Germany has lost the First WW has prevented Turkey from becoming the semi-colony of that country.** See: Ibid., p.215. Another Turkish scholar not accepting the semi-colonial position of the Ottoman Empire is the following: Zafer Toprak, "İktisat Tarihi" ("Economical History"), (in) Türkiye Tarihi -3- Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908 ("The History of Turkey -3- The Ottoman State 1600-1908") (Ed.: Sina Akşin), İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988, (pp.189-246) esp.pp.198-210. Toprak, however, can not persuade us for what he claims. He himself says that the Ottomans do realize 90% of their imports during the WW I from Germany and Austria-Hungary?! (Ibid., p.205.)) See for the semi-colonial evolution of the Ottoman Empire also: A.D. Noviçev, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yarı Sömürgeleşmesi ("Semi- Colonization of the Ottoman Empire") (Trans.by: Nabi Dinçer), Ankara: Onur Yayınları, October 1979 (Ori.1937); İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı ("Rural Economics of Turkey") (2nd Edi.), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990 (1934), esp. pp.102-132; Falih Rıfkı Atay, Çankaya - Atatürk'ün Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar ("Çankaya -From Birth of Atatürk Till to His Death"), İstanbul: Bateş, 1980 (1952), p.307; Doğan Avcıoğlu, Türkiye'nin Düzeni (Dün-Bugün-Yarın) -Birinci Kitap ("Turkey's Order (Yesterday -Today-Tomorrow) -First Book"), (n.p.), Tekin Yayınevi, 1984 (1968), esp. pp.102-174 (Section I/IV); Niyazi Berkes, 100 Soruda Türkiye İktisat Tarihi - İkinci Cilt ("Turkish Economic History in 100 Questions - Second Volume"), İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi No:11, May 1970, pp.369-372; Niyazi Berkes, Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu ("West Problem in Turkish Thought"), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları No:22, May 1975, pp.31-37; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Milli Kurtuluş Hareketlerinin İktisadi Esasları" ("Economical Foundations of the National İndependence Movements"), (in) Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi - Toplu Eserler 1 ("Land Problem in Turkey -Collected Works 1") (Eds.: Abidin Nesimi, Mustafa Şahin, Abdullah Özkan), İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları No:8, November 1980 (Ori.1937), (pp.107-123) esp.pp.120- 123; Max Weston Thornburg, Türkiye Nasıl Yükselir ("Turkey: An Economic Appraisal") (Trans.: Semih Yazıcıoğlu), İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1950 (?), pp.24-25; Stefanos Yerasimos, Azgelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye - Bizans'tan 1971'e ("Turquie: Le Processus d'un sous-développement") (3rd Ed.) (Trans.: Babür Kuzucu), İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları No:3, April 1980 (Oct. 1974), esp.pp. 334-607; and Bahattin Akşit, Türkiye'de "Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm" ve Köylere Girişi (""Underdeveloped Capitalism" in Turkey and Its Penetration Into Villages"), Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği Yayınları No:1, 1967, esp. pp.42-51.

120. Süleyman Kocabaş, Pancermenizm'in "Şarka Doğru" Politikası: Tarihte Türkler ve Almanlar ("The "Drang nach Osten" Policy of the Pan-Germanism: Turks and Germans in History"), İstanbul: Vatan Yayınları, No:6/6, September 1988, pp.7,14; see also: Burhan Oğuz, Yüzyıllar Boyunca Alman Gerçeği ve Türkler ("The German Reality During the Centuries and the Turks"), İstanbul: Can Matbaa, 1983, p.6.

121.Johannes Glasneck, Türkiye'de Faşist Alman Propagandası ("Fascist German Propaganda in Turkey") (Trans.by:Arif Gelen), Ankara: Onur Yayınları, (n.d.), p.14; İlber Ortaylı, İkinci Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı mparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu, ("German Influence in the Ottoman Empire During the Reign of Abdülhamit the Second") Ankara: A.Ü.S.B.F. Yayını, No:479ğ24, 1981, esp. pp.57-72 (Ch.II). For a description of the militarily amazing organization of the world-wide efficient German propaganda machine during the II.WW by a (Turkish) author who was actually a part of it, see: H.E. Erkilet, Şark Cephesinde Gördüklerim ("What I've Seen in the Eastern Front"), İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1943, esp pp.232-237. (Sabiha Sertel states about this author and the German propaganda as follows: "(..)When the German troops were in front of Stalingrad, the Pashas like Emin have waited on the border to go to the Caucasus region for helping to the Germans." (S. Sertel, Roman Gibi: Demokrasi Mücadelesinde Bir Kadın (2. Baskı) ("As a Roman: A Woman in the Struggle for Democracy"), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, No:42, 1987 (1969), p.186.) And: "An aggreement between Turkey and Germany have been signed in Ankara on 18th June 1941.(..) After this aggreement, many journalists have poured into Germany being invited by the Hitler's government. There have been developed in the country propagandas for German friendship."(Sertel, op.cit., p.210.)) Suffice it to say that this huge organization's foundations have been laid down in 1934 by the establishment of the "Adolf Hitler Schools" which had been opened for raising propagandists for the "German National-Socialist Worker Party"; and that besides that, a demagog like Dr.Goebbels was responsible from the huge propaganda mechanism. (Türkkaya Ataöv, İkinci Dünya Savaşı ("The Second World War"), Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Yayınları, No:3, June 1985, p.16.) Another study stating that the "old friend and allied Turkey" image (which is maybe not realistic) is stemming from the "change" period under the control of the "German Propaganda Ministerium" between 1933-1939 has seemingly neglected the historical wishes of Germany over Turkey. See: Oya Akgönenç Mughisuddin, "Genişleyen Almanya ve Gelişen Türkiye: Hedefleri, Ayrılıkları, Problemleri ve Beraberlikleri" ("Expanding Germany and Developing Turkey(..)"), Dış Politika Dergisi, Vol.IV, No: 2, July 1993, (pp.5-32)p.7. Prof.Rühl from the Cologne university defines the relationship between Turkey and Germany more realistically as being one feeded by both states, politicians and/or the elites rather than being a relationship between the two folks. He goes so far by saying that both folks have never ever fighted together in the (much cited) I.WW! There have been seen only a relationship between the military elites of both nations! And it is a historical fact that Mustafa Kemal did not like either personally the Germans or militarily their armies. He had thought that the alliance with Germany was harming the Ottoman interests! It is only after the entrance of both nations into the NATO after the II.WW that a closer relationship between the two nations has started to develop! And **it is the geopolitical strategic location of Turkey which gives its color to this very relationship**; see: Lothar Rühl, "Türk-Alman İlişkilerinin Tarihsel ve

Siyasal Temelleri" ("Historische und politische Grundlagen der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen"), (in)VIII. Türk-Alman Gazeteciler Semineri "Uluslararası İlişkilerde Medyanın Rolü: Türk-Alman İlişkileri Örneği - 14 Ekim (1993), Ankara Hilton Oteli ("VIII. Deutsch-Türkisches Journalistenseminar "Die Rolle der Medien bei der Gestaltung internationaler Beziehungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutsch- türkischen Beziehungen") (Ed.: Béatrice Gorawantschy), Ankara: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung - Türk Demokrasi Vakfı Pub., October 1994, pp.31-37. What Prof. Rühl omits is, however, to cite the real cause of that relationship, namely: The "**German imperialism tradition**" (see Ref.(155) below)?! A Turk, Dr. Pazarkaya living since more than 30 years in Germany and working in the official WDR (radio) summarizes the situation between the two nations more aptly by saying that "Germany and Turkey can not be separated due to the interwoven nature of the relationships in the political, economic, military, social and cultural fields". (See: Yüksel Pazarkaya, (His Speech), (in) VIII. Türk-Alman Gazeteciler Semineri(..) op.cit., (pp.38- 45)p.39.) This explanation rightfully makes more emphasis upon the nature of the relations between both nations which are nothing else but the necessary results of a "**semi-colony - imperialist center**" dualism!

122.Konrad Knolle, "Migration und Rassismus", (in) Türken raus? oder Verteidigt den sozialen Frieden (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), Hamburg: Rowohlt, January 1984, (pp.80-99)p.81; Walter Böhm, "Unsere Bahnhöfe sind keine Wartehallen für Heimatlose: Schon der Kaiser brauchte Gastarbeiter", (in) "Fremde raus?" Fremdenangst und Auslaenderfeindlichkeit-Gefahren für jede Gemeinschaft (Ed.:Rolf Italiaander), Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, June 1983, (pp.180-186)pp.181-182; Eberhard Thiel, "Auslaendische Arbeitnehmer in der Wirtschaft der Bundesrepublik: Keine Rechtfertigung für eine Trennung des Arbeitsmarktes", (in) "Fremde raus?"(..)op.cit. (Ed.:Rolf Italiaander),(pp.145-151)p.148.

123.Çulcu, Neonazizmin Suçüstü Tutanakları(..) op.cit., pp.28-29; Nail Alkan, "Birleşmiş Almanya'da Yabancı Düşmanlığı" ("Xenophobia in United Germany"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No: 2, Summer 1994, (pp.63-72)pp.65-66. According to Alkan, the DRP enters into the Land parliament of Bremen; the NPD is "the most powerful ultra-right party" of the 1960s: It succeeds in entering into the parliaments of seven Laender until 1969 (by crossing the vote barrier of 5%).. "The ultra-rightist parties which had disappeared a little bit in the 1980s, make themselves appear again on the political platform of Federal Germany in the late 1980s." The most popular party of this period is the "Republikaner" (REP) Party. (See for the REP which has been established by two CSU politicians and federal parliament deputies F. Handlos and E. Voigt and (ex-leader) Franz Schönhuber on 27.11.1983: Hans- Gerd Jaschke, Die "Republikaner": Profile einer Rechtsaussenpartei (2nd Ed.), Bonn: Verlag J.H.W.Dietz Nachf. (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Pub.), 1993.) The number of

its members was in 1989: 8,000; in 1990: 25,000. It has won in the elections of Berlin (Land) and Europe in 1989 7.7%; and then in the elections of Federal Parliament only 2.1 percent. It has been able to win, however, over 10.0% in the Baden-Württemberg and Berlin elections held in 1992! (See also: Erhan Yarar, "Aşırı Sağ, Sol ve Almanya'nın Güvenilirliği" ("Ultra-Right, Left and the Trustability of Germany , Avrasya Dosyası, Vol. 1, No: 2, Summer 1994, (pp.48-62) p.60. According to Yarar; there are to the moment being totally 45,000 persons under the 77 ultra-right organizations and associations. 7,000 of them are "skin heads" and 1,000 of them are "neo-Nazis".According to the "Court for Protecting the Basic Law" in Karlsruhe, there have been detected 2639 crime cases; the figure has fallen to 2232 in 1993. The number of cases directly related with foreigners has been 2277 in 1992; and 1609 in 1993. The mentioned Court has closed the "Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (FAP) and "Nationale Liste" (NL). Within the German ultraright and after the REP, the most powerful organization is the "Hilfsorganisation für (inter(?))nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige" (HNG). Neo- Nazi organizations such as NPD, "Deutsche Volksunion" (DVU), "Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten" (ANS), "Auslaender-Vernichtungs-Kommando" (AVK) and "Nationalrevolutionaere Arbeiterfront" (NRAF) do work for national-socialism and against the foreigners. (See: Yarar, op.cit., pp.59-60. Besides: Ali Kılıçarslan, "F.Almanya'da Yabancılar Politikası ve Yabancı Düşmanlığı" ("Foreigners Policy and Xenophobia") (in) Batı Avrupa Türkleri: F.Almanya'da 30.Yıl ("Western European Turks: The 30th Anniversary in F.Germany"), Frankfurt: Avrupa Türk-İslam Birliği Yayınları, Neno 1992, (pp.15-36)p.34; Andreas Geiger, ""Auslaender raus!" Rechtsradikale Organisationen machen gegen Auslaender mobil", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.130-137)p.131; and Klaus Farin & Eberhard Seidel-Pielen, Krieg in den Staedten (2.Ed.), Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991. (An interview with Seidel-Pielen in **Cumhuriyet** is a good example of the attitude of the German intellectuals who while mentioning from the xenophobia do try to abstract it (deliberately) from the "Turks hate" by enlarging the case. Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Eberhard: Sistem Yabancı Düşmanlığını Körükledi" ("The System has incited Xenophobia"), Cumhuriyet, 13.12.1992, p.6. Again the same writer states in a book collectively written with Farin, that the racism and violence directed to the minorities shuldn't be reduced to the formel of "skin heads". He also says that the skin heads to a great extent are not racist and not neo-Nazist! See: Klaus Farin & Eberhard Seidel-Pielen, Skinheads, München: C.H.Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1993, pp.21, 99-137. (A newspaper reports: Ali Yumuşak, "Dazlaklardan Yabancı Düşmanlığına İsyan" ("Rebellion From the Skin-Heads to Xenophobia"),Hürriyet, 04.07.1993, p.27.) In another article as his contribution to a book, Seidel-Pielen draws once again a professionally distorted picture of the ethnical rivalries taking place between German youth and Turkish youth in such a way as if the Turks had started to form **youth street gangs** in the 1980s and to terrorize the cities and their

peaceful denizens?! See: Eberhard Seidel-Pielen, "Politik auf der Strasse: Türkische Jugendliche zwischen Ohnmacht und Militanz", (in) Deutsche Türken.Türk Almanlar: Das Ende der Geduld.Sabrın Sonu (Eds: Claus Leggewie & Zafer Şenocak), Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, October 1993, pp.37-48. As quite contrary to this view, albeit with a minor stress, a Turkish (Islamist) researcher from the Netherlands says that the Turkish youth gangs seen in Germany (like for instance the "36 Boys", the "26 Ghetto Sisters", "Streetfighters", "Black Panters" etc. from West Berlin) have been formed with a specific aim of "giving a violent reaction to the skin-heads (who've become yet "a racist subculture") and Neo-Nazis"; see: Kadir Canatan, Avrupa'da Müslüman Azınlıklar ("Moslem Minorities in Europe"), İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları No:149/65, May 1995, pp.82-85; 323-332.))

124.Claus Burgkart, "Das "Heidelberger Manifest" - Grundlage staatlicher Auslaenderpolitik?", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), Hamburg: Rowohlt, January 1984, pp.141-161. The Heidelberg Manifest has played a very important and "scientific" role in pushing the level of the xenophobia seen in Germany up to the point where it still is. This manifest states as a scientific conviction that the foreigners are the bad chance and the fatal lot of Germany which is a member of Europe (made up from nations to be protected and with a Western-Christian culture) and that they should be immediately sent away. "The integration of the non- German foreigners in masses will bring one to the known tragedy of the multi-cultural societies.The racist and chauvinist behavior hidden in this claim is related with the soul detected by the existence of the state as "the provider of the survival of the German folk" as it stands in the German constitution. The manifest has been published by a "group of scientists" known as the "Heidelberger Kreis" consisting of 16 professors under the leadership of Prof.Schröcke. The umbrella organization also covering this group is "Schutzbund für das Deutsche Volk e.V.". This union is also the umbrella organization of the pool where all anti-foreigner "initiatives" acting at federal level do gather. (See: Burgkart, op.cit., pp.141-145.) (To try to relate the concept of "anti-foreigner (citizen) initiative" to the concept of well-known "initiatives" as nuclei for making "alternative politics" (like the "Greens" and "Peace Movement" which were left-oriented, "alternative" movements) appeared in the 1970s in industrialized countries and esp.in Germany where they 've organized the first mass reactions against nuclear power plants, environmentalğecological degradation andğor pollution, armament, etc., is very difficult, indeed.. But this is another paradoxical German reality! See: Geiger, op.cit., esp.pp.135-136; and Necmi Zeka, Batı Almanya'da: Alternatif Hareket ("In Germany: Alternative Movement"), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, April 1985, pp.63-109.)

125.Çulcu, Neonazizmin Suçüstü(..)op.cit., p.108. The German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had also mentioned in his first speech held in TV on 03.10.1982 the fact that the number of the Turks is "too much" and should

be made curtailed. (See: Detlef Lüderwaldt, "Auslaenderpolitik als Auslaenderverdraengungspolitik", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt),(pp.105-118)s.107.) Again within the same time, there has happened another event by which the deputy of the Federal Parliament R. Stücklen from the CSU party did not refused the claim made within a written dialog taking place in **Die Welt** newspaper by a woman reader stating that "F.Germany is a country which has been occupied by the Turks"! (Cited from **Frankfurter Rundschau** dated 09.09.1982 by Lüderwaldt, op.cit., p.106. The SPD (social-democrat opposition) - CDU (Christian Democratic Union)/CSU (Christian Social Union)- and FDP coalition government's "harmony" with regard to the German "foreigner policy" is beyond every type of praise! (This "togetherness" of the right wing of the parliament with the left wing is the case also in other European countries employing foreigners and Turks, as well, for instance in the Netherlands; see: Canatan, Avrupa'da Müslüman Azınlıklar(..) op.cit., pp.58-59.)

126.Çulcu, Neonazizmin Suçüstü(..)op.cit., p.147. It is given in another source as Ertan's death day 26.05.1982 and some poems written by herself are presented: "(..)Yaşıyorum: Ne için ve kim için? (I'm living: For what and for whom?/Sevgilim yok, geleceğim yok (I don't have a lover, don't have future)/İşim yok ve yarınım yok. (I don't have a job and don't have a tomorrow)(..)" See: Christian Schaffernicht (Ed.), Zu Hause in der Fremde: Ein Auslaender-Lesebuch, Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, Augusts 1984, pp.106-108.

127.Kadir Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak: F.Almanya'da Yaşayan II.Kuşak Türkler'in Sosyalizasyonu ve Kültür Değişmesi ("To be a Turk in Germany: The Socialization of the II. Generation Turks Living in F.Germany and Cultural Change"), İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi Yayınları, November 1992, p.84.

128.Ibid., pp.84-86. In a research made for the police syndicate close to the SPD, it has been found out that most of the policists do support the REPs. 50% of the policists are followers of REP in Bavaria; the same figure in Hessen is 60 percent! The party has also a basis (consisting of 1000 people) within the army. (See: Şeref Ünal, "Avrupa'da Irkçılık ve Yabancı Düşmanlığına Bağlı Şiddet Olayları ve Buna Karşı Alınacak Önlemler Üzerine Bir İnceleme" ("Racism in Europe and a Study for Measures to be Taken"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No: 2, Summer 1994, (pp.17-34)p.19.) There has been translated an important (German) eyewitness'es book into Turkish: Manfred Such, Önce Vatandaş Sonra Polis (Trans. by.:Neylan Eryar), İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, January 1989. It has been written in that book that a policist has told the following while one was making firing tests with machine guns in the army's rifle range in Munich/Unterhaching: "Why do we bother to shoot cartoon men? Would it be not better if we would erect a couple of Turks, instead of them?" (Such, op.cit., p.141.)

129.Klaus Kinkel, "Nazi Dönemine Tepki" ("Reaction Against the Nazi Era"), Milliyet, 22.11.1992, pp.17,16. The mass demonstrations with "light chains" (Lichterketten) supplied by "millions of Germans" in Germany and as praised by a high-ranking German official as "pointing out to the existence of young and strong powers in the country" are seemingly organized by the German government wondering for the "international reputation" of Germany. (See: Michael Mertes, "Germany's Social and Political Culture: Change Through Consensus?", Daedalus, Vol.123, No:1, Winter 1994, (pp.1-32)p.15.)

130.İsmail Tipi and his colleagues, "Hesap Ver Kohl! Mölln'de Yas" ("Speak Kohl! Mourning in Mölln"), Hürriyet, 25.11.1992, p.25; Anon., "Irkçı Eylemler Sürüyor"("Racist Acts Continue"), Milliyet, 26.11.1992, p.15; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "50 Yıl Öncesi Yaşanır Gibi" ("Like 50 Years Ago", Cumhuriyet, 28.11.1992, p.8; Mümtaz Soysal, "Yangın" ("Fire"), Hürriyet, 25.11.1992, p.9; Emin Çölaşan, "Almanya'da İnsan Hakları" ("Human Rights in Germany"), Hürriyet, 25.11.1992, p.22; Uğur Mumcu, "Irkçı Nefret" ("Racist Hate"), Cumhuriyet, 26.11.1992, pp.1,17; Erhan Erdoğan, "Mölln'ün Düşündürdükleri ve Anti-ırkçılık Üzerine" ("Thoughts with Regard to Mölln and on Anti-Racism"), Birikim, No: 45/46, January-February 1993, pp.133-137.

131.Cited in: Hürriyet, 25.11.1992, p.25.

132.Anon., "Bonn'dan Nazi Suçlamasına Protesto" ("Protest from Bonn Against Nazi Blaming"), Cumhuriyet, 28.11.1992, p.8; (Message by K. Kinkel to "Newsweek") "Bütün Almanlar Nazi Değil" ("All Germans Are Not Nazis"), Sabah, 15.12.1992, p.1. There have been also ("tolerant") "reaction-givers" as this one from Turkey: Mehmet Barlas, "Almanların Tümü Birden Neo-Nazi Değil ki!.." ("Not All Germans Are Nazis!.."), Hürriyet, 26.11.1992, p.5. However, the German (Ex)President Weizsaecker had given a Noel message complaining about Mölln: "(..)our presse has put its stamp on the event by saying that the (died) persons were "three Turks". This handling behaves according to the colour of the passports and decides upon who is native or foreign. The persons killed in Mölln were our humans." (Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Mölln'de Öldürülen Türkler Bizdendi" ("The Persons Killed in Mölln Were Our Humans"), Cumhuriyet, 25.12.1992, p.9.)

133.Cited in: Cumhuriyet, 28.11.1992, p.8.

134.İsmail Tipi, "Hain Saldırıya Lanet Yağıyor" ("Devil Attack Cursed"), Hürriyet, 25.11.1992, p.25. The famous Jewish writer Ralph Giordano has sent via the **Tageszeitung** (of 25.11.1992) published in Berlin an open letter to Fed.Chancellor Kohl and has written therein as follows: "(..)We hold You and Your Government responsible for the would-be cases due to the unpardonnable inability of the state against the

wright-wing killers. If the Jews of Germany would be loosing their faith into the democratic republic, this will not only mean a legal self-defense of a small community of 35.000 persons within 75 million. It will shake the whole German society with a political earthquake." (Cited in: Birikim, No: 45ğ46, January- February 1993, p. 134.)

135.Hans-Jochen Gamm, "Gestern Juden, heute Türken? Die Stigmatisierung von Menschen im Witz", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), pp.55-65; Such, Önce Vatandaş(..)op.cit., p.141; and Kamer Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası ve Irkçı Saldırılar ("The Asyl Policy of Germany and Racist Attacks"), İstanbul: Z Yayın, July 1994, p.174.

136.Çulcu, Neonazizmin Suçüstü(..)op.cit., p.114.

137.Aydın Engin and Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya'nın Solingen Kentinde Bir Türk Ailesinin Oturduğu Ev Gece Yarısı Kundaklandı: Naziler 5 Türk'ü Yaktı" ("A Turkish House in SolingenğGermany Has Been Set in Fire: The Nazis Have Burned 5 Turks"), Cumhuriyet, 30.05.1993, pp.1, 13; Talat Halman, "Tabutlar ve Riyalar" ("Coffins and Hypocrisy", Milliyet, 07.06.1993, p.15; Coşkun Kırca, "Solingen ve Ötesi" ("Solingen and Beyond"), Milliyet, 07.06.1993, p.15; Oktay Akbal, "El Kapılarına Düşmektense" ("Instead of Going Abroad"), Milliyet, 08.06.1993, p.13; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Türkler Berlin'de Kepenk Kapattı" ("Turks Have Closed Their Shops"), Cumhuriyet, 12.06.1993, p.7; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya'nın Zencileri Türkler" ("The Blacks of Germany: Turks"), Cumhuriyet, 29.05.1994, p.8. After two full years and as the court process whereby four German skin-head youngsters who were accused were listened to in a series of hearings at the State Court of Düsseldorf, there had been forwarded a letter to the Court via help of a German notar which claims that the Genç family in Solingen has been "burned by a Turk"?! As the Court was actually preparing itself to believe in the letter, it has been found out that the claim was a big lie! (See: Güner Yüreklik, "Solingen Davasında İlginç Gelişme" ("An Interesting Development in the Solingen Process"), Cumhuriyet, 01.06.1995, p.19.) The victims' (grand)mother Mevlude Genç who has been famous with her patience, had burst out at the end by saying to the Court: "I don't believe in your justice, in your nation, in your public prosecutor!" ("Adaletinize, milletinize, savcınıza güvenmiyorum!") (See: Ali Sirmen, "Yangın Çiçeği: Mevlude'nin Romanı - 5" ("Flower of the Fire: Novel of Mevlude - 5"), Milliyet, 09.06.1995, p.25.) She is right: At the end of the famous "racist Solingen case", the "eldest" of the suspects (Gartman) has been sentenced to (only) 15 years! And the three others (Köhnen, Reher and Bucholz) have been sentenced to 10 years each (due to their being "young" during the "murder" event)! (Moreover, many Turks in Solingen have said that those murderers will be set free after a couple of years!) This is really a "judicial scandal"! Apart from this, the efforts spent on the side of the head of the Federal German Big Crime Bureau in order to

help to the suspects during the mentioned case, have proven the fact that the German racism has roots in the German police as well, for another time and very thoroughly indeed! (See: Anon., "Kundakçılar Mahkum Oldu" ("Arsonists Have Been Sentenced"), Cumhuriyet, 14.10.1995, p.8.) We should add a "spatial" observation about the Germans' "clean" method with regard to the burning of houses: "The neo- Nazis are burning again after 50 years of the Jews' holocaust. They pay attention to such issues as that the owners of the respective houses selected are Turks, that there isn't living any German family within the house and that the houses are far away from the houses where the Germans live. This shows, as contrary to the belief of the German police, that the murderers are organized, do behave according to a plan and do fix the houses to be burned before." See: Sara Gül Turan, Köktenrefah: Dünden Bugüne Atatürkçülüğe Karşı Olanlar ("Radikal-Refah: Opponents of Atatürkism From Yesterday Until Today"), İstanbul: Utku Yayınları, No: 1, (1994), p.35. Another new and very dangerous development with regard to Turks and their housing conditions in Germany has been recorded in Geisslingen: Some people have blown an unknown poisonous gas through ventilation holes of the kitchens and bathrooms of an highrise building of 12 floors owned by the Geisslingen municipality and rented out completely to 72 foreigners of whom 60 were Turks! Some Turks who were (potential) victims of the murder attempt have said that the practice of reserving some complete buildings to only foreigners and some others to only Germans on the side of the local governments as witnessed in Geisslingen, does serve only the interests of the (potential) criminals andğor neo-Nazis! (See: Oya Sakarya, "Almanya'da Türk'e Gazlı Saldırı" ("Gas Attack Against 60 Turks in Germany"), Hürriyet, 01.11.1995, p.25.)

138.Anon., "Kohl Verdiği Sözü Tutmadı" ("Kohl Did Not Hold His Word"), Cumhuriyet, 30.05.1993, p.13. Kohl has stressed the development(!) of Turco-German bilateral relationships; besides he said that "they want to be in close collaboration with Turkey in the field of Turkey and Turkistan Republics". (See: Ümit Özdağ, "Türk-Alman İlişkileri ve PKK Faktörü" ("The Turco-German Relationships and the Factor of PKK"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol. 1, No:2, Summer 1994, (pp.73-83)p.81.)

139.Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Her Sabah Ölümle Uyanmak..." ("To Move With Death Every Morning"), Cumhuriyet, 10.06.1993, p.13; Kılıçarslan, op.cit., pp.15-36; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Türklerde Korku ve Öfke" ("Fear and Anger by Turks"), Cumhuriyet, 25.11.1992, p.9; Bugün, "Türkler Silahlanıyor" ("Turks Are Arming"), 25.11.1992, p.1. The psychology created by the mentioned death, fire, murder, the fear of being burned cases would really be able to leave deep psychological effects on (our) citizens. We do believe that this psychology is close to the one which has had developed right after the "Kristallnacht" events in Germany created by the attacks of Germans against Jews witnessed on 10.11.1938, the jinx day when the Turkish nation had lost her "Father". As it will be remembered, during those events, 815 shops were plundered, 171 houses and 119

synagogues were set in fire, 36 Jews were killed, 20,000 Jews were arrested! (See: William L. Shirer, Nazi mparatorluğu - Yükseliş ("The Nazi Empire-Growth") (Trans.: Rasih Güran), stanbul: Hür Yayın, No:231ğ16, October 1979, pp.8-9.)) If one thinks that the psychological weight is being "loaded" to the Turks who, on the one hand, do suffer under the heavy load of the "immigrant" psychology, and on the other hand, do suffer due to being "Turkish workers in Germany", then one gets involved in a too difficult problem, indeed, because the Turks there do display already "behaviourial distortions" to a not neglectable extent! See for a very valuable research conducted on the psychological structures of the Turks in the Ruhr region in Germany (and which has found out that some 141 "ill" Turks do have to an extent of 59.6% "hypocondriac-" or "psychosomatic reactions"; and to an extent of 22.7% "acute paranoid reactions"): Serol Teber, İşçi Göçü ve Davranış Bozuklukları ("Labor Migration and Behaviourial Distortions"), İstanbul: Konuk Yayınları, No:87/6, July 1980, (esp.) pp.205-263 (3.Ch.). At the end, very recently, there has been established a brand new "Turco-German Association of Psychiatry, Psychotheraphy and Psycho-Social Health" in Marburg, on 28.11.1994 by German and Turkish doctors and experts. The association has convened in March 1995 in Istanbul with the special subject of "Health Problems of Turkish Workers"! (A little bit, maybe, delayed?!) See for the news: Cumhuriyet-Bilim Teknik, No:405, 24.12.1994, p.3.)

140. Anon., ""Irkçı Zorbalıktan Biz Sorumluyuz"" (""We Are Responsible From Racist Terrorism""), Cumhuriyet, 09.06.1993, p.7; Anon., "Der Spiegel'de Türk Düşmanlığı" ("Hate For Turks in Der Spiegel"), Cumhuriyet, 09.06.1993, p.7. See also: Günter Wallraff, "Faciaları Kohl Hazırladı" ("Kohl has Prepared the Calamities", Cumhuriyet, 01.07.1993, p.6. The **Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung** (FAZ) has categorized the Turks in an article named as: "Fremde und Allzufremde" and published on 02.12.1982 as "being unintegrable; (because) they don't want subjectively, they can't do it objectively" and thus put them under the group of "Allzufremde". (See: Lüderwaldt, op.cit., p.105.) The last political editor of the FAZ which is continuing its discrimination against (the Turks), draws our attention, after saying that the "guest-workers" in Germany have been stationed as "foreign-citizens", to the conflict: "They're belonging here; but even if they're members of the II.generation borne here, they remain foreign. The full integration and the full political participation in the social life necessitates German citizenship." (Eckhard Fuhr, "Der Gastkommentar - Personal View", Germany - Deutschland, No:1, 9-10ğ93, p.3.)

141. Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Berlin Türk Şehitliğine Bombalı Saldırı" ("Bomb Attack to the Turkish Cemetery"), Cumhuriyet, 24.04.1992, p.8; Erol Özkan, "Nazi Ruhu Yeniden Hortluyor" ("The Nazi Soul is Rising From the Grave"), Cumhuriyet, 26.04.1992, p.8; Altan Öymen, "Uyanan Irkçılık" ("Awakening Racism, Milliyet, 08.04.1992, p.1; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu,

"Dazlaklar 3 Türk'ü Yaktı" ("Skin-Heads Have Burned 3 Turks"), Cumhuriyet, 24.11.1992, pp.1, 14; Kaya Karaca, "Nazi Vahşeti" ("Nazi Barbarism", Milliyet, 24.11.1992, pp.1, 10; Anon., "Türklerin Yaşadığı İki Ev İle Türklere Ait İki Lokanta Ateşe Verildi: Neo-Naziler Dört Kentte Yine Saldırdı" ("Neo-Nazis Have Attacked Anew in 4 Cities"), Cumhuriyet, 09.06.1993, p.7; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Naziler 3 Kentte Türklere Saldırdı: Köln ve Nürnberg'de İki Apartman Dairesi, Mannheim'de Bir Bakkal Dükkanı Ateşe Verildi" ("The Nazis Have Attacked Turks in 3 Cities"), Cumhuriyet, 01.07.1993, p.6; see for the event in Stuttgart: Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Naziler Yine İki Türk'ü Yaktı" ("Nazis Have Burned Again Two Turks"), Cumhuriyet, 17.03.1994, p.3.; Anon., "Siegburg: Türk-Alman Çocuk Yuvası Kundaklandı" ("Siegburg: The Turco-German Kindergarten Has been Set in Fire", Cumhuriyet, 22.05.1994, p.8; the mosques have been attacked, too: An example is from Singen in southern Germany: Metin Dalman, "Almanya'da Cami Kundaklandı" ("A Mosque Has Been Made Object to Arson, Cumhuriyet, 12.08.1994, p.17; and on the special anniversaries of main racist attacks (as it was the case in Verl), there are organized "remembering acts": Anon., "Mölln Saldırısının Yıldönümü: Almanya'da Türk Pansiyonu Yakıldı: 3 Ölü, 3 Yaralı" ("Anniversary of Mölln Attack": A Turkish Pension Has Been Set in Fire: 3 Killed, 3 Injured"), Cumhuriyet, 25.11.1994, p.19. After demanding money, two people have realized an arson attack in a Turk's house: Anon., "Türk Ailesinin Evi Kundaklandı", Cumhuriyet, 04.01.1995, p.5; and once again: Metin Dalman, "Türklerin Binası Kundaklandı (Remscheid)" ("The Turks' Building Has Been Set in Fire"), Cumhuriyet, 18.07.1995, p.9. (Although these and other not mentioned cases involving the Turks as targeted victims have been realized by the German neo-Nazis, the German authorities are trying to hide this fact by emphasizing the last attacks of the Kurdish guerilla organization (PKK) members against Turkish shops, businesses, etc.! See: Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Almanya "Sınırdışı" Yolunu Açtı" ("Germany Has Opened the Way To Be Deported"), Cumhuriyet, 06.08.1995, p.10; Anon., "Saldırılar Fransa'ya Sıçradı" ("Attacks Have Jumped to France"), Cumhuriyet, 04.08.1995, p.9.)

142. As an introduction to this topic, we'll start with an excerpt from the article of Rod Nordland about the neo-fascist movements in Europe: "At dinnertime recently, four gunmen wearing black balaclavas and carrying 9-mm automatics kicked in the door of an abandoned discotheque serving as a shelter for foreigners and opened fire on families eating their soup. When the gunsmoke cleared,(..) a 33-year-old maid, was dead(..). The shooters, believed to be members of a radical skinhead group, escaped. Anonymous leaflets scattered around the neighborhood blamed the foreigners for their 7fate. "They are taking our jobs," the leaflets read. "Immigrants out." The refrain has become familiar in Germany, but these leaflets were marked "Spaniards First." The Nov.13 (1992) attack took place near Madrid, and the victims were Dominicans, who as domestic guest workers are to Spain what Turks are to Germany. Two weeks before thee arson murders of three Turkish Germans outraged Europe,

first blood in the latest surge of anti-foreigner violence was actually shed in Spain(..). Germany is not alone in Europe when it comes to attacks on foreigners, Jews and Gypsies. Last week Muslims in France and Jews in Sweden and Italy saw their cemeteries defaced.(..) The far-right Austria Freedom Party last week started a petition drive to segregate non-German children in the schools and outlaw further immigration. Earlier in the month, far-right groups plastered Jewish shops in Rome's ghetto with Stars of David, and Italian authorities said there were 1,000 active "Naziskins" in the country." (Nordland, "Germans Aren't the Only Ones", Newsweek, Vol.CXX, No:23, Dec.7, 1992, pp.16-17.) See also: Karen Breslau, Scott Sullivan, et.al., "Europe's New Right", Newsweek, Vol.CXIX, No:17, April 27, 1992, pp.6-11; Alkan, op.cit., pp.64-65; Ünal, op.cit., pp.21-22; Europaeisches Parlament, Sitzungsdokumente Bericht im Namen des Untersuchungsausschusses Rassismus und Auslaenderfeindlichkeit, 23 July 1990, Serie A, A3-195/90; Kadir Canatan, Göçmenlerin Kimlik Arayışı: Konuk İşçilikten Yerleşik Göçmenliğe ("Identity Search of the Immigrants: From Guest Worker to Settled Immigrants"), İstanbul: Endülüs Yayınları, No:11/2, 1990, pp.76-93. According to Şen, although other European countries do cope with the xenophobia, too, the European Union did not develop clear policies. "To the contrary: By making a distinction between newcomers of an European country to an European member state of the EU and newcomers from states outside of EU, the EU feeds the grounds of xenophobia. The Maastricht Aggreement has underlined such a discrimination, regretfully." (See: Faruk Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları ("The Horizonts of Turkey"), Köln: Önel-Yayınevi, March 1994, p.130.) Indeed, the "European Union" Aggreement which has been accepted on 11 Aralık 1991 at the Maastricht Summit and signed by member states on 07.02.1992 has introduced the concept of "Union citizen" (UC). According to this, a person having the citizenship of a EU country will be UC. This person will be able to move freely, to look for work, if (s)he can to settle there and to make use of the voting right for elections at local and European levels. (See: Faruk Şen ve Sedef Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na Göç Hareketleri ("Migration Movements From Turkey to the European Community"), Köln: Önel-Yayınevi, November 1993, pp.141-142; also: Fabio Luca Cavazza and Carlo Pelanda, "Maastricht: Before, During, After" (Trans.: Anthony Molho, Alan Ginet) Daedalus, Vol.123, No:2, Spring 1994, pp.53-80; B. Emrah (Çetinkaya) Oder, "Avrupa Topluluğu'nda Yabancı: Göç ve Sığınma Politikaları İle Irkçılık ve Yabancı Düşmanlığı Açısından Bir Değerlendirme" ("Foreigner in the European Community(..)"), İnsan Hakları Yıllığı, Vol. 15, 1993 (1994), pp.109-128.)

143.Nicos Poulantzas, Faşizm ve Diktatörlük ("Fascism and Dictatorship") (Trans.by: Ahmet İnsel), İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, No:4, May 1980 (1974), p.13.

144.Canatan, Göçmenlerin Kimlik(..)op.cit., p.82.

145. Ibid., p.77; Roger Bourderon, Faşizm: İdeoloji ve Uygulamalar (Faşizm, Nazizm ve Falanjizmin Karşılaştırmalı Çözümleme Denemesi) ("Fascism: Ideology and Praxis(..)") (Trans.by: Kenan Somer), Ankara: Onur Yayınları, February 1989 (1979), p.7. The "Spaniard Falange" program (consisting of 27 articles) which had been published in 1934 and which then in 1937, during the "civil war", was elaborated by Franco, could also be added to this list. (The mentioned programmes can be found in: Bourderon, Faşizm(..)op.cit, pp.200-214.) See for the "original" and "first-hand" Hitler/Nazi views with regard to fascism and German "(promised) racial imperium" on the globe with its policy of "solving the "Raumnot" (land scarcity) problem by growing (only?) into the Eastern direction": Adolf Hitler, Kavgam(..)op.cit., and also: Adolf Hitler, Tek Kurtuluş Yolu ("The Only Salvation Way") (Trans.by: C.İlhami Kaya), İstanbul: Altay Yayınları, 1970. See for a small, but valuable book about Hitler: Metin Toker (Compiler), Bir Diktatörün: İktidar Yolu ("For A Dictator: Road to Power"), Ankara: Rüzgarlı Matbaa, 1963.

146. Canatan, Göçmenlerin Kimlik(..)op.cit., pp.82-83. The issue of "**race contradiction**" has rather a long history reaching the very beginnings of the so-called "**Indian slave trade**" starting parallel to and as early as the "Spanish Colonization of America" which has been realized (as it will be remembered from Ch.3) between 1492-1700 within the very scope of the "world capitalism". (See: Lydia Potts, The World Labour Market: A History of Migration (Trans.by: Terry Bond), London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1990 (1988)pp.9-36.) If we look at the very issue here from the viewpoint of Germans, then, we should mention from the famous "**gang of four**" of "**racial inequality philosophy**", i.e. Gobineau, Chamberlain, Haeckel, and last but not least, Hitler, the "(humanity) killer" and the "father of the Neo- Nazis in Germany and everywhere on the globe".. (See Ref.(97) above.)

147. Breslau, Sullivan, et.al., op.cit.; Alkan, op.cit., pp.64-65; Canatan, op.cit., pp.86-93; Tanıl Bora, "Geleceğin Faşizmi-Bazı İpuçları: Avrupa zerinde Neofaşizm Hayaleti" ("The Fascism of the Future-Some Clues(..)"), Birikim, No:66, October 1994, pp.29-47; Aytekin Yılmaz, Etnik Ayrımcılık: Türkiye, İngiltere, Fransa, İspanya ("Ethnical Discrimination: Turkey, England, France, Spain"), Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, No:21ğ10, April 1994, pp.140-141; Anon., "Avusturya: Aşırı Sağın Atağı" ("Austria: Attack of the Ultra-Right"), Cumhuriyet, 10.10.1994, p.9; Gürhan Uçkan, "Norveç Seçimleri: Aşırı Sağın Büyük Zaferi" ("Norwegian Elections: The Grand Victory of the Ultra-Right"), Cumhuriyet, 13.09.1995, p.10; Ali Kışlak, "İspanyollar Sağa Yeşil Işık Yaktı" ("The Spaniards Have Lighted Up Green to Right"), Cumhuriyet, 30.05.1995, p.8; Mişel Perlman, "(Fransa'da) Aşırı Sağ Sürpriz Yaptı" ("(In France) The Ultra-Right Has Made A Surprise"), Cumhuriyet, 20.06.1995, p.9.

148.Yılmaz, Etnik Ayrımcılık(..)op.cit., p.146. The former leader of the Eastern Germany's skinheads, Ingo Hasselbach (he has left the movement after the arson and murder events in Rostock, Hunxe and Mölln) has said to **Newsweek** the following: "The German neo-Nazis have connections to all the neo-Nazis located in every European country. For example: The group of **Ernst Zündel** has developed in Kanada the theory which was rejecting the jewish holocaust. In Amerika, the American Nazi Party in Nebraska has enormous contributions to the movement in Europe. Because the necessary propaganda material can be produced legally. The German neo-Nazis do collaborate with the right-wing activists in former Yugoslavia. Nowadays the group extends until the Russian inner regions. **The target is to establish the nationalist Europe**. (The stress is mine. (Ö.B.)) (Cited: Anon., "Neo Naziler Artık Dünya Çapında Örgütleniyor" ("Neo-Nazis Are Organizing Worldwide") Cumhuriyet, 24.03.1994, p.11.) Naturally, there are some neo-fascists stating that they are not even in relationship with neo- Nazis at a national level! (For example: The neo-fascist and leader of the "National Alliance" in Italy, Gianfranco Fini who has got 13.5% of the votes in the elections held on 27th March 1994. (See for the interview: Anon., "Neo Naziler, Bizim En Büyük Düşmanımız" ("Neo-Nazis Are Our Biggest Enemy", Cumhuriyet, 27.06.1994, p.10.))

149.Bora, "Geleceğin Faşizmi(..)"op.cit.; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya Nereye Gidiyor?" ("Germany Moves Where?"), Cumhuriyet, 15.09.1993, p.12. (Zaptçıoğlu states that the racism in the 19th century was of a "biological" nature, whereas the "new racism" (as described by Michael Barker in his book entitled "**The New Racism**" (1981)) met at the end of the 20th century is of a "cultural" andğor "ethnicalğorigin(al)" nature. (See also: Deniz Vardar, "Yeni Irkçılığın Doğuşu: Başlangıca Dönüş mü?" ("Birth of the New Racism: Is It A Return to the Start?"), Birikim, No:76, August 1995, pp.30-43.) This rhetoric of "ethnical origin" is accepted by the society at large. It is translated by the rightists as "Türken raus!" and "the place of the Turks is Turkey!" and by the social-democrats and other leftists as "(viva) multicultural society"! Even one of the "great leaders" of the 1968 movements, (and now Head of the Department of Multicultural Affairs of the City of Frankfurt) Daniel Cohn-Bendit is advocating in his latest book (Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Thomas Schmid, Heimat Babylon: Das Wagnis der multikulturellen Demokratie, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1992) this "**multicultural Germany**"!)

150.Klaus J. Bade, "Immigration and Social Peace in United Germany", (Trans.: Lieselotte Anderson), Daedalus, Vol.123, No:1, Winter 1994, (pp.85-106)p.89.

151.Jurgen Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism, Immigration Pressure and Asylum Policy Disputes in Contemporary Germany", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVII, No:4, Winter 1993, (pp.850-869)p.858. The "**refugees**" generally are persons who have left their home countries due

to economic, social, political and/or military reasons. Their figure all over the world in 1993 was 18,2 million. (See: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), The State of the World's Refugees 1993: The Challenge of Protection, New York: Penguin Books, 1993, p.1.) In Turkey, there were some people who fled to Germany and other European countries because of the politically turbulant period for themselves created by the introduction of the military régime on 12.09.1980. That book is about them: Ahmet Abakay (Ed.), Politik Göçmenler ("The Political Migrants"), İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, No:70 (17)/4, Aralık 1988. The figure of the (mostly left- oriented) **Turkish political refugees living in Europe is around 30,000**. Although there is no more the legal barrier (i.e.the (anti-left) 141., 142. articles of the Turkish Sentence Code of 1936 which have been annulled) to return back to Turkey, "the refugees surrendering themselves to the Western imperialism" are not returning. See for a witness-book from Switzerland, which states that the political refuge is "in essence economic refuge", too: Ali Haydar Özilhan, Mülteci ("Refugee"), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, No:169/35, September 1992, pp.11, 20, 24-26. For another study stressing that the "(political) refuge is a result of the economic and social imbalance between the First and Third Worlds", see: Auslaenderkomitee Berlin (West) e.V. (Ed.), Gast oder Last? Berichte zur Lage der Asylbewerber, Berlin: EXpress Edition, July 1981, p.10. See also: Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası(..) op.cit..

152.Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism(..) op.cit., p.859. According to thr records of the Federal Ministry of Inner Affairs, there have entered nearly 1,1 million persons into Germany in 1992: 230,000 Ethnic Germans (mostly from the USSR); 438,000 refugees (as proven at the free courts, only 5% of them have had suffered under political, etc. reasons in their respective countries!); 11,000 "quota" refugees and 252,000 "de facto" refugees mostly from the former Yugoslavia; 180,000 clandestine workers. The total figure is around 900,000 (which is equaling to 1.2% of the German total population). (See: Mertes, op.cit., p.30 (Footnote (19).)

153.Tanıl Bora, Bosna Hersek: Yeni Dünya Düzeni'nin Av Sahası ("Bosnia Herzegovina: Hunting Area of the New World Order"), İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, March 1994, pp.226-227. It is claimed that while Germany was supporting Slovenia and Croatia, it was neglecting Bosnia-Herzegovina, and moreover, it was "criticizing" Turkey due to her political support there (via "Der Spiegel"). (See: Akgönenç Mughisuddin, op.cit., p.20. Bağcı, a Turkish scholar (educated also in Bonn-Germany and therefore(?) "sympathizer" of German international politics) states that Germany which is seeking **global leadership** has succeeded in its first sovereign international policy attack since the II.WW, i.e. in promoting and supporting Slovenia and Croatia towards independence: Hüseyin Bağcı, "Hırvatistan ve Slovenya'nın Yugoslavya'dan Ayrılmalarında Almanya'nın Rolü" ("The Role Played By Germany in the Dissolution of Croatia and Slovenia From Yugoslavia"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No:1, Spring 1994,

pp.90-95. Martens (from Belgium) states that "new (imperialist) Germany" tries to open its rather old-dreamed "Hamburg-Bagdad" line passing through Yugoslavia and which was blocked by Serbia during the Ist-, and IInd WWs, by dividing that country into several sovereign ethnic parts; see: Ludo Martens, "Alman Emperyalizminin Kullandığı "Kendi Kaderini Tayin Hakkı"" ("The "Self-Determination" Principle Used by the German Imperialism"), Teori, No:43, July 1993, (pp.74-77) p.75.) The sympathy for Slovenia and Croatia is seen not only in Germany and Austria, however. It is rather more or less a common attitude of whole Europe. The main reason for this is the "fact" that the heritage consisting of "chaos, violence and barbarism" witnessed in the near history of the Balkans, is being related with the "dark", "authoritarian" "Byzantium" and also with "Moslem Ottoman" (= Turk! (Ö.B.)) parts/regions of South Yugoslavia (like Serbia, Karadag, Bosnia, Macedonia) as opposed to the "anti-Slav", "Catholic/anti-Ortodox" parts of (other) Europe. According to this rationing then, Croatia and Slovenia are the Western folks made "communist" and "Eastern" and "underdeveloped" by the "Easterners"! (See: Tanıl Bora, Yugoslavya: Milliyetçiliğin Provokasyonu ("Yugoslavia: Provocation of Nationalism"), İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, No:4 1, 1991, pp.184-185.)

154.Prof. Schwarz says that the main interest of Germany for its eastern neighbors is of a more political than of an economic nature, its aim being to support developments leading to stability. Democracy and a market-economy are accepted also as basic positive values. (Hans-Peter Schwarz, "Germany's National and European Interests", Daedalus, Vol.123, No:2, Spring 1994, (pp.81-105)p.101.

155."**The German imperialism tradition**"; It is accepted to be started with Bismarck's "colonial policy" followed in the 1880s which has been inserted by Bismarck after his establishment of the German Union in 1871 and after his policy of holding the colonial powers of the period, i.e. Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia far away from Germany, in order to strengthen it within its own borders. And after founding the "German Colony Association" (in January 1882) and "penetrating" into Eastern African seashores, islands of Atlantic Ocean, New Zealand and South Africa, Germany follows the politics of "**Drang nach Osten**" according to which it tries to move within a program of "neo- colonialism" into Russia, China, Iran and Ottoman Empire, all of which were countries not industrialized to a large extent yet. During the reign of the Sultan II.Abdülhamid, Turkey enters under the German influence, an era started by the coming of the "German Military Committee" in 1883 and by giving the concession of the "**Bağdat Railway**" in 1888 to Germans, and thus becomes an important "target-area" for the **"German Weltpolitik"** which was aiming at "**expansion**" (for finding raw materials andğor markets for its products) and at "**a place under the Sun**"! Turkey had been such a challenging and promising target that some proponents of "Pangermanism" (which was the "ideal of the German racism") had

spelled their wishes as being a "Germany-Austria-Turkey Empire"! (See: Süleyman Kocabaş, Pancermenizm'in "Şarka Doğru" Politikası - Tarihte: Türkler ve Almanlar ("The "Drang nach Osten" Policy of Pangermanism-In History: Turks and Germans"), İstanbul: Vatan Yayınları, No:6/6, September 1988, pp.28-104; Lothar Rathmann, Berlin-Bağdat: Alman Emperyalizminin Türkiye'ye Girişi ("Berlin-Baghdad: The Penetration of the German Imperialism") (Trans.by: Ragıp Zarakolu), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, May 1982 (Ori.: 1962.); Edward Mead Earle, Bağdat Demiryolu Savaşı ("Struggle for Baghdad Railway") (Tran.by: Kasım Yargıcı), İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, No: 18, April 1972 (Ori. 1923); Murat Özyüksel, Osmanlı-Alman lişkilerinin Gelişim Sürecinde: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları ("Within the Development Process of the Ottoman-German Relationships: Anatolia and Baghdad Railways"), İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, No:20ğ3, 1988; Hasan Köni, "Uluslararası İlişkilerde Yeni Düzensizlik ve Türk-Alman İlişkileri" ("New Chaos in International Relations and the Turco-German Relations"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol. 1, No:2, Summer 1994, pp.35-47.) (A concrete proof for **Turkey's being a "semi-colony" under the influence of Germany** since 1888 is this: Whereas the export of Germany to Turkey was in 1888 11,7 million Mark, the same figure (after only 17 years) has risen to 71 million in 1905! The import figures do show the same phenomenal growth: From 2,3 million Marks to 51,6 million Marks! See: Avcıoğlu, Türkiye'nin Düzeni (..)op.cit., p.250.) Again, the "**Pan-Islamism**" movement (thought, designed out and leaded by Germany) started with support and pressure of Germany in the last quarter of the 19th century taking for itself as "targets" the Moslem masses living in the colonies of Great Britain, has been put de facto into "application" right at the beginning of the I.WW. The Ottoman Caliph V.Mehmed Reşad has had to announce "Cihad-ı Ekber" (jihad) under the pressure of Germany on 23.11.1914, i.e.just 12 days after the Ottoman Empire had entered into the war on 11.11.1914! The aim of the "cihad" was make the Moslem nations do gather around the Ottomans and thus, indirectly, around the imperialistic projects of Germany. For this propaganda, the German Kaiser II.Wilhelm was made "hadjı"(!); and it had been circulated as a "news" that the Kaiser had accepted Islam.. The "**Pan-Turanism**" andğor the "**Pan-Turkism**" politics of the members of the "Union and Progress Committee" (İttihat ve Terakki Komitesi) related with Egypt, Caucasia, Iran and (not the least) Central Asia, were also "produced" at the German political (propaganda) machine! (See: Berkes, Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu (..)op.cit., pp.76-77; and M.Metin Hülagü, Pan-İslamist Faaliyetler (1914-1918) ("Pan- Islamic Activities (1914-1918)"), İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, No:177, January 1994, pp.7-8, 58-73.) Here, lastly, we should remember the "historical report" which was prepared by Atatürk himself after his (necessarily) close collaboration with the German officers who were "leading" the Ottoman armies during the I.WW years, and which was forwarded from Haleppo (where Mustafa Kemal was the commandant of the 7th Army) to the Ottoman Prime Minister Talat Pasha and to the War Minister Enver Pasha (who was "won" to the

Germans and their ("(Middle-)East") politics while he was the "attaché militaire" in Berlin after the 1908 movement during which he was the "star") (see: Avcıoğlu, Türkiye'nin Düzeni(..)op.cit., p.254; and Kocabaş, Pancermenizm'in "Şarka Doğru" Politikası(..)op.cit., pp.221- 234)): (Mustafa Kemal writes:) "Be it the case that we should be now in the bog together with the Germans in order to get rid of it, I am vehemently opposing to the politics of the Germans who want to benefit from this necessity and from the extension of the war for trying to make us **a colony** (I've underlined it, Ö.B.) (of them) and to get all (natural) resources of our country into their hands(..)." (See: Şükrü Tezer, Atatürk'ün Hatıra Defteri ("The Memorial Book of Atatürk") (2nd Edi.), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, 1989 (1972), p.146; and Falih Rıfkı Atay, Atatürk'ün Bana Anlattıkları ("What Atatürk Had Told to Me"), İstanbul: Sel Yayınları No:6, May 1955, p.7.)

156.Bora, Bosna Hersek(..)op.cit., p.228. (A fixed one third share of the German textile fason production in 1990 was coming from Yugoslavia (to a great extent over Slovenia and Croatia).)

157.Ibid., p.55.

158.Whereas the migrants were making in 1973 12% of the total workforce of F.Germany and were nearly all employed (the unemployment rate was under 1%), 16% of foreign workers and 9% of all workers were unemployed in 1988. (See: Philip L. Martin, Bitmeyen Öykü: Batı Avrupa'ya Türk İşçi Göçü - zellikle Federal Alman Cumhuriyeti'ne - ("The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labor Migration to Western Europe- Especially to F.German Republic"), Ankara: Uluslararası Çalışma Bürosu, 1991, pp.83-85 (Table: 7).) The unemployment figure for total foreigners (as of December 1991) was 11.9%; and the rate for Turks was 12.6. See: Şen ve Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na(..)op.cit., p.31 (Table: 8).) Even if the figures of February 1994 are showing that the industrial production of the United Germany has started to increase after two years of stagnation, the experts say that the unemployment figure will rise to 4 million; in that case, the unemployment rate for the foreigners will rise, too. (See: Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Almanya Durgunluktan Çıkıyor" ("Germany Gets out of the Stagnation"), Cumhuriyet, 02.05.1994, p.9.) "The leader country of the post-Maastricht Europe", i.e. the United Germany suffers a lot under the "unification". (Especially 1993 has passed too difficult.) The number of the unemployed persons in East Germany is 3,5 million; and the production capacity of this country does not function to an extent of 70%! Even if F.Germany provides for 120 billion US $ annually to the East, the "star of the COMECON" can not stand up on its foots?! The unemployment figure in the regions close to the Polish border is around 40%; and the prices and the rents have been skyrocketing "fourfold".. The unemployment figure expected for the whole Germany in 1994 was 11.3 percent. (See: Canan Balkır, "1993 Yılında Dünya Ekonomisi ve 1994 Yılı Beklentileri" ("World

Economy in 1993 and Expectations For 1994") (Egevizyon Ekonomi Dosyası), (in) Egevizyon, Year 1, No: 5, November-December 1993, pp.4, 13.)

159.Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism(..) op.cit., p.860. According to research made for the Federal Assembly Scientific Researchs Unit, the German population in 2020 will diminish by 12 million. In order to close the deficit, annually 300,000 migrants should keep coming. (See: Kılıçarslan, "F.Almanya'da Yabancılar Politikası(..)"op.cit., p.31.) Another and a more recent article gives the necessary annual amount of immigrants for compensating the possible fall in the size of the labor force in the FRG up to the year 2020 as being about 200,000 persons; see: Arne Gieseck, Ullrich Heilemann and Hans Dietrich von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications of Migration into the Federal Republic of Germany, 1988-1992", International Migration Review, Vol.XXIX, No:3, Fall 1995, (pp.693-709)p.707.

160.Kılıçarslan, "F.Almanya'da Yabancılar Politikası(..)"op.cit., p.30. The number of the writers who say that the issue here of being "alien to the German culture" should be understood basically as "religion difference". See: Veyis Güngör, "Avrupa'da Irkçılık" ("Racism in Europe"), (in) Batı Avrupa Türkleri: F.Almanya'da (..)op.cit., (pp.81-89)pp.85, 88; Ali Batman, "Avrupa'da Kur'an Kursları" ("Koran Courses in Europe"), (in) Batı Avrupa Türkleri: F.Almanya'da (..)op.cit., (ss.93-99)ss.94, 97; Halis Ayhan, "İslam'a Göre Çocukların Din Eğitimi", (içi.) Batı Avrupa Türkleri: F.Almanya'da (..)op.cit., (pp.101-107)pp.104-107; Akgönenç Mughisuddin, op.cit., pp.26-27; Nevzat Yaşar Aşıkoğlu, Almanya'da Temel Eğitimdeki Türk Çocuklarının Din Eğitimi ("Religion Education of the Turkish Children in German Basic Education"), Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayını, No:27, May 1993; Cemal Tosun, Din ve Kimlik ("Religion and Identity"), Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayını, No:29, October 1993, pp.15-17. Turan, who puts rightly that the Moslem minorities everywhere in Europe are discriminated against and adds that: "The Moroccans in France, the Pakistanis in Great Britain are being behaved in a similar way. It is also true that one regards the Moslem countries and their citizens also with suspect in F.Germany as in Europe". He goes forth by saying: "The Turks are considered here not only as Moslems; but they are categorized as being more than this and they are handled as such as a different category." (See: Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..)op.cit., pp.96-97.) Atacan is putting the topic as follows: "As for today, there are living nearly 15 million Moslem people in Europe. This population cohort has been developed since the late 1950s onwards in order to fulfill the labor power gap of the industrialized Western European countries. Naturally, this situation has opened the way to the fact that Islam has been recognized as the "migrant religion"." (Atacan, op.cit., p.9.) (A source for the situation in Denmark: Gonca Gülsel Alev (Şenler), Avrupa Semalarında İslam'ın Sesi: Gurbet Radyosu

("The Voice of the Islam in the European Skies: Gurbet Radio"), İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, September 1991.)

161. L.Doğan Tılıç, "Doğu Blokundan B.Almanya'ya Göç: Alamancılık Ölüyor mu? ("Migration From the Eastern Bloc to F.Germany: Is the Guestworkership Dying?", İkibin'e Doğru, Year 3, No: 42, 15th October 1989, (pp.30-31)p.30.

162. Nihal Aydoğan, "Almanya Kapıları Türklere Yine Açıldı" ("The Doors to Germany Have Been Opened Again"), Ekonomist, Year 1, No: 50, 15th December 1991, pp.10-15.

163. There has been introduced a limitation even in the possibility of "Family Reunion" with a change made on 02.12.1981 according to which the age barrier has been reduced from 18 to 16; see: Faruk Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., p.109. This rule was actually the very sign of a new era in Germany which is labelled by some scholars as the "politics of forcing out of the aliens" ("**Auslaenderverdraengungspolitik**"), and which was enacted by the "Berliner Innensenator" Heinrich Lummer who was proposing with a rule of 20.11.1981 that "all foreigners above the age of 18, who were not living since 5 years in West-Berlin, and who were not having a job or an education relation, should be sent back to their home countries". Other features of the mentioned politics were the following rules: i)Foreign children could only join their families in Germany when "both" parents were living there; ii)The children of the foreign workers could bring their spouses from their countries ("Zuheirat") with the condition that they live here since 8 years; that they are married at least since a year; and that they are 18 years old persons who can earn their life (for both persons) here. (See: Detlef Lüderwaldt, "Auslaenderpolitik als Auslaenderverdraengungspolitik" op.cit., pp.107-109.) (The "counter-measures" of the Turks to these policies had been the following: a)to let hisğher age be lowered at the Turkish courts; b)to apply for asylum; c)to make fraudulent marriages with German women by paying huge sums to them; and lastly, but not leastly d)to enter into Germany as "tourist" and to work clandestinely thereupon. See for these explanations (of a former Turkish consular to Hannover): Sacit Somel, Almanya'da Türk İşçileriyle İçiçe ("Close to Turkish Workers in Germany"), Ankara: (His own pub.), July 1989, pp.124-134.)

164. Metin Gür, Otuz Yılın İçinden ("From Within Thirty Years"), Hückelhoven: Verlag Anadolu, 1993, pp.40-41. The economic conditions in Turkey in the late 1970s have deteriorated in such a manner that Turkey could not make debt service. The Central Bank of Turkey had stopped foreign exchange transfers in February 1977. The foreign banks had cut to give any further credits to Turkey; the result was the famous "**24th January 1980 economic decisions**" which were one of the applications of the "**structural stability programs" of the IMF** put into

force in the 1980s in many developing (capitalist) countries (such as Thailand, Malaysia, Philipinnes, and so on). See: Tevfik Ertüzün, Sömürge Ekonomisi ("Colony Economics"), stanbul: ABC Ajansı Yayınları No:1, November 1987, p.X; also Osman Ulagay, Özal'ı Aşmak İçin ("For Transcending Özal"), İstanbul: Afa Yayınları No:7/78, April 1989, p.43; and Emin Çölaşan, 24 Ocak: Bir Dönemin Perde Arkası (2nd Edi.) ("24th January: Behind a Period"), İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları No:16, June 1983 (May 1983), pp.7-17.

165.The prices for Italian, German, or Israeli passports were set by the Mafia as 800 DM (with 1992 values); the respective prices for other passports have been determined as: 700 DM for Roman or Hungarian-; 200-400 DM for Turkish passports!

166.Ferruh Yazıcı, Sebati Karakurt, "Gurbetçi İçin Almanya Yolu Macaristan'ın Kerepestarcsa Kampında Tükeniyor: "Umuda Yolculuk" Bu Parmaklıklarda Bitiyor!" ("The End of the Germany Road For (Turkish) Guestworkers(..)"), Aktüel, No:42, 23-29th April 1992, pp.30-34. See for refugees in Switzerland: Özilhan, Mülteci-op.cit., pp.53-56. (For a news relating to the Turks trying to enter into England clandestine, see: Anon., "Kaçak Türkleri Köpek Yakaladı" ("Dogs Have Found Out Clandestine Turks", Cumhuriyet, 03.10.1993, p.16.

167.Özilhan, Mülteci- op.cit.; Linus Reichlin, İsviçre'de Bir Kürt Mülteci: Misafir "V" ("A Refugee in Switzerland: Guest "V") (Çev.: Yusuf Yeşilöz), İstanbul: Fırat Yayınları, No:20, December 1993.

168.How the advocates from Berlin who have gained expertise in the "business" of "refuge(es)" have "dealt with" a refugee group from Pakistan, is an example for this; see: Auslaenderkomitee Berlin (West) e.V., op.cit., pp.39-49. For the rather enormous income of the "refugee" advocates in Switzerland, see: Özilhan, Mülteci- op.cit., p.82 (Footnote).

169.Tolga Şardan, "Alman'a PKK Dersi" ("PKK Lesson to German", Milliyet, 10.12.1992, p.19; Saygı Öztürk, "PKK'nın Uyuşturucu Hattı (Dizi-No:3): orap Söküğü Gibi" ("PKK's Narcotic Line", Hürriyet, 23.11.1992, p.9; Fikret Bila, "Kohl'e "PKK ve Kara Ses" Paketi" ("PKK and Devil Voice Package to Kohl") , Milliyet, 21.09.1993, p.13; Özgen Acar, "Almanya'da PKK İkilemi", Cumhuriyet, 08.09.1993, p.13; Anon., "Der Spiegel: Kundaklamaları PKK da Yapıyor", Cumhuriyet, 08.09.1993, p.13; Özgen Acar, "Avrupa "Siyasal" Çözüm Bekliyor" ("Europe Awaits Political Solution"), Cumhuriyet, 27.11.1993, p.15; Cumhuriyet, "PKK'ya Alman Darbesi" ("German ntervention to PKK", 27.11.1993, pp.1, 15; Kemal Yurteri, "Almanya, ngiltere, Hollanda'yla Yürütülen Operasyon, 6 Kürt Kökenli Ailenin PKK- Uyuşturucu Bağlantısındaki Rolünü Ortaya Koydu: PKK Bağlantılı Uyuşturucuya Takip" ("PKK-Narcotics Connection"), Cumhuriyet, 12.07.1994, p.18; Metin Dalman, "Avrupa'da Uyuşturucu

PKK'nin Denetiminde" ("European Narcotics Under PKK's Control"), Cumhuriyet, 31.07.1995, pp.1, 5.

170.Ergün Aksoy, "Yasadışı Örgüt ve Mafya, Günde 50-60 Türk'ü, Sahte Belgelerle Almanya'ya Sokuyor: PKK'nin İltica Vurgunu" ("Refugee Business of PKK"), Cumhuriyet, 24.10.1994, p.4. In a conference for "Struggle with Smuggling" organized by the UN on 21.11.1994 with the participation of 187 country representatives in Napoli-Italy, it has been announced that the international underground organizations are "smuggling" nearly one million persons from poor-, to rich countries annually and that they are earning from it 3,5 billion US$! (Anon., "Dünya Ekonomisine Egemen Olan Durgunluk, Yalnızca Yeraltı Örgütlerini Etkilemiyor: Yeraltı Örgütlerine Karşı Güç Birliği", Cumhuriyet, 22.11.1994, p.18.)

171.Özdağ, "Türk-Alman İlişkileri(..)"op.cit., pp.76-77; Yarar, "Aşırı Sağ(..)"op.cit., p.62. On 21.03.1992, i.e. on the "new year" day of 1992, there has been "staged" a (Kurdish) armed uprising movement in some of the Southeastern Anatolian region's settlements like Cizre, Şırnak and Nusaybin. Short after the uprise was repressed, Germany has protested (not against Kurdish guerillas of PKK, but) against Turkish security and military forces with the allegation saying that "it is being harm done to civils(!)" and has put in force an "**arm embargo**" to Turkey, to its "arm friend" of the I.WW! But after calculating that the embargo would cost to German arm industrialists nearly 15 billion DM, it has annulled it on 12.07.1992, loosing, however, thereby the faith of Turkey: Milliyet, "Hans Türkiye'ye Savaş Açtı" ("Hans Declared War to Turkey"), 27.03.1992, p.1; Yavuz Donat, "Dost Darbesi", Milliyet, 28.03.1992, p.2; Cumhuriyet, "Bonn Neden Sertleşti?", 27.03.1992, p.17; Nilüfer Yalçın, "Almanlar Süper Güç Rolüne Soyunuyor" ("Germans Behave Like Super Power"), Milliyet, 31.03.1992, p.10; Haluk Geray, "Bonn'dan Tam Üyeliğe Destek", Cumhuriyet, 14.07.1992, p.9; Uğur Mumcu, "Almanya ve PKK", Milliyet, 29.03.1992, p.7; Uğur Mumcu, "PKK-ERNK-ARGK", Cumhuriyet, 22.07.1992, pp.1, 17; Hakan Aygün, "PKK'yı Yasaklayacak Delil Yok", Cumhuriyet, 24.03.1992, p.4; Anon., "Şırnak'ta Savaş" ("War in Şırnak"), Cumhuriyet, 20.08.1992, p.1; Anon., "Şırnak'ta Meydan Savaşı", Milliyet, 20.08.1992, p.1; Anon., "New Era in Turco-German Ties: Press Conferences-Kohl Vows Improved Ties: Chancellor Signals Support for Combatting Terrorism Within Laws; İnönü Says Tension is Over", Turkish Daily News, May 21, 1993, pp.1, 11; Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "IV. Reich", Cumhuriyet, 25.07.1994, p.9; Hugh Popes, "Kurds' Quest for Autonomy Divides Turkey", Los Angeles Times, April 03, 1992. Although not very true (because the author of the Thesis believes that there is not a separate "Volk" called as "Kurds" and as differentiated from the Turks as radically (i.e. not regarded as an ethnic and racial mixture composed of Turk(menian)s, Kurds of Turanian origin (as the Turks) (for more information on this ethnologic and historical fact stemming from the "Yenisey" (River) ("Elegeş Yazıtı") monuments located in the (former)

U.S.S.R., see: M. Sadi Koçaş, Kürtlerin Kökeni ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Gerçeği: Türk-Kürt İlişkilerinin Öyküsü ("The Roots of Kurds and the Southeastern Anatolia Fact: The Story of Turco-Kurd Relationships"), stanbul: Kastaş A.Ş.Yayınları, March 1990, (esp.)pp.52-79), Iranians, and Arabs living in the Mesopotamian region since centuries) as many Western politicians and "dedicated" scholars believe and also try to "create" this socio-ethnic and socio-linguistic entity via establishing "Kurdish Institutions" like the one existing in Paris-France, and a new one to be established in the U.S. (Ergün Aksoy, "ABD'de Fransa Destekli "Kürt Merkezi" Kuruluyor", Cumhuriyet, 27.07.1994, p.7)), a typical Western pro- Kurds view (appeared in "New York Times") states the situation in Turkey as follows: "The Kurds, a non-Arab people related to the Iranians, briefly enjoyed recognition as a separate nation after World War I, when the defeated Ottoman Empire was subdivided by the victorious Allies. But under pressure from Turkey, provisions for an independent Kurdistan were abandoned. Instead the Kurds became a persecuted minority scattered under several flags. More than 10 million live in Turkey, about 4 million each in Iran and Iraq, the remainder in Syria and the nearby republics of the former Soviet Union.(..)Turkey's huge Kurdish population has fared better by comparison, but its situation is deteriorating rapidly.(..)And now they are caught between military and guerilla fire." (International Herald Tribune, "Kurdish Double Trouble", April 02, 1992.) The director of the "Centre for Turkish Studies" located in Germany, Şen states that after France which has been very active to defend the Armenian and Kurdish problems (with Turkey and as being against her interests, Ö.B.) in Europe until the first half of the 1980s, has handed over these problems leaded by the "Kurdish" one to Federal Germany in the second half of the 1980s. (Faruk Şen, Bonn-Ankara Hattı ("Bonn-Ankara Line"), Köln: Önel-Verlag, (1992) (?), p.9.) Really, the illegal **PKK ("Partiya Karkeran Kürdistan")** which claims that it struggles for "the salvation of the Kurdish folk and their equal rights", has had cone onto Turkish agenda with an attack to Eruh settlement (close to the Iraki border) on 15.08.1984. (Faik Bulut, Türk Basınında Kürtler, İstanbul: Melsa Yayınları, No:27ğ3, August 1992, p.54.) Thus, the Armenian terror which had made itself apparent on 27.01.1973 by killing two Turkish diplomats from Los Angeles in Santa Barbara in the US, with its historically known particularities and tactics and with its bloody organization "ASALA", has been "transformed" into ("Kurdish") separatist PKK which would be used to establish the "**Greater Armenia**" by benefitting (to annex it later on!) from a would-be Kurdish state to be "formed" in the southeastern Anatolia. Thus, as "Israel has been established in Palestine having no Jews", "the Armenians are trying to establish an "Armenian State" in the Eastern Anatolia having no Armenians"..(See: Süleyman Kocabaş, Ermeni Meselesi Nedir? Ne Değildir? (4.Edi.) ("What is Armenian Problem? What is it not?"), İstanbul: Vatan Yayınları, No:1/1, 1994 (1983), pp.12, 33-37, 148, 162.) While "feeded" by Western core countries financially and politically, PKK has been "stopped" when its murders have increased day by day and

when its actions have started to harm the core countries' own interests, too. The (ex)General Commandant Güreş has told that there is the West, especially Germany behind the PKK and that this terror organization has collected 103 million DM only in 1993 in Germany. See: Evren Değer, "Güreş, 4 Yılı Değerlendirdi: Terörün Ardında Batı Var", Cumhuriyet, 28.07.1994, pp.1, 17). When the PKK has had attacked Turkish banks, tourism agencies, airline bureaux, restaurants and embassies in 28 German cities, Denmark, Austria, England, France and Switzerland on 04.11.1993, the limit was transcended; and Germany from 25.11.1994 onwards, and France from 30.11.1987 onwards have introduced a "ban" on the groups related with PKK. (Carol Migdalovitz, "Türkiye'nin Kürt Sorunu ve ABD Politikası" ("Kurdish Problem of Turkey and US Politics"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol. 1, No: 2, Summer 1994, (pp.119- 137)pp.124, 126.) However, the "Kurd" (issue) insistence in the West in general and in Germany in particular still continues.. Actually, there are the imperialist Western core countries behind the Armenian, Kurdish separatist movements, which have their historical "problems" with Turkey. Therefore, The Kurdish problem is being considered as "multi-national": Metin Dalman, "Die Welt: PKK'yi Yunanistan Eğitiyor", Cumhuriyet, 03-12- 1994, p.4; Anon., "Apo: Türklere Karşı Rumlarla Birlikteyiz" ("Apo: We're Together With the Greeks Against Turks"), Milliyet, 24.03.1994, p.14; Anon., "(Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Mitterrand'ın Eşi) Madam'dan (Kürt milletvekilleri) Zana ve Türk'e Mektup: "Mandela Örneğini Aklınızdan karmayın"", Milliyet, 24.03.1994, p.14; Anon., "Saharov Ödülü Leyla Zana'nın" ("Saharov Prize Given to Zana"), Cumhuriyet, 10.11.1995, p.18; Anon., "Perinçek: PKK, Rusya ile İşbirliği İçerisinde" ("PKK Within Collaboration With Russia"), Cumhuriyet, 03-12-1994, p.4; Göksel Polat, "Öcalan'dan Türkiye'ye Baskı Çağrısı", Cumhuriyet, 03-12-1994, p.4; (see for an "expert"'s book who, originating from Turkey, has been "educated" at the Cologne University and who has been listened to in 1989 at the Federal Assembly on "The Politics of Turkey Related With Kurds": Ömer Tuku, Kürdistan'da Türk Endüstrisi: Gelişim ve Sömürü ("Turkish Industry in Kurdistan: Development and Change") İstanbul: Doz Yayınları, No:12/3, November 1991.) SPD leader R. Scharping and his deputy Schröder are claiming that there is a "holocaust" in Turkey! (See: Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Türk Basını "Vatan Hainlerine" Karşı", Cumhuriyet, 29.08.1994, p.10.) The members of the "Bündnis 90 and the Greens" are more active than the other party members; they sometimes take the field and start to play: The arms embargo in the spring 1994 was implemented with "special" contributions on the side of the "Greens". (One of their "hyperactive" representatives (Claudia Roth) who is frequently "visiting" Turkey also as the leader of the Greens at the European Parliament (EP) and who has "convinced" the EP to open a "bureau" in Istanbul very recently (i.e. on 02.09.1995) (see Fatih Altaylı, "AP, İstanbul'da Büro Açıyor" ("The EP Opens a Bureau in Istanbul"), Hürriyet, 20.06.1995, p.25; Anon., "Bombalar Demokrasi Getirmez" ("Bombs Don't Bring Peace"), Cumhuriyet, 31.08.1995, p.5) after having been called by a Turkish minister as "whore" due to her being heavily involved with

Turkey's problems(!) (such as the Kurds) (Hadi Uluengin, "Avrupa'yla "Fahişe" Krizi" (""Whore" Crisis With Europe"), Hürriyet, 09.06.1995, p.23; Şerif Sayın, "Gökdemir Türkiye'yi Yaktı" ("Gökdemir Has Burned Turkey"), Hürriyet, 10.06.1995, p.25) , had provided the German Foreign Ministry with films, photographs, and documents from Southeastern Turkey. (See: Mehmet Aktan, "Ambargoyu Birkaç Milletvekili Getirdi" ("The Embargo Has Been Introduced By a Couple of Deputies"), Milliyet, 11.04.1994, p.17.) The "Greens" have not given up, of course. The last "guest-ambassador" sent by them has been a "German-Turk", Cem zdemir, who has been raised in Germany and has been elected (in the last general elections held on October 16, 1994) to the German parliament as one of the two Turkish-origin deputies (the other is Mrs.Leyla Onur from the SPD). He has said that "Turkey should step forwards in the field of human rights!" and that "they (as the "Greens") were against the PKK and its terrorist attacks!" (Anon., "Alman Milletvekili Cem Özdemir: Türkiye nsan Haklarında Adım Atmalı", Cumhuriyet, 04.01.1995, p.3. He has further added that the PKK has prevented him much of the time during his election works; but that he is pro-KOMKAR, the Kurdish association aiming at the "national rights of the Kurds (even) in Germany"! See: Oral Çalışlar, "Cem zdemir: "Sünnetlisin,Bizi Temsil Edemezsin Dediler"", Cumhuriyet, 08.01.1995, p.8.) (It must be added that his party, the "Greens" are pro- DEP, i.e. pro the party which is the "political arm of the PKK at the Turkish Parliament" (see: Suphi Gürsoytrak, "Kürt Devleti Kurma Girişimleri", Cumhuriyet, 05.01.1995, p.2; Anon., "(The deputy general head of the DEP:) Kartal: DEP PKK Yandaşı (DEP is pro-PKK)", Cumhuriyet, 13.01.1995, pp.1, 19), of course; see: Anon., "Alman Yeşillerinden DEP'e Destek" ("Support From the Greens to the DEP"), Cumhuriyet, 08.03.1994, s.15.) (A last "contribution" of Özdemir to Turkish political life has been his speedy "support" message to S.Sabancı, the owner of the third greatest capital(ist) "empire" of Turkey (after İş Bankası and Koç Holding; see: Mustafa Sönmez, Kırk Haramiler: Türkiye'de Holdingler (2nd Ed.) ("Fourty Bandits: Holding Companies in Turkey"), İstanbul: Gözlem Yayıncılık No:1, 1987, p.195 (Table 20)) who has said recently that Turkey's Southeastern problem could be solved as the "Bask model of Spain"! (See: Anon., "Siyasette Sabancı Tartışması" ("Sabancı Discussion in Politics"), Cumhuriyet, 13.10.1995, p.4.)) If one thinks that these persons are politically all "leftists", one can listen to the ("rightist") German Government's speaker, Dieter Vogel, who has given his message to the Turkish journalists invited to Germany by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung by saying that one should not regard the Southeastern Anatolia problem only as a terror problem; instead, one should take also the wishes of the region's population into account! (Kemal Yurteri, "Almanya'dan G.Doğu'ya Siyasi Çözüm Önerisi" ("A Political Solution Proposal For Southeastern Anatolia"), Cumhuriyet, 21.06.1994, p.3.) Of course, the reason of this interest is open and is explained by a Turkish academician as follows: "If Mesopotamia would be taken out of the hands of Arabs and be given with United German support to a meagre Kurdish State, the

Germans could make dependent this state (instead of the Ottomans, as claimed by von der Goltz Pasha alrady in 1897) upon itself and thus so be able to protect raw materials necessary for itself.(..) Germany will be annoyed by the events in which its arms given to Turks before would be used here and by which the PKK movement would be repressed. Since Germany can not say the following: "I want to have raw materials; I want to enjoy the feeling of being a super power!", it turns itself to the classical Western weapon of human rights.(..) The Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel describes the New German policy as "world inner policy" ("**Weltinnenpolitik**"). According to this policy, Germany gets involved with such issues as human rights, freedom and "self-determination" (self-governance of the folks)." (See: Köni, "Uluslararası İlişkilerde Yeni Düzensizlik(..)op.cit., pp.41-42, 46.) Recently, the US Government has also started to "play" the "Kurd-card" in its relations with Turkey. According to a Turkish deputy (Gürkan of the DSP) who did some times ago participate in some of the (European-based) "regional security and collaboration conferences" in which the "Kurds- issue" is (also!) handled, there are mainly three groups in those sessions who play a role in taking decisions (mostly!) "against" Turkey given as follows: a)The rather strong Kurd lobbies efficient in Europe and the US (there are some parlamentarians among them who get their "shares" from the narcotics business of the PKK!); b)The people who do want to hold the Kurd- card in their hands in order to make their efficiency functional upon Middle east and Turkey (they are parlamentarians from the US); c)The people who have prejudices and "**a hidden Christian (Crusader) hate**" (stress is mine, Ö.B.) about Turkey since a long period of time.. See: Ayşe Sayın, "AGİK Türk Parlamento Grup başkanı Gürkan: Türkiye Karşıtı Lobi Güçlü çıktı", Cumhuriyet, 14.07.1994, p.3. See also: Anon., "AGİK Toplantısı: DEP in ABD de Heyet İstiyor", Cumhuriyet, 07.07.1994, p.12; Anon., "ABD'ye Güvence: "DEP'liler Açık Yargılanacak"", Cumhuriyet, 13.07.1994, p.5; Anon., "Demirel: Batı Haksız ve İnsafsız", Cumhuriyet, 23.07.1994, p.5; Bülent Sarıoğlu, "Türkiye'nin İnsan Hakları Karnesi, ABD'nin Tavrını Bekliyor. İHV Başkanı Önen: Clinton Dönemi Türkiye'yi Zorlayacak", Cumhuriyet, 23.07.1994, p.5; Ergün Aksoy, "Duruşmayı İzleyecekler: ABD'den DEP'e Yakın İlgi", Cumhuriyet, 28.07.1994, pp.1, 17; Fuat Kozluklu, "ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Türkiye'nin, Kürtleri Yönetim Mekanizmasına Katabilecek Yollar Bulması gerektiğini Söyledi: Washington'dan Kürt Uyarısı" ("A Warning Signal For Kurds From the US"), Cumhuriyet, 30.07.1994, p.9; Anon., "Kongre Tahsisler Komitesi'nin Kararı: ABD Yardımı İlk Kez Şarta Bağlandı" ("The US Help Conditioned"), Cumhuriyet, 30.07.1994, p.9; Anon., "Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın Tepkisi: Ankara'dan "Şartlı Yardım"a Hayır" (""No!" Reply From Ankara to the "Conditioned Help""), Cumhuriyet, 30.07.1994, p.9; Fuat Kozluklu, "Türkiye'nin Washington Büyükelçisi Nüzhet Kandemir, Cumhuriyet'e zel Demeç Verdi: ABD Kürt Sorununu Anlamıyor" ("Turkish Ambassador in Washington: The US Doesn't Understand the Kurdish Problem"), Cumhuriyet, 05.01.1995, p.10; Anon., "The Economist: Ankara'nın AB Üyeliği Zorlaşıyor; International Herald Tribune:

Ankara-Batı İlişkileri Gerginleşiyor: Türkiye-Batı İlişkileri Kürt Sorunu Kıskacında", Cumhuriyet, 20.11.1994, p.11; Fuat Kozluklu, "Washington: Kaygılıyız...", Cumhuriyet, 10.12.1994, pp.1, 19; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "DEP'lilerin Mahkumiyet Kararı Türkiye'nin Gümrük Birliği'ne Katılmasını Zora Soktu: AB, Türkiye'yi Kınadı", Cumhuriyet, 10.12.1994, pp.1, 10; Doğan Akın, Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Batı Avrupa Birliği'nce(..): Kürtlere Özerklik İsteniyor" ("By the Western European Union(..): Autonomy Demanded For the Kurds"), Cumhuriyet, 04.06.1995, pp.1, 19. And see for a study mentioning that the "Kurdish State" has already been "established" under the protection of the so-called "Allied Hammer Force" of the "Provide Comfort Operation" in the south of Turkey (in northern Irak) in 1992: Michael Gunter, "Kuzey Irak'ta Fiili Kürt Devleti", Avrasya Dosyası (Trans.: Nail Alkan), Vol.1, No: 4, Winter 1994/95, pp.189-210. The last situation with the issue has been the so- called "steel operation" of some 35,000 Turkish soldiers undertaken in March/April 1995 (ending on 02.05.1995) in the Northern Irak where after the Gulf War and under the "protection" of the "Allied Hammer Force" a "nobody's zone" (reserved for the future, would-be "Kurdish state"?) did develop, with the aim of "cleaning the region from the PKK based there due to the authority vacuum". (Anon., "35 Bin Asker, Kuzey Irak'ta PKK Hedeflerini Vuruyor: Büyük Operasyon" ("(By) 35 Thousand Soldiers: Big Operation"), Cumhuriyet, 21.03.1995, pp.1, 19.) The western states have reacted as expected: They damned it; and started to make pressure upon Turkey to "withdraw immediately"! See: Metin Dalman, "Batı'yı İkna Turu: nönü'den Bonn'a K.Irak Güvencesi" ("(Diplomatic) Tour Organized For Persuation of the West(..)"), Cumhuriyet, 04.04.1995, p.9; Anon., "Batı'dan Ankara'ya Tepki" ("Reaction From the West to Ankara"), Cumhuriyet, 05.04.1995, p.9. Germany has once again put into force an arms embargo which has been lifted up in September 1995. (Anon., "Almanya'dan Askeri Yardıma Yeşil Işık" ("Green Light From Germany to Military Aid"), Cumhuriyet, 22.09.1995, p.10.) And as a brand new development, a so-called "Kurdish Parliament in Exile" has been allegedly "established" in the Hague/the Netherlands on 12.04.1995 with members of the DEP and the PKK; see: Ali Develioğlu, ""Sürgünde Kürt Parlamentosu" Lahey'de Kuruldu", Cumhuriyet, 13.04.1995, pp.1, 11; and has created intense reactions (not only by the Turkish Government as against the Dutch Government for giving permission (Anon., "Cindoruk'tan Hollanda'ya Eleştiri" ("Protest From Cindoruk to the Netherlands"), Cumhuriyet, 23.04.1995, p.6), but also) on the side of the Turkish workers in Europe, as well: Anon., "PKK, Yürüyüşe Karşı Çıktı: Türklerden Lahey'de Protesto Gösterisi" ("PKK Has Not Taken Part: Protest Demonstration From the Turks in the Hague"), Cumhuriyet, 24.04.1995, p.8. (The so-called Kurdish Parliament has convened newly in Moscow within an Russian official building! Anon., "Moskova'ya Protesto Notası: Sözde Kürt Parlamentosu Rusya'da Toplandı", Cumhuriyet, 31.10.1995, p.8.) Turkish soldiers have returned back after one and a half month: Anon., "Milli Savunma Bakanı Gölhan Kuzey Irak'taki Askerlerin Geri Döndüğünü Söyledi: Sınırlarımızın Güvenliği Yeterli" ("Gölhan Has Told That the

Soldiers in Northern Irak Have Returned Back: The Security of Our Frontiers is Sufficient"), Cumhuriyet, 05.05.1995, p.8. However, there are now serious doubts among high-ranking Turkish officials (like Süleyman Demirel, the President of the Turkish Republic) about the "real face" of the Kurdish problem which is yet evolving into the so-called "**Sevres solution**", i.e. the solution of the so-called "**Eastern Problem**", with other words "the problem of the decaying Ottoman Empire (since two centuries) ("the sick man in the East") and its would-be heritage to be seized upon after the Turks have been pushed back to Asia" andğor the partitioning and division of Turkey into several parts to be given to and administered by the "Entente (Allied) Powers" of the Ist WW (and their allies) such as France, England, Italy, Greece and Armenia according to the "Peace Agreement" (signed in "Sevres" near Paris on 10.08.1920) as dictated to the Ottoman Government by the winner (western) states cited above. (One of the expected results of the Sevres would be the establishment of an autonomous "**Kurdish Region**" under the English influence/protection in Southeastern Anatolia! The Sevres Agreement which was aiming at "annexing different important parts of the Ottoman Empire to the Colonies belonging to the victorious Powers" (of the imperialist "West") (as stated by Mustafa Kemal Paşa after the invasion of İstanbul by the Entente Powers on the 16th March 1920; see: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, A Speech (Trans.(mostly) by: K.F.Koehler G.m.b.H., Leipzig/Germany (1929)), Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1981 (Ori.:1927), p.363) and which was accepted by the Ottoman Sultan Vahdettin (who had placed himself under the protection of England and had left the Palace and İstanbul on board of an English man-of-war on the 17th November, 1922) was refused by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)! And after the ("first anti- imperialist war on the globe", i.e. the) "**Turkish War of Independence**", the "**Lausanne (in Switzerland) Peace Agreement**" which was underlining the fact that Turkey was "an equal member state of the international world order" was signed instead on 24.07.1923! (See: Ahmet Mumcu, Tarih Açısından: Türk Devriminin Temelleri ve Gelişimi (11th Edi.) ("From Historical Viewpoint: Foundations of the Turkish Revolution and Its Development"), İstanbul: nkılap Kitabevi, 1988 (Ori.: 1972), esp. pp.23-25, 60-62, 93-102; see also for the relationship of the "Sevres" and "Versailles" (dictated to the other looser of the war, Germany, by the US and other western winner states: Sadi Koçaş, Tarih Boyunca: Ermeniler ve Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri ("Throughout the History: Armenians and Turco-Armenian Relationships"), Ankara: Altınok Matbaası, 1967, pp.253-254.) See for Demirel's explanations: Anon., "Demirel, Batı'ya Yönelttiği Eleştirilerin Gerekçesini Açıkladı: Türkiye Komplo Karşısında" ("Demirel Has Explained the Reasons of His Criticisms Against the West: Turkey Faces A Complot"), Cumhuriyet, 10.05.1995, pp.1, 17. (See also for the western hostile politics against Turkey: Attila İlhan, Hangi Laiklik? ("Which Laicism?"), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları No:152/7, January 1995, pp.71-73.)

172.Supporting this, some authors dealing with Turks in Germany are continuing their writings by saying "the cultural and political rights of the Kurdish ethnicity in Southeastern Anatolia"; see for an example: Zafer enocak, "Deutsche Werden-Türken Bleiben", (in) Deutsche Türken(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Claus Leggewie & Zafer Şenocak), (ss.9-16)s.16; ve Udo Steinbach, "Alte Freundschaft am Scheideweg: Über die Zukunft der deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen", (in) Deutsche Türken(..) op.cit. (Eds: Claus Leggewie & Zafer Şenocak), (pp.123-130)p.129; also: Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası(..) op.cit., pp.157-170; see also and especially: İbrahim Sevimli, Uzun Bir Göç Öyküsü: Halk, Göçmen, Azınlık ya da Ulus olmak ("A Long Migration Story: To Be People, Immigrant(s), Minority or Nation"), stanbul: Belge Yayınları, No:182, June 1993, pp.101-149. The F.German ambassador in Ankara, Jurgen Österhelt, had made a speech right after the local elections held in March 1994 and said that Germany was anxious about three topics in Turkey, being: a)The Turkish 1994 budget was not having the sources for its one fourth part and the foreign debt of Turkey was over the half of her GNP; b)The human rights violations in the South-Eastern Anatolia were too much (thus causing arms embargo to be implemented); and c)The annoyance felt by the terrorist acts in Istanbul and the results of the local elections won by the radical religious party (if the speculations are taken into account)! He'd added further that the Kurds in Germany with a population of nearly a half million ("i.e. more than Luxembourg's population") were having their relatives in the region. Therefore, he went forth: "We are within the very problem, willy or nilly. We have been living with this fact very bitterly side by side during the last terrorist attacks in Germany horrifying many people which have been realized by the Kurds." ("İstesek de istemesek de bu sorunun içindeyiz. Aslında, Almanya'da pek çok insanı tedirgin eden, Kürtlerin gerçekleştirdiği Almanya'daki son aşırı şiddet eylemleri sonucunda tekrar bu gerçeği acı bir biçimde yaşamak zorunda kaldık.") (See: Özgen Acar, "Almanya İstikrarlı Ortam Bekliyor" ("Germany Awaits Stabil Political Medium"), Cumhuriyet, 16.04.1994, pp.14, 13. For an official reply by the Turkish Foreign Ministry pointing out to the negative shares of Germany and the other members of the EU in the mentioned issues, see: Anon., "Dışişleri'nden Österhelt'in Sözlerine Tepki" ("Reaction Against the Words of Österhelt From the Foreign Ministry"), Cumhuriyet, 18.04.1994, p.16.)

173.Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası(..) op.cit., pp.53-54. Germany, "the country most affected by the asylum crisis", has until recently been the least active legislatively. Given the peculiar (Jewish) history of the country, German officials have tried to avoid to appear hostile to asylum seekers. And the Basic Law was guaranteing broad rights to anyone who appeals for asylum. (See also: Gary P. Freeman, "Migration Policy and Politics in the Receiving States", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVI, No.:4, Winter 1992, (pp.1144-1167)p.1156.)

174.Anon., "Almanya: İltica Yasasında Sınırlama" ("Germany: Limitation in the Asyl Law"), Cumhuriyet, 02.07.1993, p.6; Bade, "Immigration and Social Peace(..)"op.cit., p.91.

175."**Aussiedler**" means German citizens and ethnic Germans who left their homes in Eastern or Southeastern Europe to settle in the F.Germany. From 1983 through 1986, around 40,000 "aussiedler" came on average to the F.R. of Germany per year. This number rose to 78,523 in 1987; and to 397,075 in 1990. (Of the last figure, 113,253 came from Poland, 147,455 from the Soviet Union, 107,189 from Rumania. (See: Douglas B.Klusmeyer, "Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens: The Politics of Inclusion in the Federal Republic of Germany", Daedalus, Vol.122, No:3, Summer 1993, (pp.81-114)p.99.)) The newest total figure of the "aussiedler" (as between the years of 1988-1992) is 1,35 million; see: Gieseck, Heilemann and von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications of Migration(..)" op.cit., p.693.

176."**Übersiedler**" means German citizens and ethnic Germans who left the former German Democratic Republic (now the new federal states ("Bundeslaender") and East Berlin). Their numbers were fluctuating annually from 38,655 in 1984 to 238,384 in 1990. (Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.99.) They've totalled to about 1 million (between 1988-1992); see: Gieseck, Heilemann and von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications of Migration(..)" op.cit., p.693.

177.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., pp.106-107.

178.Bade, "Immigration and Social Peace(..)"op.cit., pp.85-86.

179.Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism(..)op.cit., pp.852-853.

180.Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., pp.33-35. According to Walraff, the number of the clandestine workers in the F.German construction sector alone is around 200,000, agreat part of which is made up by the Turks!ATurkish journalist (from **Milliyet**) located in Brussels reports that the numbers of **Turkish clandestine workers** (as opposed to legal and total ones written in paragraphs) in some of the European countries are as follows: 80,000 (225,000, totally 305,000) in France; 25,000 (95,000, totally 120,000) in Austria; 15,000 (40,000, totally 55,000) in Sweden; 20,000 (81,000, totally 101,000) in Belgium; 30,000 (61,000, totally 91,000) in Switzerland; and 400,000 (1,690,000, totally 2,090,000) in Germany. (See: Ahmet Sever, Milliyet, 01.12.1991; cited in: Sevimli, Uzun Bir Göç Öyküsü(..)op.cit., p.20.) It is rather a well-known fact that the European states mentioned above do not actually try to hinder these clandestine labor migration flows although seemingly pretending doing so! For instance, The German federal government is not in a hurry for exterminating this illegal practice via existing and/or would-be legal measures; to the contrary, it makes use of this practice even in its official

construction works! (See: Günter Wallraff, En Alttakiler ("At the Very Bottom") (6th Edi.) (Trans.: Osman Okkan), İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, No:58, June 1986, pp.46-47.) Again, another practice of the German authorities with regard to Turkish tourist workers has been to sentence the tourists who had illegally resided in Germany (i.e. more than the usual legal tourist visum period of three months) to very high money payments! In this way, the whole of saved money from clandestine employment in Germany was taken away from those workers! If someone would say that (s)he doesn't have any money, (s)he was sentenced to imprisonment! (See: Somel, Almanya'da Türk İşçileriyle(..)op.cit., p.134.)

181. Auslaenderkomitee Berlin (West) e.V. (Ed.), Gast oder Last?(..) op.cit., p.14; Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., p.39. While reporting from Switzerland and Uri canton where one speaks German and from a refugee camp under close control of Red Cross, Özilhan says that in 1989 and alleging xenophobia, Red Cross had "invented" for the refugees a program called as "Beschaeftigung" (work/hobby) which was consisting of such works as constructing forest roads, cleaning up the lakeshores (for municipalities and the state); to make disloadings, letting dogs walking (for the firms and private persons), all of which were done illegally for 20 Frank and without any insurance! It is higly probable that it has been the case in other European countries and in Germany, as well. (See: Özilhan, Mülteci op.cit., pp.100-104.) (For a hint in Germany, one can mention the cases of "sentenced persons" of the prisons in the 1970s who were made to work for the "Siemens" fabrics for a very low daily wages (around 16-18 DM/day!).. Besides of this, only 20% of this wage was the actual share of the worker; the rest was flowing into the German justice system. See: Füruzan, Yeni Konuklar ("New Guests"), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi No:266, May 1977, p.129. Years have passed and the wages in German prisons did not change very much: The Turkish woman who has written the unbelievable human and officials' conditions of the German prisons andğor justice system says that the prisoners who were working within the prisons were paid only 3 DM for a whole day (9 hours)! See: Sara Gül Turan, Gülün Dikeni ("The Thorn of the Rose") (3rd Edi.), İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları No:137, November 1992 (Sept.1991), p.68.)

182. Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., p.39. A German expert summarizes the deteriorating living conditions of the refugees (as over the past decade) as follows: "-Refugees are prohibited from gainful employment for one year (for up to five years prior to January 1991); -Refugees' freedom of movement has been curtailed; -Social welfare to which refugees are entitled until they are permitted to work has been reduced and is mainly paid in kind; -Refugees are refused integration and education; -Refugees have to live in primitive, collective housing; -Ethnic, cultural and religious habits of refugees are little respected by the authorities." See: Klaus Grosch, "Foreigners and Aliens", (in) Meet United Germany: Perspectives 1992/93 (Ed.: Susan Stern), Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter

Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH Information ServicesğAtlantik-Brücke e.V., 1992, (pp.132-151)p.145.

183.Kılıçarslan, "F.Almanya'da Yabancılar Politikası(..)op.cit., p.20. (These mentioned policies of the German governments were announced officially by the "Bundesinnenminister" Dr.Friedrich Zimmermann on 13.12.1982 in Zirndorf. See for the speech text: Türken raus? oder Verteidigt den sozialen Frieden (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), Hamburg: Rowohlt, January 1984, pp.119-123. The policies were also approved later on by a special official commission: Kommission "Auslaenderpolitik", Bericht der Kommission vom 24.02.1983, Vorlage des Innenministers im Bundeskabinett, p.18; cited in: Wolf-Dieter Just, "Einwanderungsgeschichte und Auslaenderpolitik in den Hauptaufnahmelaendern der EG - Ein Überblick", (in)Wanderarbeiter in der EG: Ein Vergleich ihrer rechtlichen und sozialen Situation in den wichtigsten Aufnahmelaendern (Eds.: Wolf- Dieter Just & Annette Groth), Mainz, Ingelheim: Verlag Manfred Werkmeister, Manthano- Verlag, 1985, (pp.61-81)p.64.)

184.The number of all foreigners in F.Germany was 5,880,000 in 1991 and their share was 8% of the total population. 25.2% of the foreigners were members of the EC. (The rest of 74.8% were outside of the EC.) The foreigners were making 8% of the labor force of Germany. The same rate was two years ago around 7.7 percent. (See: Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, Daten und Fakten zur Auslaendersituation, Bonn: Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Auslaender, July 1992, pp.7-8.) (İn June 1993) Total foreigners living in Germany were 6,500,000; the Turks with their numbers 1,855,000 were making 35% of them. See: Aydın Engin, "Bütün Zamanların En Büyük Göçü" ("The Greatest Migration of All Times"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.16.)

185.Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..)op.cit., p.39.

186.Heinz Kühn, Memorandum des Beauftragten der Bundesregierung; Stand und Weiterentwicklung der Integration der auslaendischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, 1979; Turan, op.cit., pp.39-41; Initiative Gleichberechtigung "Integration" (IGI), Stellungnahme der Auslaender zur Auslaenderpolitik (2. Auflage), Berlin: EXpress Edition, December 1981 (May 1981), pp.9-10.

187.Cihan Arın, Analyse der Wohnverhaeltnisse auslaendischer Arbeiter in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - mit einer Fallstudie über türkische Arbeiterhaushalte in Berlin-Kreuzberg (Dissertation an der TU), Berlin, 1979; Cihan Arın (Ed.), Auslaender im Wohnbereich: Dokumentation eines Seminars der Internationalen Bauausstellung Berlin, Berlin: EXpress Edition, 1983; MB, "Wohnsituation von Auslaendern: Leben im Getto", Tageszeitung, 09.06.1981; Monika Müller, Selbstorganisation im Ghetto, Frankfurt/M.: Extrabuch Verlag, 1983; Maria Borris,

Auslaendische Arbeiter in einer Grossstadt. Eine empirische Untersuchung am Beispiel Frankfurt, FrankfurtğM.: Europaeische Verlagsanstalt, 1973; Gerd Stüwe, Türkische Jugendliche. Eine Untersuchung in Berlin-Kreuzberg, Bensheim: paed. extra Buchverlag, 1982; Ursula Mehrlaender, Türkische Jugendliche - Keine beruflichen Chancen in Deutschland?, Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1983; Initiative Gleichberechtigung "Integration" (IGI), op.cit.; Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..) op.cit., pp.111-127; Mümtaz Ergün, Kreuzbergliyiz Hepimiz, (?), Tuba Yayıncılık, 1986; A. Naci İşsever, Almancı Dediğin.., Gelsenkirchen: Okur Yayınevi, 1987; Gür, Otuz Yılın(..)op.cit., pp.53-54; Gülen Yeğenoğlu, Almanya'daki Yirmi Yılım ("My Twenty Years in Germany"), (?), Milliyet Yayınları, No:75, August 1988; Dursun Erden, İki Ülkede Yabancılar ("The Foreigners in Both Countries") İstanbul: Güryay Matbaacılık, 1986; Fulya Atacan, Kutsal Göç: Radikal İslamcı Bir Grubun Anatomisi ("The Holy Migration: The Anatomy of A Radical Islamic Group"), stanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, No:61/27, October 1993.

188.Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..) op.cit., pp.94-95.

189.Rolf Meinhardt, "Pollacken, Itaker, Kanaken-Zur Leidensgeschichte der Fremden in Deutschland", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.9-21)pp.17-18.

190.Sammy Maedge, "Wer schweigt, macht sich mitschuldig!", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (ss.176-187)pp.181, 184.

191.Cited in: Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.104. It has astonished, however, that the German government has sit down to the table in Syria with the leader of PKK terror organization (which also undertakes, be it small- scale, some terror acts in Germany as well) in order to "bargain" for the termination of terrorist activities in Germany! (See: (As cited from "Focus":) Güner Yüreklik, "Almanya'dan Öcalan İle İkinci Görüşme" ("Second Dialog From Germany With Öcalan"), Cumhuriyet, 26.11.1995, s.8.)

192.The writer of this Thesis had also been attacked by a German young man in 1987 in Hannover when he was making a trip downtown on the S-Bahn. He had been hit with the fist on his face without any slightest reason. He had followed the attacker, had learned his address, and then made an application at the nearest police headquarters describing the event and the person and the would-be address of the person. However, the police guys were in such a psychological manner as if the writer had himself attacked the German young man(!); and they had not even give an official reply to the writer. (See the copy of the original application form at the police station in Annex.) Prof. Şen has said very recently that the Turkish women in Germany do not make use of the mass transportation vehicles (such as the subway (U-Bahn) and S-Bahn) to a

great extent anymore because of fear of attacks on them on the side of racist Germans. (Remark made at the Seminar on "Fundamentalismus und Pluralismus" organized at the "Deutsches Kulturinstitut" in Ankara on December 09, 1994 and while he was presenting his paper on "Islamischer Fundamentalismus unter der Türkischen Wohnbevölkerung in Europa." See also: Faruk Şen and Andreas Goldberg, Türken in Deutschland: Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen, München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1994, esp.pp.65-67.)

193.Bade, "Immigration and Social Peace(..)"op.cit., p.90. See also: Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., p.101; and Grosch, "Foreigners and Aliens"op.cit., pp.138-139.

194.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., pp.83-84; Gerhard Buchner, Staatsbürgerkunde für Jedermann, München: Humboldt-Taschenbuchverlag, 1982, pp.82-93; and Peter Knösel & Werner Teubner, Auslaenderrecht in Deutschland, Münster: Votum Verlag, 1991, p.12.

195.Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası(..) op.cit., p.16.

196.Klusmeyer,"Aliens(..)"op.cit.,p.84.

197.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.84; Ünal, "Avrupa'da Irkçılık(..)"op.cit., pp.27-28; Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Devletini Arayan Millet: Almanya Örneği" ("The Nation Seeking Its State: The Case of Germany"), Toplum ve Bilim, 62, Summer-Fall 1993, (pp.95-111)p.105; Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism(..)op.cit., pp.861-862.

198.Buchner, Staatsbürgerkunde(..) op.cit., pp.22-23.

199.Kadıoğlu, "Devletini(..)"op.cit., pp.104-106.

200.Nevzat Üstün, Alamanya Beyleri ile Portekiz'in Bahçeleri ("The Herren von Germania and the Gardens of Portugal", İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, No:5, November 1975, pp.54-55.

201.Fritz Franz, "Die Rechtsstellung der auslaendischen Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", (in)Gastarbeiter: Analysen and Berichte (Ed.:Ernst Klee), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972, (pp.36- 57)p.46. (It should be remembered that the main **ethnic target group** under Hitler's government were the **Jews**. They were expelled from German citizenship via help of the "Nurenberg Laws" dated 15.09.1935, detaining only the German nationality. Afterwards and within the next few years, 13 further regulations added to the Nurenberg Laws had made the Jews "illegal"! See: William L. Shirer, Nazi İmparatorluğu: Doğuşu, Yükselişi ve Çöküşü - Cilt 1 ("The Nazi Empire: Its Birth, Rise

and Decay-Vol.1") (Trans.: Rasih Güran), İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1992, p.305.)

202.Söylemez, Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası(..) op.cit., pp.16-17.

203.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.88. Among the would-be deportation reasons, one can cite some of them as follows: Being "drunken" while driving ("wer die Verkehrssicherheit gefaehrdet, gefaehrdet die innere Sicherheit des Staates"); to work without work-permit; lesbian love; "wild marriage" of a foreigner with a German woman! (See: Franz, "Die Rechtsstellung(..)"op.cit., pp.43-44.)

204.Franz, "Die Rechtsstellung(..)"op.cit., p.39. Some researchers have claimed that the law itself is actually an effort "to legally cast anchor for xenophobia"! (See for an example: Arzu Toker, "Zwischen staatlicher und alltaeglicher Diskriminierung. Wie eine Türkin die Bundesrepublik Deutschland erlebt", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), (pp.24-33)p.24.)

205.Franz, "Die Rechtsstellung(..)"op.cit., p.41.

206.Ibid., pp.47-48.

207.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.89.

208.Gerhard de Rham, "Naturalisation: The Politics of Citizenship Acquisition", (in)The Political Rights of Migrant Workers in Western Europe (Ed.: Zig Henry Layton), London: Sage Publishers, 1990, p.182. Nobody can deny that Germany has followed a deliberate naturalisation policy which has tried to **prevent** the guestworkers from obtaining German citizenship. One can cite a plan of the Federal Department of Domestic Affairs in June 1988 which was foreseeing to **restrict** the applications of the guestworkers to those who came to West Germany before 1973, as an example. (See: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25.06.1988, p.1.)

209.Total number of the Turks living in Germany in 1974 was 1,027,000; the workers alone were counting 606,000. (Sevimli, Uzun Bir Göç Öyküsü(..)op.cit., p.17.)

210.Üstün, Alamanya Beyleri(..)op.cit., pp.47-50. A Turkish scholar from Germany reports that the total number of the Turks having obtained the German nationality before 1992 is actually lower than 1% of their total population in Germany, and around 10,500. (See: Harun Gümrükçü, "Birleşen Almanya'da Yabancı Düşmanlığı ve Türklerin Konumunda Aktüel Gelişmeler" ("Xenophobia in the Unifying Germany and Actual Developments in the Turks' Situation"), Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol. XVII, No: 151, January 1993, (pp.24-29)p.28.)

211.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., pp.89-90.

212.Ibid., p.90.

213.Faruk Şen, Bonn-Ankara Hattı ("The Bonn-Ankara Line"), Köln: Önel-Verlag, (n.d.), pp.48-49. See also: Hakkı Keskin, "Wir bleiben hier: Plaedoyer für eine offene Gesellschaft", (in) Deutsche Türken(..) op.cit. (Eds: Claus Leggewie & Zafer Şenocak), (pp.66-78)ss.70-72; and Claus Leggewie, "Das Ende der Geduld-und ein politischer Anfang?- Zehn Gebote für das deutsch-türkische Verhaeltnis", (in) Deutsche Türken(..) op.cit. (Eds: Claus Leggewie & Zafer Şenocak), (pp.131-136)s.132; ; Mehmet Aktan, "(Alman Devlet Bakanı Boll:) "Türklere Çifte Vatandaşlık Yok"" ("(Germans:)"No Double Citizenship to Turks""), Milliyet, 29.01.1993, p.15; Harun Gümrükçü, "Birleşen Almanya'da(..)"op.cit., p.28; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Helmut Kohl: "Çifte Vatandaşlık Düşünülecek"" ("Kohl: "Double Citizenship Will Be Considered""), Cumhuriyet, 08.06.1993, p.13; Aydın Engin, "Ağırlık Kazanan Çözüm: Çifte Vatandaşlık" ("Solution: Double Citizenship"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.16; Rona Aybay, "Çifte Uyrukluk Sorunu" ("The Issue of Double Citizenship"), İnsan Hakları Yıllığı, Vol. 15, 1993 (1994), pp.101-108; Rona Aybay, "Çifte Uyrukluk Sorunu" ("The Issue of Double Citizenship"), Cumhuriyet, 02.08.1994, p.2. As a very recent development in Turkey with regard to the issue of double citizenship, one may cite the new law put in force (published in the Official Gazette dated 12th June 1995) regulating the topic of the "valid" economic rights of the Turks who have got the citizenship of another country; see: Anon., "Çifte Vatandaşlık" ("Double Citizenship"), Cumhuriyet, 13.06.1995, p.5; and Rona Aybay, "Çifte Uyruklukta Son Değişiklik" ("Last Amendment in the Double Citizenship"), Cumhuriyet, 26.06.1995, p.2. Whereas Turkey tries to simplify the procedures of getting double citizenship, Germany tries to do just the opposite! A last attempt on the side of Germany has been the explanation made by the German Minister for Inner Affairs, Manfred Kanther, according to which the Turks who have got (temporarily) out of the Turkish citizenship in order to enter into the German one, would lose the German citizenship if they would enter into the Turkish one anew. (See: Güray Öz, "Çifte Vatandaşlık Tartışması" ("Double Citizenship Dispute"), Cumhuriyet, 16.11.1995, p.3.)

214.Gülay Toksöz, "Neonazi Saldırganlığı Üzerine..." ("On Neo-Nazi Aggressivity..."), Cumhuriyet, 10.08.1993, p.2.

215.Şen, Bonn-Ankara(..) op.cit., pp.35-36; Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.96. The **residence permits** for non-EC nationals under the 1990 Aliens Law are of several types such as: i)The "right of unlimited residence" (to be got after eight years) (**Aufenthaltsberechtigung**) (by 1990, barely 20 percent of foreign residents had achieved this status); ii)the permit granting unlimited residence if certain conditions are met, such as

possessing a special work permit and having "adequate living space for themselves and their families" (to be got after five years) (**unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis**) (40 percent of foreign residents). (See: Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., pp.97, 98.) The residence permits of different types are so eagerly asked by the foreigners (for prices ranking between 1,500-6,000 DM) that even some German officials working in Munich and Frankfurt and responsible for the German state's interests have been found guilty by the German judicial system due to their being involved to "bribery taking" cases! (See: Anon., "150 Bin Marka Almanya'da Oturma İzni" ("Residence Permits in Germany For 150 Thousand DM", Cumhuriyet 2, 04.05.1994, p.1.) (The "First World" is very careful, selective and greedy by giving permission to "Others" and/or to "Third World" members to "reside" within its borders, indeed. Just for the sake of comparison with Germany: The famous US "Green Card" obtained illegally for residence in the U.S. does cost at least 15,000 US$! (See: İrfan Erdoğan, Amerika: İkinci Vatanda İdeoloji, Düşler, Gerçekler ("America: Ideology, Dreams, and Realities in the Second Home-Country"), Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık No:32, April 1995, p.179.))

216.Gür,Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., p.46.

217.Şen ve Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na(..)op.cit., p.31 (Table: 8).

218.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.97.

219.Fijalkowski, "Aggressive Nationalism(..)op.cit., pp.861-862.

220.Philip L. Martin, "Comparative Migration Policies", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVIII, No:1, Spring 1994, (pp.164-170)pp.167-168.

221.Ibid., pp.166-168; also Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.108.

222.Initiative Gleichberechtigung "Integration" (IGI), op.cit., pp.9-10; Faruk Şen, Almanya'daki Türkiye ("Turkey That in Germany"), İstanbul: Evrim, (n.d.), pp.35-36.

223.Bade, "Immigration and Social Peace(..)"op.cit., p.92.

224.Şen, Almanya'daki Türkiye(..)op.cit., pp.8, 38-39.

225.Klusmeyer, "Aliens(..)"op.cit., p.97; and Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey to the European Community, Brussels: A Publication of The Migrants' Forum of the European Communities, January 1993, p.79. The "German people" at large seems to be very eager for their "sovereignty rights" as exemplified in a research conducted by F. Decker. (Auslaender im Politischen,

Arbeitsmöglichkeiten ihrer politischen Beteiligung, Frankfurt am Main, 1982, p.64. Cited in: Murat Demircioğlu, "Das Recht auf politische Beteiligung der türkischen Arbeitnehmer im Ausland", (in)F.Almanya'da Yaşayan Türkler ve Sorunları (Ed.: Nurhan Akçaylı), Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1986, (pp.85-93)p.88.) According to the results obtained, the Germans who were "pro" the right for the foreigners to be used in the "general elections" ("allgemeines Wahlrecht") were only 18%; who were pro the right for "communal elections" ("Kommunales Wahlrecht") 25%; and who were pro "advisory committees for foreigners" ("Beratungsstellen für Auslaender", which are actually not "political chairs") 50%! The Turks' replies were distributed as follows, respectively: 72%, 63%, and 60 percent!

226.The Convention was opened for signature Dec. 18, 1990, Annex to UN doc.A/45/158 (1991). A General Assembly Resolution which adopted the Convention cites as a first resolution of the General Assembly on the way to the Convention the following: "35/198 of 15 December 1980". (See: James A. R. Nafziger, Barry C. Bartel, "The Migrant Workers Convention: Its Place in Human Rights Law", International Migration Review, Vol.XXV, No:4, Winter 1991, (pp.771-799)p.771.)

227.These include such instruments as: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Dec. 10, 1948, U.N.G.A. Res.217A(III), UN doc. A/810, at 71 (1948); the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, opened for signature Dec. 19, 1966, entered into force Jan. 3, 1976, U.N.G.A. Res. 2200 (XXI); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, opened for signature Dec. 19, 1966, entered into force Mar.23,1976, U.N.G.A. Res.2200 (XXI); the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, opened for signature Mar. 7, 1966, entered into force Jan.4, 1969, 660 U.N.T.S. 195; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the UN General Assembly Dec.18, 1979, U.N.G.A. Res.34/180 (XXXIV), UN doc.A/34/830(1979); and the recently completed Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted Nov.20, 1989, U.N.G.A. Res. 44/25, UN doc.A/RES/44/25 (1989). (See: Nafziger & Bartel, "The Migrant Workers(..)"op.cit., p.772 (Footnote (2).)

228.Nafziger & Bartel, "The Migrant Workers(..)"op.cit., pp.774-777.

229.İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu: Ulus Devletini Aşma Çabasındaki Avrupa'ya Türkiye'nin Yaklaşımı-1.Kitap ("Turkey and the European Union: Approach of Turkey to the EU Which Tries to Transcend the Nation-State- the 1.Book"), Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, No:3, April 1993, p.201.

230.İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu: Ulus Devletini Aşma Çabasındaki Avrupa'ya Türkiye'nin Yaklaşımı-2.Kitap ("Turkey and the European Union: Approach of Turkey to the EU Which Tries to

Transcend the Nation-State- the 2.Book"), Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, No:8, October 1993, p.116.

231.Jan Werner, Die Invasion der Armen: Asylanten und illegale Einwanderer, München: v.Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1992, esp. pp.159-161. (The counter-argument with regard to the "invasion" (of "products" as opposed to "labor") was raised on 24.11.1970, i.e. the day after the signature of the Brussels Protocoll, by the head of DİSK (the (Turkish) Confederation of the Revolutionary Worker Trade Unions), Kemal Türkler, as follows: "With the signature of the protocolls designing the start of the transition period between European Community (EC) and Turkey on 23 rd November 1970, the plan aiming at making Turkey the market of exploitative Europe has taken its last shape.(..)The relationships between the EC and Turkey will evolve into the relationships of dominating country-dominated country." (Cited in: Tekeli & İlkin, Türkiye ve Avrupa(..)-2.Kitap(..) op.cit., p.115.)

232.Ibid., p.161.

233.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., p.5.

234.Ibid., pp.48-51.

235.Sabiha Çaycı, "Türk İşçilerinin Serbest Dolaşım Hakkı" ("The Free Movement Right of Turkish Workers"), Cumhuriyet, 14.11.1992, p.2; Tuğrul Ansay, "The New UN Convention in Light of the German and Turkish Experience", International Migration Review, Vol.XXV, No:4, Winter 1991, (pp.831-847)p.836; Harun Gümrükçü, "Almanya'daki Türk İşçilerinin Serbest Dolaşım Hakkı Nedir ve Nerdedir?" ("What is the Free Movement Right of Turkish Workers in Germany and Where is It?"Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol. XV, No:137, November 1991, pp.31-36; Harun Gümrükçü, "Birleşen Almanya'da(..)"op.cit.; Harun Gümrükçü, "Kuş Davası ve Bunun AT Üyesi Ikelerdeki Türk Göçmenlerinin Çalışma ve Oturma İzinleri Üzerindeki Etkileri" ("The Kuş Process and Its Effect on the Work- and Residence Permits" , Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol. XVIII, No: 164, February 1994, (pp.25-36) p.26; Harun Gümrükçü, "Avrupa'da Serbest Dolaşım ve Bizler" ("Free Movement in Europe and We the Turks"), Milliyet (Europe Edition), 27-31st May 1991; Harun Gümrükçü, "Demography and the Labour Force in Turkey-Perspectives for Migration and Free Movement of Labour", (in)Institutional Aspects of Economic Integration of Turkey into the European Community (Eds.: H.Körner & R. Shams), Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv, 1990, pp.191-237; Harun Gümrükçü, Göçün 30.Yılında Türkiye-Ortak Pazar İlişkileri ve Unutulan Alternatif Serbest Dolaşım ("Turkey-the Common Market Relationships at the 30th Anniversary of the Migration and the Alternative Forgotten (:) Free Movement") Mer Ajans Yayınları, No:1, 1991; Harun Gümrükçü, "Almanya'da Yaşayan TC Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu: Serbest

Dolaşım ve Son Mahkeme Kararları" ("Legal Conditions of the Turkish Citizens Living in Germany: Free Movement and the Last Court Decisions"), Dış Politika Dergisi, Vol.V, No:3, April 1994, pp.42-73; Yavuz Donat, "Üç Küpeli Gelin Ya da Üç Yiğit Türk" ("The Three Turkish Heroes"), Milliyet, 22.08.1994, p.2; Anon., "Adalet Divanı, Hayriye Eroğlu'nun Başvurusunu 17 Ay Sonra Karara Bağladı: Gurbetçi Öğrenciye Oturma ve Çalışma İzni" ("(The European High Court:) Residence and Work Permits Should be Given to (Turkish) (Guestworker Families' Studying) Children"), Cumhuriyet, 15.10.1994, p.20.

236. Gümrükçü says that the Turkish governments have not been dealing with the (free movement) rights of the Turkish labor force in Germany at a satisfying extent! He accuses the former female Work Minister of Turkey (Aykut-ANAP) because of a very eccentric behaviour. According to him, the minister had sent a message to Germany to the representative of her ministry and wanted to know who, in Germany, were searching after the rights of the Turkish workers (as if they were creating annoyance for her ministry, thereby)?! (See: Harun Gümrükçü, "Birleşen Almanya'da(..)"op.cit., p.29.) (This "reactive" rather than "active" "official" behaviour with regard to the Turkish guestworkers has been "the principal mode". An early example of this type of behaviour was given by the signing a "Labor Force Agreement" between Turkey and F.R.Germany in 1961. The supplementary "Social Security Agreement" regulating the issues of child-money, health insurances of the close relatives in Turkey, etc. was not signed, however (until the intervention of Bülent Ecevit who was the Minister of Work in 1964). The then Turkish Work Attaché in Berlin (B. Bilaloğlu) who had warned the Turkish officials in Turkey for undersigning such an agreement had been replied as follows: "This is a very sensitive topic. Leave it as it is!" See: Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., pp.30-31.) Here, of course, Gümrükçü has right in accusing the Turkish governments which have done nearly nothing with regard to the topic. However, although Gümrükçü (who being an ex-fellow of the Hans-Böckler Stiftung has studied in Germany with a scholarship of the German Federation of the Labor Unions (DGB)) has conducted a project related with the EC and Turkey (and titled as: "EG-Türkei Beziehungen unter dem Aspekt von Bevölkerungswachstum, Beschaeftigung und Auswanderung", published at the "Deutsches Orient-Institut", Hamburg 1989) between the years 1986-1989 (see: Harun Gümrükçü, "Almanya'daki Türk İşçilerinin(..)"op.cit., p.36 and Gümrükçü, "Almanya'da Yaşayan TC(..)op.cit., p.51), **he has not made public** what he has andğor should have learned about the EC-Turkey andğor Turkish workers in Europe relationships?! It was very well known since the early beginnings of the 1980s that Germany would do everything in order to hinder the membership of Turkey?! For instance, the letter of the German ex-Foreign Minister Genscher dated 01.06.1981 and forwarded to the EC which was mentioning the topic of the free movement of the Turkish workers and which was asking the EC to hinder the Turks from benefitting of this right at least in Germany, had been read at the

German Parliamentary on 04.02.1982 by the German Work Minister Ehrenberg! (We're quite sure that this information was given to Donat by Gümrükçü himself, because Donat makes other explanations related with a seminar in Hamburg at which Gümrükçü was also present in February 1993. See: Yavuz Donat, "Alman Engellemesi" ("German Obstruction"), Milliyet, 26.02.1993, pp.2, 14. Donat has written other articles with regard to this topic (in collaboration with Gümrükçü) and tried to warn Turkish politicians and officials in order to make them aware of the very topic: Yavuz Donat, "Hans'ın Hilesi" ("The Trick of Hans"), Milliyet, 11.03.1994, pp.2, 16; Yavuz Donat, "Hans Amcaya Dikkat" ("Attention to Uncle Hans"), Milliyet, 14.04.1993, p.2; Yavuz Donat, "Tansu Hanım'ın Bonn Dosyası" ("The Bonn Act of Tansu Hanım"), Milliyet, 23.08.1993, p.2; Yavuz Donat, "Küçük ve Önemsiz Bir Olay(!)" ("A Tiny and Unimportant Event"), Milliyet, 15.11.1993, pp.2, 9; Yavuz Donat, "Sivil Toplum, Özgür Üniversite" ("Civil Society, Free University"), Milliyet, 19.01.1994, pp.2, 8. (A small note about Donat's valuable "information contribution" to the topic: The Turkish journalist evaluates some of the German institutions (such as the Hamburg University to which Gümrükçü is related and which organizes some activities with regard to the Turks and their rights in Germany; and the German Foreign Ministry which "accepts" the legal rights of the Turks emanating from the EC-Turkey agreements as opposed to the German press at large and the German Work Ministry (which tries to hinder the Turks)(!)), "positively" and as being very "civil(ized)", "free", and "democratic"?! He seems to be forgetting the fact that the political machine of a country does function according to the conservatives' policy in most of the international debates.. And he doesn't question the very "delay" of these institutions to handle the important topic (after "only" 30 years)?)

237.recent survey conducted in February 1994 in the 12 member countries of the EU (which has been enlarged to cover now, i.e. from 01.01.1995 onwards, 15 countries (with the inclusion of Austria, Finland and Sweden (see: Anon., "AB, 1995'e Büyüyerek Girdi" ("The EU Has Entered 1995 Growing"), Cumhuriyet, 02.01.1995, p.9); Norway has rejected the membership very newly at the referendum held on 29.11.1994 (see: Gürhan Uçkan, "Referandum Sonuçları: Norveç, AB'ye "Hayır" Dedi", Cumhuriyet, 30.11.1994, p.11)) which has started its long journey to an economic and political regional unity (covering now a total population of 370,400,000) on 01.01.1958 with the Roma Agreement (signed by 6 countries, i.e. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands), has displayed that 48% of the EU citizens **do not want** to accept the Turks into the EU! (See: Cem Sey, "Avrupalı, Türkiye'yi AB'ye İstemiyor" ("The European Doesn't Want to Have Turkey Within the EC"), Cumhuriyet, 21.05.1994, p.9.) A new development in the field of the "friendship" between the EU and Turkey has been a commercial ban on the export of some industrial (Turkish) products (after such "quotas" imposed upon specific Turkish products like textile, electronics) which should fit to a new standard put in force by the EU (but which has not

been made public by the Turkish side anyway)! (See: Özgür Ulusoy, "AB, Türk İhracatçısına "CE" Dedi" ("The EC Has Told to the Turkish Exporter "CE""), Cumhuriyet, 03.11.1994, p.9. Although the political target of the "Customs Union" between the EU and Turkey directed towards 1995 has been hindered by Greece (and the other opposing countries (leaded by Germany) behind her) (see: Anon., "Avrupa Parlamentosu, 19 Aralıktaki Türkiye-AB Toplantısının Ertelenmesini İstedi: Gümrük Birliği Kıskacı" ("The Customs Union Pressure"), Cumhuriyet, 16.12.1994, pp.1, 19; ve Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Türkiye, Brüksel'de Kıbrıs ve İnsan Hakları Konularında Köşeye Sıkıştırıldı: Ankara'ya Çifte Kıskaç" ("Double Pressure to Ankara in Brussels: Cyprus and Human Rights"), Cumhuriyet, 20.12.1994, pp.1, 19), the "decision" for it has already been taken by the EU foreseeing it to be implemented in the beginning of 1996: Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Avrupa'yla Yeni Dönem" ("A New Era With Europe"), Cumhuriyet, 07.03.1995, pp.1, 17. The mentioned "new era" for Turkey has started with the signing of "the Document of 06th March 1995" (by Murat Karayalçın, (then) the Foreign Minister) which has foreseen "to bind Turkey to the EU via the regulative power of the Union to impose foreign commerce policies rather unilaterally to her due to her political absence within the decision-taking mechanism of the EU", a case on the world (economic-) historical scene without any parallel and a case only to be described as "an aggreement to be signed between an exploitative country and its colony"! (See: Erol Manisalı, "Gümrük Birliğinde Yanılgılar" ("Errors in the Customs Union"), Cumhuriyet, 02.03.1995, p.10; Erol Manisalı, "6 Mart Belgesi Ne Anlam Taşıyor?" ("What Meaning Has the Document of 6th March?"), Cumhuriyet, 31.10.1995, p.7; Erol Manisalı, "Gümrük Birliği İle İlgili Sorular" ("Questions Related With the Customs Union"), Cumhuriyet, 09.11.1995, p.7; and Erol Manisalı, "Gümrük Birliğinde Yalan Rüzgarları" ("Lie Winds in the CU"), Cumhuriyet, 21.11.1995, p.7.) The EU is now awaiting with eagerness that Turkey makes the necessary political changes with regard to the Kurds, their party (DEP), and their "political freedom" before being "accepted" (as a partner without having the right to speak even for herself and her economic interests) to the Union?! (See: Özgür Ulusoy, "Parlamenterler, 8. Maddedeki Değişiklikten Memnun, Ama Yeterli Görmüyor: AP'de "Bekle Gör" Politikası" (""Wait-and-See Policy at the European Parliament"), Cumhuriyet, 09.11.1995, p.7; Anon., "Avrupa Birliği Türkiye Temsilcisi Michael Lake, Gümrük Birliği Konusunda Oldukça Güven Verici Konuştu: Parlamento Reddederse Bakanlar Onaylar" ("The Representative of the EU in Turkey Has Spoken in a Trustful Manner: If the Parliament Denies, the Ministers Will Approve"), Cumhuriyet, 09.11.1995, p.7; Anon., "AP'deki 3 Büyük Gruptan kisi, Sosyalistler (221 Kişi) ve Hıristiyan-Demokratlar (176 Kişi) (13.12.1995'teki) Türkiye (Oylaması) İçin "Evet" Oyu Kullandılar: Gümrük Birliği İçin Yeşil Işık" ("Green Light For Turkey (From the Socialists and Christian-Democrats of the EP)"), Cumhuriyet, 07.12.1995, p.10; Anon., "Gümrük Birliğine ABD'den Destek" ("Support to the Customs Union From the U.S."), Cumhuriyet, 09.11.1995, p.7; Anon., "Avrupa Parlamentosu

Dış lişkiler Komisyonu, Türkiye'nin GB'ye Girişini Büyük Çoğunlukla Onayladı: Gümrük Birliği Yolu Açıldı" ("The EP's Foreign Relationships' Commission Has Approved: The Road to CU Has Been Opened"), Cumhuriyet, 12.12.1995, p.1; Anon., "Ecevit'ten GB Eleştirisi: Siyasi Çıkar İçin Batı'ya Ödün Verildi" ("Critics to the CU by Ecevit: Concession Has Been Made to the West For Political Benefit"), Cumhuriyet, 12.12.1995, p.3; and the agreement has been approved at the end by the EP as expected, however, its price will be seemingly very "high", indeed (as expected(!), at least, by some Turks): Lale Sarıibrahimoğlu, "Türkiye'nin GB'ye Girmesini Onaylayan AP'nin Bazı Üyeleri, Kürtlere Özerklik İstedi: Gümrük Birliği'ne Ağır Bedel" ("Approving Turkey's Entrance to the CU, Some Members of the EP Wanted Autonomy For Kurds: High Price For the CU"), Cumhuriyet, 14.12.1995, pp.1, 19; Anon., "Ecevit: AP Kararını Tanımayacağız" ("Ecevit: We'll Not Accept the EU's Decision"), Cumhuriyet, 17.12.1995, p.3.) It is really regretful from the perspective of Turkey that she has been placed into a passive position by the governmental cadres awaiting what the EU administrative bodies design and implement whatsoever programs for herself even knowing that the EU has already taken the decision about the new states for inclusion into its orbit as moving towards the year of 2000 at the "**Essen Summit of 1994**" according to which Turkey will not enter into it as a full member! Moreover, being her application for full membership made eight years ago on 14th April 1987 "kindly rejected", Turkey is counted in the message of October 1995 of the European Council within a list covering the Mediterranean countries, i.e. Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Israel and the PLO, which are located **at the most outer circle of the EU**! (Here it will be useful to open a paranthesis and to summarize the feelings in Turkey as against the EU: Although Prime Minister Turgut Özal who had made the application for the EU membership in 1987 had said that there was only a very tiny "fanatic" fraction (i.e. only 3%) of the Turkish total population who were opposing to the EU membership (see: Mehmet Emin Gerger, "Önsöz" ("Preface"), (in) Tanzimat'tan Avrupa Topluluğu'na Türkiye - Konuşmalar (2nd Ed.) ("Turkey From the Tanzimat to the European Union - Speeches") (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), İstanbul: İnkılab Yayınları No:29ğ7, (pp.7-14)p.11), the picture was and is not so simple as described. Many Turkish intellectuals (mostly rightğIslamist-oriented) do compare the efforts of Turkey to enter into the EU with the "Westernizationğreformation" efforts spent on the side of some Ottoman Pashas of the 19th century (like Mustafa Reşit Paşa of the famous "**Tanzimat**" ("Reformation") Period started with the announcement of the "Tanzimat Fermanı" ("Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu") on 03.11.1839 introducing more commercial liberties and socialğmilitary equalities especially for the (Christian) minorities of the Ottoman Empire to be "supervised"(!) by the foreign embassies located in İstanbul then)...See for the Tanzimat and its importance for the Ottoman Empire which had marked with the "Balta Limanı Sözleşmesi" of 16.08.1838 a new era (of being a "semi-colony" of the West represented by Great Britain) for the "Sick Man" of the "Orient": Sina Akşin, "Siyasal Tarih

(1789-1908)" ("Political History (1789-1908)"), (in)Türkiye Tarihi -3- Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908 ("The History of Turkey - 3- The Ottoman State 1600-1908") (Ed.: Sina Akşin), İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988, (pp.71-188) esp.pp.121-123. And see for the Turkish rightist intellectuals' positions for the EU: Hüseyin Hatemi, "Osmanlı'da, Tanzimat'la Birlikte "Güç"; Dış Odakların ve "Troya Atları"nın Eline Geçmiştir!." (""Power" in the Ottoman Period Has Been Delivered With the Tanzimat to the Foreign Centers and Their "Troyan Horses"!"), (in)Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.17-21; Mim Kemal ke, "Batı'ya Bir Kanuni'nin Girdiği Gibi Girmek Vardır, Bir de Reşit Paşa'nın Girdiği Gibi.. Batı'ya Giriş Uslubumuz Belirlenmeli.." ("There Are Different Entrances Into the West; Like the One of Süleyman (the Magnificent), and the One of Mustafa Reşit Pasha.. The Way of the Entrance Should Be Determined.."), (in) Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.54-60; and Ali Bulaç, "Tanzimat'ın Temelinde, İslam-Kapitalizm atışması Vardır. Ve Bugün Üzerinde Önemle Durulması Gereken Nokta Şudur: Türkiye, Ebediyen Batı'ya, Nato'ya Ve AT'na Mahkum mudur?" ("At the Foundation of the Tanzimat Lies the Islam-Capitalism Conflict. And the Point For Today is as Follows: Is Turkey Condemned to the West, the NATO and the EU Forever?"), (in) Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.81-87.) And if the word comes to the Turkish leftist intellectuals, one can state that most of them do support the entrance of Turkey into the EU although they admit that the "Westernization" efforts since the Tanzimat did not succeed fully. See: Toktamış Ateş, "Tanzimat Taklitçiliği ve Batı Hayranlığı Bugün, Muhafazakarlık ve Ulusçuluk Adına Sürdürülmektedir!.." ("As for Today the Tanzimat Mimicry and the Western Admiration Are Being Continued in the Name of Conservatism and Nationalism"), (in) Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.23-26; Mehmet Ali Aybar, "Tanzimat'tan Bu Yana 150 Yıl Geçtiği Halde rneğin Hala F-16'ların Montajı İle Yetiniyor ve Övünüyoruz" ("We Feel Still Be Satisfied With the Assemblage of the F-16s Though 150 Years Have Passed Since the Tanzimat and We Do Boast"), (in) Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.69-73; and Murat Belge, "Tanzimat ve Kapitalizm Osmanlı'da Çözüm Değildi!.. Ve Ben, Türk Burjuvazisinin AT'na Girmeye Niye Bu Kadar İstekli Göründüğüne Hayret Ediyorum" ("The Tanzimat and the Capitalism Were Not Solutions in the Ottoman (Empire)!.. And I'm Wondering Why the Turkish Bourgeoisie Seems to Be So Fond of the EU Membership"),(in) Tanzimat'tan(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Mehmet Emin Gerger), pp.74-80.

238.The Economist, "A Survey of the European Community", July 11th, 1992, p.5; cited in: Veysel Bozkurt, Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu ("Turkey and the EC"), İstanbul: Ağaç Yayıncılık, 15th October 1992, p.84.

239.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., pp.29-30.

240.Ibid., p.18; İsmail Kayar, "Avrupa Topluluğu'nda Serbest Dolaşımla ilere Sağlanan Haklar ve Türk İşçilerinin Serbest Dolaşımı Sorunu" ("The Issue of the Free Movement of the Turkish Workers"), Erciyes Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, No:10, July 1993, (pp.199-218)pp.206-207.

241.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., p.18.

242.Giuseppe Callovi, "Regulation of Immigration in 1993: Pieces of the European Community Jig-Saw Puzzle", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVI, No:2, Summer 1992, pp.353-372. See also: Ahmet Sever, "5 AT Ikesi Birbirinin Sınırında Kontrolü Kaldırıyor Ama...: Açılan Sınırda Türk Avı" ("Turks' Hunt Along the Opened Borders"), Milliyet, 19.06.1990, pp.3, 15; (Çetinkaya) Oder, "Avrupa Topluluğu'nda Yabancı(..)"op.cit.; Faruk Şen & Sedef Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na Göç(..), pp.138-143; Anon., "Avrupa Kapılarını Yabancılara Kapıyor" ("Europe Closes Its Doors to Foreigners"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.7; Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya: Türk Olmak Artık Daha da Zorlaşacak" ("Germany: To Be Turk Will Be More Difficult"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.7; Edip Emil ymen, "İngiltere: Göçmene Karşı Tetikte" ("England: Alert to Migrant"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.7; Ferruh Yılmaz, "Danimarka: Halk Yabancılardan Kuşkulu" ("Denmark: People Are Suspicious of Foreigners"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, s.7; Mişel Perlman, "Fransa: Göçü Kısıtlayan Yasa Meclis Gündemine Geliyor" ("France: Law Limiting the Migration is On the Agenda of the Assembly"), Cumhuriyet, 14.06.1993, p.7; Cem Sey, "Schengen Anlaşması Sessizce Ertelendi" ("The Schengen Aggreement Has Been Postponed in Silence"), Cumhuriyet, 07.02.1994, p.8; Edip Emil Öymen, "Avrupa Kaleleşiyor" ("Europe Becomes Like a Castle"), Cumhuriyet, 21.01.1995, p.10; and M. Ataman Aksöyek, Kayahan Uygur, "Avrupa'da Serbest Dolaşım Sorunu (1-7)" ("Free Movement Problem in Europe (1-7)"), Cumhuriyet, 11-17.06.1995, p.12.

243.Herbert J. Gans, "Deconstructing the Underclass - The Term's Dangers as a Planning Concept", Journal of the American Planning Association, Vol.56, No:3 (Summer), 1990, (pp.271-277)pp.271-272.

244.William Julius Wilson, The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

245.William Julius Wilson, "The Urban Underclass", (in)Minority Report: What Has Happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Other Minorities in the Eighties (Ed.: Leslie W. Dunbar), New York: Pantheon Books, 1984 (pp.75-117)p.75.

246.Christopher Jencks & Paul E. Peterson (Eds.) The Urban Underclass, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1991, p.v (Preface).

247.Paul E. Peterson, "The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox", (in) The Urban Underclass(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Christopher Jencks & Paul E. Peterson), (pp.3-27)p.3.

248.Ibid., p.16. (See also Chapter 3 of the Thesis work.)

249.Jürgen Friedrichs, "Die Zukunft der Staedte in der Bundesrepublik", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp.2-22)pp.2-3.

250.Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in) Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States (Eds.: Elizabeth D.Huttman and (coeds.) Wim Blauw, Juliet Saltman), Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991, (pp.116-144)p.121.

251.Hartmut Haeussermann and Walter Siebel, "Die Polarisierung der Grosstadtentwicklung im Süd-Nord-Gefaelle", (in) Süd-Nord-Gefaelle in der Bundesrepublik? Sozialwissenschaftliche Analysen (Eds.: Jürgen Friedrichs, Hartmut Haeusermann and Walter Siebel), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986, (pp.70-96)p.70. The term "North-South abyss" has been "invented" by the scholars influenced by the dichotomy of the American "sunbelt-snowbelt" regions started right after the crisis years of the 1970s. The "decline of the "Randstad"" discussion in the Netherlands (instead of the polarity between the Randstad and the peripheral regions). In France, the saying "Paris et le désert francais" (of the 1960s and 1970s) was sacrificed for the saying: "La France a deux vitesses", whereby the division line passes through not between North-, and South-France, but between the Northwest (Brest) and the Southeast (Nizza). In Italy where the regional socio- spatial disequilibrium has been seen between the North(ern industrial cities) and the rural underdeveloped parts in Mezzogiorno since the establishment years, the unemployed persons in the North are increasing in the last years. At the same time, a new middle-size industry being located between Bologna and Venedig is developing. This industrial region is called as "third Italy". (See: Dieter Laepple, ""Süd-Nord-" Gefaelle - Metapher für die raeumlichen Folgen einer Transformationsphase: Auf dem Weg zu einem post-tayloristischen Entwicklungsmodell?", (in) Süd-Nord-Gefaelle(..)op.cit. (Eds.: Jürgen Friedrichs, Hartmut Haeusermann and Walter Siebel) (pp.97-116)pp.98-99.)

252.Müller and B. Schaeffer, "Wider die unspezifizierte These von der raeumlichen Konzentration", Raumforschung und Raumordnung, No:39, 1981, p.267; cited in: Haeussermann & Siebel, "Die Polarisierung(..)" op.cit., p.74.

253.Hoppen and H. Pohle, "Regionale Umschichtung im Sekundaerbereich", Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, Vol.194, No:3, 1979, p.278; cited in: Haeussermann & Siebel, "Die Polarisierung(..)" op.cit., p.74.

254.Haeussermann & Siebel, "Die Polarisierung(..)"op.cit., p.74.

255.Hartmut Haeussermann and Walter Siebel, Neue Urbanitaet, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, No:1432/432, 1987, pp.77-78. See also: Laepple, ""Süd-Nord-" Gefaelle"op.cit., pp.112-113.

256.Friedrichs, "Die Zukunft der Staedte(..)"op.cit., pp.4-15.

257.According to the data provided by the "Statistisches Bundesamt", Wiesbaden, 30.09.1991.

258.Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., pp.25-26.

259.Ibid., pp.28-32.

260.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., ss.116-120.

261.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., p.122 (Table 6.5.).

262.Franz Müntefering, "Kuzey Ren'de Kömür Politikası", Cumhuriyet, 02.11.1993, s.2.

263.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., p.122.

264.Ibid., p.123; Wolfgang Klauder, Peter Schnur, and Manfred Thon, "Arbeitsmarktperspektiven der 80er Jahre und 90er Jahre", Mitteilungen aus der Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, No:18, (pp.41-62)p.62.

265.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., pp.123-124.

266.Jürgen Friedrichs, "Ökonomischer Strukturwandel und Disparitaeten von Qualifikationen der Arbeitskraefte", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, pp.48-69.

267.John D. Kasarda and Jürgen Friedrichs, "Comparative Demographic Employment Mismatches in the U.S. and West Germany", (in)Research in the Sociology of Work, Vol.3: Unemployment (Eds.: Richard A. Simpson & Ida Harper Simpson), Greenwich: JAI Press, 1985, (pp.1-30)p.25.

268.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., p.123; see also: John D. Kasarda, Jürgen Friedrichs, and Kay E. Ehlers, "Urban Industrial

Restructuring and Minority Problems in the U.S. and West Germany", (in)The Dispossessed: Racial Minorities and the Coming of the Post-Industrial City (Ed.: Malcolm Cross), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp.153-180.

269.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., pp.120-121.

270.Hartmut Esser, "Auslaendische Bevölkerung und grossstaedtische Entwicklungen", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, konomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp.117-146)p.117.

271.Jürgen Baehr and Paul Gans, "Bevölkerungsveraenderungen und Migrationsmuster in den Grossstaedten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland seit 1970", (in)Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp.70-116)pp.93, 98 (Figures 8, 13).

272.Esser, "Auslaendische Bevölkerung(..)"op.cit., pp.128-129.

273.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., p.120.

274.Ibid., pp.124-125.

275.Nurhan Akçaylı, "Problems and Recent Developments Concerning the Massive Returns to Turkey of Turkish Workers in Federal Germany", Turkish Yearbook of Human Rights, Vol.5-6, 1983-1984, (pp.99-122)p.112.

276.Ibid., p.104.

277.Ibid., p.107.

278.Ibid., p.110.

279.Friedrichs & Alpheis, "Housing Segregation(..)"op.cit., p.125. (Werner who mentiones from the "invasion" of Germany by the Turks(!) allthroughout his book, says that whereas in 1988 563,000 foreigners were obtaining public assistance, their numbers have risen to 877,000 in 1990 and that the total cost of this problem per year is around 7,2 billion DM! He further states that the unemployed foreigners do get 1,3 billion DM more from the insurance system than the amount paid to it by the employed foreigners! (We should suspect his calculations! Even if it were like that, he should take the past payments of the foreigners also into account!) See: Werner, Die Invasion der Armen(..)op.cit., pp.90-91.)

280.Şen ve Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na(..)op.cit., p.28.

281.Ibid., p.27.

282.Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., p.34.

283.Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp.238-239.

284.Ray C. Rist, Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, p.203.

285.Doris Diamant, "Auslaendische Arbeiterkinder in der deutschen Schule", (in) Gastarbeiter: Analysen and Berichte (Ed.:Ernst Klee), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972, (pp.58-103)p.99. Besides being scarce, some kindergartens "do not accept" foreigners (i.e. Turks)! See: Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., p.48. (The kindergartens (serving children of 03-06 age) in Germany are provided for by communities, churches, andğor private undertakings. See for a description of them: Hakkı Maviş, Almanya-Avusturya ve Türkiye'de Din Eğitimi ("Religion Education in Germany-Austria and Turkey"), İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi, 1970, pp.11-20.)

286.Faruk Şen, Problems and Integration Constraints of Turkish Migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany, Geneva: ILO, 1989, p.25.

287.JanVink, ""Die Auslaender nehmen uns die Arbeitsplaetze weg" und andere Legenden - Argumente gegen Vorurteile", (in) Türken raus? (..)op.cit., (Ed.:Rolf Meinhardt), p.195.

288.Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., p.39. Even, some other researchers say that the ratio of the Turkish children sent to the kindergartens does not exceed 5% and that the majority of them are taken care at home by their oldest brothersğsisters! (See: Orhan Türkdoğan, İkinci Neslin Dramı: Avrupa'daki İşçilerimiz ve çocukları ("The Tragedy of the Second Generation: Our Workers in Europe and Their Children"), İstanbul: Orkun Yayınevi, No:29, 1984, p.42.) Nermin Abadan-Unat mentiones (in her: "Göçmen İşçi Çocuklarının Sosyo-Psikolojik ve Eğitimsel Sorunları (Özellikle F.Almanya'daki Türk İşçi Çocukları Açısından)" ("The Socio-Psychological and Educational Problems of the Children of the Migrant Workers (Especially The Turkish Children in Germany)"), (in)Yurt Dışındaki Türk Çocuklarının Eğitim Sorunları (Ed.: Ankara Üniversitesi (A.Ü.) Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Araştırmaları Merkezi), Ankara: A.Ü., 1979, (pp.14-37)p.20) from a research (by Öztekin) according to which

the "key-children"'s ratio who do spend the whole afternoon alone at home are more than a half.

289.Vink, ""Die Auslaender nehmen uns(..)"op.cit., p.194.

290.Gündüz Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık: Avrupa'da Türk İşçi Çocukları ("We did Not Yet Make Our Voices Be Heard: The Children of the Turkish workers in Europe"), İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, No:20, January 1983, p.120. The obligatory school education period in Germany is 12 years (the longest one among the European countries); see: Emine Kaplan, "Eğitime "Avrupa Birliği Masası"" ("EU Table For Education"), Cumhuriyet, 05.04.1995, p.18.

291.Özer Ozankaya, "Findings of a Pilot Research on the Education of Migrant Turkish Workers' Children in Europe", Turkish Yearbook of Human Rights, Vol.5-6, 1983-1984, (pp.77-97)p.86. (See also: Osman Sezgin, Üçüncü Neslin Eğitimi ("The Education of the Third Generation"), Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayını, No:69, 1991, p.120; and especially: Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..) op.cit., pp.137-162.)

292.Ibid., p.87. These age compositions relate to the "three different stages of the **individual identity-formation process**" which is called also as "**socialisation process**" consisting of mainly two stages: a)"**Primary stage**" including the "**enculturation process**" which is the development of the "basic personality" among the family members, relatives, neighbors and peer groups in the school; b)"**Secondary stage**" including the school years, and occupational relationships at the end of which the person obtains hisğher social roleğstatus within the society (through adapting oneself either to "**acculturation**" or "**assimilation**" processes). Schrader, Nikles, and Griese who had developed a typological model for the immigrant children in Germany (in their book: Die Zweite Generation, Sozialisation und Akkulturation auslaendischer Kinder in der Bundesrepublik, Königstein: Athenaeum Verlag, 1979, pp.67-70) which is nearly the same as the one mentioned here with three types consisting of: i)"School child" (primary stage completed in Turkey); ii)"Pre-school child" (with enculturation- deficit due to the interruption of the process in Turkey); iii)"Smallest child" (primary socialisation to be completed within the immigrant family in Germany and ready for assimilation). (Cited in: Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..)op.cit., pp.131-137.)

293.It is known that the "**cultural identity**" is a very important concept by handling the issue of "ethnicity" and or "ethnic minorities". (See: Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerikan Etnik Yapısının Tamtamları: "Erime"den Kayna(ş)ma(ya mı?)" ("The Tom-Toms of the American Ethnic Structure: From "Melting" to Boiling?", Avrasya Dosyası, Winter 1994/95, No:4, (pp.132- 146)p.134.) The Turkish ethnic minority in Germany has not been supported by its "cultural identity formation and/or protection processes" by the Turkish state to a satisfying extent. Being this the case,

some religiously-oriented groups andğor sects' followers have entered into this very sensitive and "empty" area of "cultural existence andğor culturally extinction problem" of the Turkish workers who were seemingly unable to protect themselves and their nuclear families under the German "rule and order" norms andğor cultural assimilative attacks of the German society at large with its institutions like the kindergartens, schools, youth centers, discotheques, dancing halls, cinemas, churches, lastly but not leastly, TVs.. According to the "Islamic protecters" of the Turks, there is the problem of "**saving**" especially the **second (and future) generation members**, i.e. the Turkish children from falling into the "cultural traps" (like "alcohol", "gambling", "prostitution", "disobeyance to the parents andğor father", etc.. (see: Tosun, Din ve Kimlik(..)op.cit., p.81) of the host society which is "too liberal", "too free" for raising the children in an "ethically proper manner" (meaning taking into account the "**Turkish culture**" which is seen at socio-economically and socio-culturally lower stratas (like the Turkish worker community in Germany) as "identical" to the "**Islamic way of life**"). It is also for this reason the case that the "language and culture problem" has been identified with the "Islamic culture problem". (See for a source-book: Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..)op.cit., esp.pp.89-127; see also: Tosun, Din ve Kimlik(..)op.cit.. Vassaf has defined the "**flight to the religion" as a counter-measure to the "racism" directed against the Turks** (in the Netherlands and at the same time also in other European countries): Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., pp.91-93. And Atacan has related the emergence of Islam "not only as a religion but also as a culture" (witnessed as starting in the middle of the 1980s) to the deepening of the division of the host society between "We and They", i.e. to the raising levels of xenophobia and racism: Atacan, Kutsal Göç: Radikal İslamcı(..)op.cit., pp.27-28.)

294.Aşıkoğlu makes a definition of the Koran courses as follows: Activities carried out in the mosques whereby Koran reading technics ("Tecvid") and training of "ilmihal" are included. No fixed time period. It lasts a couple of hours outside of the school hours. (See: Aşıkoğlu, Almanya'da Temel Eğitimdeki Türk(..)op.cit., p.15.) It is known that the first mosque in Germany was opened in 1732 by the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740) for 20 Muslim Turks who were given as "presents" to him! The first mosque was opened by the Turks for themselves in the year 1967 in Braunschweig and was followed by the "Islamic Cultural Center (ICC) ("İslami Kültür Merkezi") (and its mosque)" in the year 1972 in Münster and in the year 1973 in Köln. (See: Tosun, Din ve Kimlik(..)op.cit., pp.22-23.) This ICC was the first of an organization of 270 (mosque) associations allthroughout F.Germany established by the Muslim sect of "Süleymancılar". In 1975, the "Union of Turkish Islamic Centers" ("Türk İslam Merkezleri Birliği") was established (consisting of the former ICC's) in Köln and thaught nearly 100,000 Turkish children "Koran" until the end of the 1970s. Another religious group which is now represented by the religious "Welfare Party" (WP) ("Refah Partisi")

founded the "European National View Organization" (ENVO) ("Avrupa Milli Görüş Teşkilatı") in the year 1977 in Köln. The most strongest among the religious associations in Germany and in Western Europe, this Organization has some 250 local branches and between 25,000-30,000 members. Realizing the need to fill the gap, a Turkish central government's organization, the "Turkish Piety Foundation" ("Türk Diyanet İşleri Vakfı") has established the "Piety Foundation Turkish-Islamic Union" ("Diyanet İşleri Türk-İslam Birliği") in 1982 in Berlin and then in 1985 in Köln. This Union has now under its umbrella nearly 60% of all the mosque associations (which are totalling to 1,000- 1,200) active in Germany. One of the relatively new organizations is the "European Turco-Islamic Union" (("Avrupa Türk-İslam Birliği") under the leadership of Musa Serdar Çelebi (who being an ex-member of the rightist, ultra-nationalist "National Action Party" (of Turkey) (i.e. the so-called "Gray Wolves") in the 1970s, has moved to Germany in 1978 and tried to organize the rightist Turks there (see: Uğur Mumcu, Papa, Mafya, Ağca ("Pope, Mafia, Ağca (Who Had Shot the Pope)"),İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, June 1984, pp.140-153; see also (for one of the "organization" methods of rightist Turks in Germany via "collecting tributes" from Turkish shops): Gül Turan, Gülün Dikeni(..)op.cit., esp.pp.29-37) established in 1987. Another religious organization is the "Union of Islamic Societies and Communities" (UISC) ("İslami Cemiyetler ve Cemaatler Birliği") founded by the Cemaleddin Kaplan the so-called "Black Voice" ("Kara Ses") in 1985 in Köln (who being supported by his fanatic followers oscillating between 5,000-6,000 and being a political opponent of the Turkish state(!) has declared his being "caliph" and his "religious sovereignty" and has moreover established even his **"Federal Anatolia Islamic State"** ("Anadolu Federe İslam Devleti") in the year 1992 in Koblenz with the aim of invading Anatolia to establish an Islamic state there with Istanbul as its capital, and arabic as its language!) (See: Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., pp.172-175; Atacan, Kutsal Göç: Radikal İslamcı(..)op.cit., pp.12-13, 28-129; and Mehmet Aktan, ""Kara Ses"'in İslam Devleti" ("The Islamic State of the "Black Voice""), Milliyet, 28.10.1992, p.18. The ceremony for the "establishment of the caliphate" was aired on March 21, 1994 in the program of "32.Gün" on the "SHOW-TV". See for a newspaper serial: Fulya Atacan, ""Kara Ses" Kimin Sesi?" ("Whose Voice is the "Black Voice"?"), Cumhuriyet, 06-15.12.1992.) ("Being sent" to Germany after 1981 by the leader of the WP, N. Erbakan, and after having a "quarrel" with him in 1983 (see: Anon., "İran'a Silah Kaçakçılığı ve Murat Bayrak: Cemalettin Kaplan'ın Para Kaynağı CIA" ("Income Source of Kaplan is the CIA"), İkibin'e Doğru, Year 6, No:46, 15th November 1992, pp.8-13), establishing the UISC and living since 1985 as a "political refugee" in F.Germany, Kaplan was conducting his "hostile political activities" against Turkey "in peace and silence"! Whenever it was understood by the German officials that his deeds were indeed also against the "holy" German interests(!) (see for an official announcement by the Federal Minister of Inner Affairs, M. Kanther: Anon., "Almanlar

İslam Teröründen Endişeli" ("Germans Do Worry About Islamic Terror"), Cumhuriyet, 09.01.1995, p.9) (due to the potential danger of radical "Islamic Fundamentalism" which is now regarded by some influential Western (U.S.) diplomats as Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Dan Quayle as the "new enemy of the West after (German) National-Socialism and Communism" (cited in: Abdülbaki Keskin, Doğu-Batı ve 21.Yüzyıl Üçgeninde İslam-(Makaleler I) ("Islam Within the Triangle of East-West and the 21. Century"), Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayını, No:131/12/2, 1994, p.147), Germany has announced Kaplan via the official radio "WDR" (in the ("Religions and the Church") program of Hildegard Becker) as a "political psychopath" and a "religious terrorist"(?!) (See: Anon., "Kara Ses, "Politik Psikopat"", Cumhuriyet, 24.03.1994, p.7.) (A necessary "explanation" by the author to the "interested reader": The "case" of the "Welfare Party" functioning in Turkey, but obtaining supposingly the great part of its "income" (outside of the "legal ones" given to it by the Turkish state) from F.Germany via its organizations established there which are "collecting" "donations" from their "members" and/or "sympathizers" uninterruptedly in "small" amounts (see: Metin Dalman, "Milli Görüş Teşkilatı'ndan Refah Partisine Seçimöncesi (Almanya'dan) 64 Milyar Lira Yardım: Refah'a Avrupa'dan Mark Yağdı" ("64 Billion TL (From Germany) to WP"), Cumhuriyet, 17.02.1994, pp.1, 15) and also sometimes in "larger" amounts as it has been the case with the "donations for Bosnia-Herzegovina" (which are now searched after(!) by the juristical instances in Turkey and in Germany as well (see: Metin Dalman, "Freiburg Savcılığı, RP'nin Topladığı Yardım Paralarını Bosna'ya Göndermek in Aracılık Yapan IHH Hakkında Soruşturma Başlattı: RP Alman Mahkemesinde Hesap Verecek" ("The WP Will Speak to German Courts"), Cumhuriyet, 16.03.1994, p.3), and with the attempts made by the ENVO's (of the Welfare Party) in Germany for "letting the announcement of the Islam be made as an official religion" and getting thereby the "right of representing the Muslims in that country, a condition which will enable them to have the official religion taxes (to be) collected from the Muslims living there"(!) (which is a "project" calculated (by Şen from the "Center for Turkish Studies") to bring 160 million DM annually only in the federal state of North Rhine-Westfalia where 565,000 foreigners live and where the ENVO's have made an official application with 35,000 signatures! (see: Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, ""Milli Görüş"ün Para Tuzağı" ("Money Trap of the ENVO"), Cumhuriyet, 20.08.1990, p.13) is a very important "**national example with international implications**" from which one may "learn" many "lessons".. It could be described as an "**Frankenstein-case**" raised up in F.Germany with maybe some (foreign-, and inner-, as well) political expectations(!) (like to "feed" a "monster" for being a problem for Turkey as an(other) weapon to be used in "emergency" cases such as the mentioning of the "would-be rights of the Turkish minority in Germany"(!); or the would-be arising of a "Middle-Eastern-", and/or "Orient-Conflict" to be disputed between the "(Western) **imperialist powers**" wanting to pick their noses into the politics of Turkey and trying to pasifize and "reduce her thereby to a

level of a weak Middle-Eastern country only" (a possibility cited by the ex-prime minister Bülent Ecevit; see: Anon., "DSP Genel Başkanı Bülent Ecevit, Partisinin Fatih ve Beykoz Mitiglerinde Konuştu: RP Balonunu Söndürmek Ulusal Görev" ("Bülent Ecevit: To Blow Out the WP Balloon is a National Mission"), Cumhuriyet, 08.07.1994, p.5; and also: Fikret Bila, "Ecevit: "RP İthalatçı"" ("Ecevit: "The WP is Importer""), Milliyet, 13.11.1992, p.11) (a specific example of this type is the announcement of the Secretary-General of the ENVO (of the Welfare Party), Ali Yüksel, as the "Sheikhulislam" of all Muslims ((not only of course(!)) in Germany): Oral Çalışlar and Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya'da Refah Partili Şeyhülislam (Serial)" ("The Sheikhulislam From the WP in Germany"), Cumhuriyet, 05- 11.12.1993); see also: Uğur Mumcu, Rabıta, İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, May 1987, esp.pp.69-82; the "Sheikhulislam" now tries to be "elected" as one of the WP deputies from Antalya in the next general elections of Turkey(!): Metin Dalman, ""Şeyhülislam Ali" RP Adayı" (""Sheikhulislam Ali" is WP Candidate"), Cumhuriyet, 13.11.1995, p.4) and last but not least, also a weapon to use in case to "calm down" andğor to "turn away" the attention from the discrimination (on the side of Germans) effects on the Turks living in Germany felt everywhere and everytime (and moreover to be directed to the inner politics of Turkey!) (see: Atacan, Kutsal Göç: Radikal İslamcı(..)op.cit., p.126). Within only 3 years (since when the German ambassador, Ekkehard Eickhoff, in Ankara had said that the "radical Islam can not hold in Germany (i.e. they can not harm Germany!)" (see: Yasemin Çongar, "F.Almanya Büyükelçisi Eickhoff, Almanya'daki İslamcı Gelişmeleri Cumhuriyet'e Değerlendirdi: "Radikal İslam Tutmaz"" ("German Ambassador Eickhoff:"(In Germany) Radical Islam Will Not Hold""), Cumhuriyet, 20.08.1990, p.13) the Germans have been able to realize(!) the potential danger created (and raised by themselves?) (see: Anon., "The European: Alman Gizli Servisi BND, Cezayir'de İslami Selamet Cephesi Militanlarına Silah ve Para Yardımı Yapıyor: Radikal İslama Bonn Desteği" ("The European: Bonn's Support to Radical Islam"), Cumhuriyet, 24.01.1994, p.9; and Anon., "The European'dan (Alman İstihbarat Örgütleri "Bundesamt für Verfassungskriminalamt" ve "Bundeskriminalamt"'ın Hazırladığı) Gizli Belge: İslamcılara Avrupa Silahı" ("European Arms to the Islamists"), Cumhuriyet, 08.01.1995, p.1)! (See also: Dilek Zaptçıoğlu, "Almanya: "Kara Ses" Sınırdışı Edilmek İsteniyor" ("Germany: The "Black Voice" is Wanted to Be Sent Away"), Cumhuriyet, 15.09.1993, p.3; Anon., "Avrupa Parlamentosu('ndaki Alman Yeşil Roth): Cemalettin Kaplan'ın Yargılanması İstendi" ("Kaplan Wanted to Be Jailed"), Cumhuriyet, 19.09.1993, p.6; Metin Dalman, "Alman Konrad Adenauer Vakfı Uzmanı Martin Koch Yaptığı Araştırmada Milli Görüş ve Cemalettin Kaplan'ın Derneklerini PKK ve Dev Sol İle Aynı Kategoride Değerlendirdi: "Milli Görüş Teşkilatı le PKK Arasında Fark Yok"" ("A German "KAS" Expert: "There is No Difference Between the ENVO and the PKK"") , Cumhuriyet, 18.02.1994, pp.1, 13; and as a "last" information: Metin Dalman, "Cemalettin Kaplan Öldü" ("C.K. Has Died", Cumhuriyet, 17.05.1995, pp.1, 17; Macit Gür, "Kaplan'cıların Miras Kavgası" ("Inheritance Quarrel

of the Kaplanists"), Milliyet, 18.05.1995, pp.1, 12; and Anon., "Kaplan Erzurum'da Toprağa Verilecek" ("Kaplan Will Be Buried in Erzurum"), Siyah Beyaz, 18.05.1995, p.1.)) As a further information for the Koran courses: There were only in West Berlin more than 30 Koran courses (in the beginning of the 1980s); see: Barbara Hoffmann, "Rund um den Westberliner "Türkenmarkt"", (in) Zu Hause in der Fremde: Ein Auslaender-Lesebuch (Ed.: Christian Schaffernicht), Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1984, (pp.98-104)p.99. (For the "not-only-religiously-oriented" activities of some of these organizations can be also the following news given mentioning from the sending of Turkish immigrant children in Germany of 13-14 years of age to Egypt by the ENVO in order to let them be trained according to the "shariat" (the "Islamic religious law") rules andğor ideology: Yusuf zkan, "Gurbetçi Çocuğuna Şeriatçı Çengeli" ("Radical Islamist's Hook to Turkish Immigrant's Child"), Cumhuriyet, 28.05.1994, pp.1, 17.)

295.Ozankaya, "Findings of a Pilot Research(..)"op.cit, pp.86-87.

296.Türkdoğan, İkinci Neslin Dramı(..)op.cit., pp.80-81; Maviş, Almanya-Avusturya ve Türkiye'de(..)op.cit., pp.21-32; see also Helga Herrmann, "Endüstri Çağının Gerekleri Işığında Meslek Eğitimi" ("Vocational Education Under the Light of the Industrial Era"), (in)2000'li Yılların Eşiğinde Türkiye ve Almanya'da Eğitim Politikası - VI. Türk-Alman Gazeteciler Semineri-Ankara, 18/19 Haziran 1990 ("Education Policies in Turkey and Germany at the Threshold of the 2000s - VI.th Seminar for Turco-German Journalists-Ankara, 18ğ19 June 1990"), Ankara: K.Adenauer Vakfı Yayını, (n.d.), pp.134-154. The "**dual system**" which is said to be "creating the optimal conditions for Germany in continuing its technological leadership within intense international competition" (see: Herrmann, "Endüstri(..)"op.cit., p.154) is now also being tried to be inserted in(to) Turkey by German authorities. There have been established (within the scope of a new law regulating this "dual system", i.e. the "Law on Apprenticeship and Vocational Education Institution" ("Çıraklık ve Meslek Eğitimi Kurumu Kanunu" (with number 3308 of the year 1986)) 20 training centers in different places in Turkey which do train some 20,000 apprentices. These centers have been covered under "MEKSA" ("Mesleki Eğitim ve Küçük Sanayii Destekleme Vakfı" ("Support Foundation for Vocational Education and Small- Scale Industry")) which is a non-profit foundation being supported to a great extent by **German capital** for, maybe, to "**regulate**" the small-scale industrial capacity which is very important, indeed, of Turkey! (The interest of Germany in "**Small- and Medium Enterprises" ("SME"'s) ("Küçük ve Orta Boy İşletmeler" ("KOBİ"'s))** of Turkey shows itself also in its relationship with the "Turkish Foundation For Small and Medium Business" ("TOSYÖV - Türkiye Orta Ölçekli İşletmeler, Serbest Meslek Mensupları ve Yöneticiler Vakfı") which has been founded in Ankara on 21.02.1990 for the purpose of providing support and service to more than 200,000 SME's (where the staff number is varying between 5 to 200) of Turkey.

Being a member of "WASME" ("The World Association For Small and Medium Enterprises" founded in November 1980 in New Delhi (India) and having members and associates in 92 countries), TOSYÖV has an organization network consisting of 1500 registered members and 20 support associations and brances. It tries to create a positive public opinion for the SME's in Turkey through seminars, publications and newspaper articles. Moreover, it establishes commercial, technological and not the least, **financial** linkages to international institutions and organizations. The address of TOSYÖV is the same as the address of the K. Adenauer Stiftung in Ankara! (See: Max Georg Meier (Ed.), Proceedings - TOSYÖV/WASME Conference On "Worldwide New Strategies For Small and Medium Scaled Enterprises: Investment, Technology, Cooperation, Education and Consulting" - October 20, 1994, Hotel Sheraton, İstanbul/Turkey, Ankara: TOSYÖV Yayını, April 1995, esp.pp.3-43.) (On the last days of December 1995 and right after the approval of Turkey's membership to the Customs Union of the EU, the "Centre for Turkish Studies" (located in Germany and functioning under the direction of Prof.Faruk Şen) has come onto the scene and suggested that Turkey should get financial sources from the EU's "social structure fonds" envisaged for economic problems of transitional periods like the one into which Turkey will be entering in the first three years after inclusion to the CU of the EU, i.e. after 01.01.1996. Interestingly enough, these hoped-for sources should be obtained **for the SME's** and for struggling with unemployment problems to be met in near future due to the CU! See: Özgür Ulusoy, "(..) Faruk Şen, AB İlişkilerini Değerlendirdi: Tam Üyelik, 3 Nalla Ata Kaldı" ("Full Membership (to the EU) is Only Awaiting Three Horseshoes and a Horse"), Cumhuriyet, 25.12.1995, p.9.) Another very interesting fact claimed is that the dual system has been "designed" by the **Turks living in Germany** and explained to the German officials at a session held at the K. Adenauer Stiftung! See: Sencer İmer, "Almanya ve Türkiye'de Mesleki Eğitim ve MEKSA Örneği" ("Vocational Education in Germany and Turkey and the MEKSA Example"), (in)2000'li Yılların(..)op.cit., (pp.104-121)p.115. (See also: Erdoğan Okyay('s contribution), (in)2000'li Yılların(..)op.cit., pp.122- 133.

297.Rist, Guestworkers in Germany(..)op.cit., p.181.

298.Littmann, An Introduction to the Confusion of German Education, Bonn: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, 1976, p.6.

299.Cited in: Rist, Guestworkers in Germany(..)op.cit., p.182.

300.Cited in: Rist, Guestworkers in Germany(..)op.cit., p.183. The "standards" mentioned may also include some **"I.Q. tests" which being prepared according to the German norms (in German) do function as a negatively used selection mechanism for the Turkish children and cause that they are sent to the "Sonderschule"**; see: Gündüz Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., p.43. Another rather "preventive"

for the Turkish youths functioning mechanism in the German society is a "**language test**" applied by some firms during the selection process of the vocational course graduates; see: Timur Demirbaş, Almanya'daki Türklerin Sorunları, Bunların Suça Etkileri ("Problems of the Turks in Germany, and Their Effects Upon Crime"), Ankara: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fak. Yayını, No:12, 1990, pp.55-56.

301.Turan, Almanya'da Türk Olmak(..) op.cit., pp.224-231. Within these "structural" inequalities there is a condition which is "one of the most familiar ones" from the ethnic ghettos of the U.S.; the "**ghetto school**" with its all types of deficiencies, scarcities, psychological retardations, hesitations and unwillingness on the side of the teachers! The Grundschule classes in the (Turkish) ghetto areas do have 40-50 pupils! The teachers don't want to go to these areas; and the Education Instances (Schulbehörden) do not send them according to their wishes?! (See: Ibid., p.252.)

302.Ibid., pp.161-162. Turan further states that the price of the language deficiency for the children is very high, indeed, being sent to the "Sonderschule" which are rather "centers preparing criminal types for the Turkish students." (Ibid., p.268.) See also: Demirbaş, Almanya'daki Türklerin Sorunları(..)op.cit., pp.52-53. (The "Sonderschule"(which is "visited" by the Turkish children to an extent of 12%) problem is "lived" in Austria in the same manner and at the same intensity; see: Nevzat Gözaydın, "Avusturya'daki Türk Çocuklarının Türkçe Eğitimi" ("Turkish Education of Turkish Children in Austria"), Türk Dili, No:492, December 1992, (pp.443-449)pp.444-445.)

303.Angi Rutter, "Elites, Estate and Strata: Class in West Germany since 1945", (in) Class in the Twentieth Century (Ed.: Arthur Marwick), New York: St.Martin's Press, 1986, (pp.115-164)p.118.

304.Morris Janowitz, "Social Stratification and Mobility in West Germany", The American Journal of Sociology, 64 (1958-1959), p.9.

305.Cited in: Rutter, "Elites, Estate and Strata(..)"op.cit., pp.133-134.

306.See: Wallraff, En Alttakiler; and Ernst Klee, "Gastarbeiter als Subproletariat", (in) Gastarbeiter: Analysen and Berichte (Ed.:Ernst Klee), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972, pp.25-35; also: Marios Nikolinakos, Politische Ökonomie der Gastarbeiterfrage, Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, Januar 1973; Cihan Arın, "Arbeitsimmigranten aus der Türkei: Eine Gegenüberstellung der Reproduktionsbedingungen vor und nach der Migration", (in)Auslaender im Wohnbereich (Ed.: Cihan Arın, (co- worker:) Karolus Heil), Berlin: EXpress Edition, 1983, pp.71-102. It is known (according to the "Guardian") that there are **in Germany altogether 7 million "poor"** of whom 4.65 million is living in the West, and 2.6 million is living in the East. (See: Anon., "Almanya'da 7

Milyon Yoksul Var" ("There Are 7 Million Poors in Germany"), Cumhuriyet, 25.01.1994, p.12.)

307.Statistisches Bundesamt, Bevölkerung und Kultur, Volkszaehlung 1970, H 3, p.22.

308.Rutter, "Elites, Estate and Strata(..)"op.cit., pp.154-155. The same ideas relating to the importance of the education are spelled by German officials also in Turkey; see: Gunter P.Lochner(Representative of the K.Adenauer Stiftung in Turkey), (Introductory Speech), (in)2000'li Yılların Eşiğinde Türkiye ve Almanya'da Eğitim Politikası - VI. Türk-Alman Gazeteciler Semineri-Ankara, 18_19 Haziran 1990(..)op.cit., p.4.

309.Türkdoğan, İkinci Neslin Dramı(..)op.cit., p.82.

310.Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., pp.36-37.

311.Klaus Farin & Eberhard Seidel-Pielen, Krieg in den Staedten: Jugendgangs in Deutschland (2.Ed.), Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991; Mümtaz Ergün, Kreuzbergliyiz Hepimiz, Ankara: (Own Printing), 1986.

312.İlhan Tekeli, "Kent-Suçluluk ve Şiddet" ("City-Criminality and Violence"), (in)Abdi İpekçi Semineri: Türkiye'de Terör ("İpekçi Seminar: Terror in Turkey") (Ed.: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti), İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayını, No:13, May 1980, (pp.201-225)p.212. See also especially for the concept of "(spatially) divided cities (in Turkey)" (and/or gecekondu (squatter housing) areas to be occupied by different socio- ethnically groups"): Ruşen Keleş and Artun Ünsal, Kent ve Siyasal Şiddet ("City and Political Terror"), Ankara: A.Ü.Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, No:507, 1982, pp.36-37.

313.Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., pp.113-124.

314.Şen, Bonn-Ankara(..) op.cit., ss.53-55, 60-63; Center for Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements from Turkey(..) op.cit., pp.178, 183.

315.Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., pp.11-28, 49-58; Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., pp.50-51; Ergün, Kreuzbergliyiz Hepimiz. The statistics related with the criminality of the Turks in Germany is very "biased". Most of the times, the police gives the number of the "suspected" foreigners to the public or the media as if they were "sentenced" persons! (Demirbaş, Almanya'daki Türklerin Sorunları(..)op.cit., p.77.) For instance, in 1987, there were 65,553 Turkish "suspects"; their rate were 25.4% within the "foreigners", and 5.0% within "all" suspects. The real figure of the "sentenced" is not known! (See: Gür, Otuz Yılın(..) op.cit., p.51 (Table).) The **topic of prostitution** is very important, indeed. It shows the final point of the (value) poverty, where the human dignity is reduced to its

lowest levels. The case of "**male prostitution**" denotes to the very similarity between the conditions of some blacks and some Turks (as to remember the black subservience and the resulting sexual exploitation (by the whites), inferiority feelings, impotence, family instability, and the irresponsibility rooted in hopelessness, see: Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (Second Edi.), Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989 (1965), pp.67-69).. Here we should also remember the challenging work of the African-American psychiatrist Frances Cress Welsing who agreeing with W.E.B. Du Bois, the great black sociologist-historian identifying (in his book "**Souls of the Black Folk**" dating from 1903) the problem of this century as the "**problem of the color-line**", defines the **racism ("white supremacy")** as follows: "The local and global power system structured and maintained by persons who classify themselves as white, whether consciously or subconsciously determined; this system consists of patterns of perception, logic, symbol formation, thought, speech, action and emotional response, as conducted simultaneously in all areas of people activity (economics, education, entertainment, labor, law, politics, religion, sex and war. The ultimate purpose of the system is to prevent white genetic annihilation on Earth - a planet in which the overwhelming majority of people are classified as non- white (black, brown, red and yellow) by white-skinned people. All of the non-white people are genetically dominant (in terms of skin coloration) compared to the genetically recessive white-skinned people." (See: Frances Cress Welsing, The Isis (Yssis) Papers: The Keys to the Colors, Chicago: Third World Press, 1991, p.ii ("Preface").) She goes forth by claiming that: "During the past 400 years, Black men in the U.S. have been forced into passive and cooperative submission to white men. The major strategy has been the installation of an overwhelming **fear**. Specific tactics range from actual **physical castration** and lynching, to other overt and more subtle forms of abuse, violence and cruelty.(..) White men in this world area have at least a vague, perhaps unconscious, understanding that after 20 generations (400 years), male passivity has evolved into male effeminization, bisexuality and homosexuality."(Welsing, The Isis Papers(..) op.cit., pp.83-84.) Vassaf states that the male prostitution is rising among the Turks in Europe. He further says that the prostitutes behind their windows in the brothels do not accept the Turks as "customers"! (Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., p.49.) The Turks are accepted, however, as the "workers", i.e. "prostitutes" very easily! since it is their existence condition: To work! (In a research made **in Germany, nearly 30-50 percent of the prostitutes have been found out to be Turks!** See: Anon., "AIDS Savaşım Derneği Üyesi Ramazan Salman Tarafından Yapılan Bir Araştırmada Fahişelik Yapanların Yüzde 30 İle Yüzde 50'sinin Türk Olduğuna Dikkat Çekildi: Almanya'da Her Yüz AIDS'liden Biri Türk" ("Each One of the Hundred AIDS Cases in Germany is Turk"), Cumhuriyet, 05.11.1993, p.3. See also for the Turkish male prostitutes selling themselves in Schöneberg district of Berlin: Anon., "Haftalık Tempo Dergisi Son Sayısında, Almanya'da Doğup Büyümüş ve

Burada Kendilerini Eşcinsellere Satan Türk Gençleriyle Görüştü: Eşcinsellere Erkek Fahişe" ("Turkish Male Prostitutes to Homosexuals"), Hürriyet, 02.09.1993, p.32; and Anon., "Avrupa'da "Erkek Fahişe" Salgını" ("Epidemics of "Male Prostitute" in Europe"), Cumhuriyet 2, 14.04.1994, p.6. (See also the "B.Z." ("Berliner Zeitung")'s (dated 06.07.1991, p.29) "advertisement" (like: "New! Thai and Turkish- 3 Models (address)) of "prostitutes" among whom the Turks also raise their voices(!), in the Annex.) It was not a coincidence(!) that the "Second European Meeting of the Immigrant Prostitutes" was held in Istanbul between 29.03-01.04.1994, either! See: Berat Günçıkan, ""Asiye'lerin Yeni Karabasanı AIDS" ("The New Nightmare of the Asiyes: AIDS"), Cumhuriyet Dergi, No:420, 10.04.1994, pp.4-6; İpek Çalışlar, "Beyoğlu'ndan "Göçmen Fahişelik" Kongresi Geçti" ("A Congress of the "Migrant Prostitutes" Has Gone Through Beyoğlu"), Cumhuriyet Dergi, No:420, 10.04.1994, pp.6-7.)

316.Vassaf, Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık(..)op.cit., pp.28-32.

317.Thomas Faist, "From School to Work: Public Policy and Underclass Formation Among Young Turks in Germany During the 1980s", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVII, No:2, Summer 1993, (pp.306-331)p.307. (Some other German researchers state also very "optimistically" that "the proportion of foreign children and juveniles between the ages of 6 and 20 years participating in education and training rose from 50 percent in 1973 to 82 percent in 1991. **A perfect adjustment** (stress is mine, Ö.B.) has been reached for the group of children aged between 6 and 15 years; in addition, the participation rate of juveniles between ages 15 to 20 years has tripled from 20 to 60 percent. The respective proportion of German juveniles, however, amounted to 88 percent in 1991.(..) (The authors, however, add that (Ö.B.))(..) the performance of foreign pupils in school and vocational training remains weak compared to (..) German pupils; whereas only 14 percent of German pupils leave school (vocational training) without having earned a final degree, the comparable share of foreign pupils amounts to 34 percent." See: Gieseck, Heilemann and von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications of Migration(..)" op.cit., pp.706-707.)

318.Faist, "From School(..)" op.cit., pp.314, 316. Here it will be of great help to remember what Herbert Hill once said after studying the reasons of "the lack of Negro craftsmen" in the U.S.: "Of the functional factors which prevent Negroes from becoming apprentices and craftsmen, some are are non-discriminatory in the sense that they are not exclusively anti-Negro, while others bar Negroes because they are, quite simply, Negroes." He then goes forth by counting the preventing factors as follows: "**Role Models**(..)(..) In comparison to white youth, Negro adolescents simply do not have skilled primary group role models with whom they can identify and after whom they can pattern their careers. Negro fathers and uncles, and especially grandfathers, are much more

apt to be unskilled, semi-skilled or unemployed than to be skilled craftmen.(..) **Pre-Training**. One of the correct, pre-apprenticeship decisions which must be made by youth is that of successfully completing secondary school.(..) Available evidence indicates that Negro youth are deleteriously placed with respect to the pre-training factor. Nationally, fewer Negroes attend secondary school than whites.(..) **Finding an Apprenticeship Opening.**(..) Apprenticeships are available, for the most part, only to youth who have or are giveb access to key officials who select apprentices.(..) **The Employment Barrier.** (..)(..) apprentice supply usually outstrips apprentice demand.(..) **The Segregated Location Barrier.** Even if openings in apprenticeship programs are available for Negro youth, some members of the group will be unable to achieve the opportunity because of the pattern of racial, residential segregation.(..) **The Blue-Collar Barrier.** (..) The low prestige of manual, including skilled-craft employment in American society is registered with particular force by young Negroes. (..) **The Time Barrier.** (..) The Negro, as well as the white youth, weighing his career usually seeks to maximize his economic rewards. In this vein, he compares what is oftentimes an inordinately long apprenticeship with immediate and usually more remunerative unskilled employment.(..) **The Seasonal Barrier.** (..) In the past, this has been particularly true of the construction trades(..). (..) **The Seniority Barrier.** (..) Training opportunities are oftentimes open only to those who have achieved seniority in a given job(..). **The Wage Barrier.** (..)(..) apprentices initially receive fifty percent of the prevailing wage of journeymen in any given trade(..). (..)Thus, the potential apprentice - when un-subsidized - must forego higher economic rewards for relatively long periods of time(..). **Racial Discrimination in Apprenticeship Programs.**(..) **Management.**(..) **Craft Unions.**" (See: Herbert Hill, "The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs", (in) White Racism and Black Americans (Eds.: David G. Bromley and Charles F. Longino, Jr.), Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1972, pp.369-395.) It will not make any great difference, if we would insert "Turks in Germany" instead of "Negroes in America" in the above-seen text anyway!

319.Faist,"From School(..)" op.cit., pp.323-327.

320.Thomas Faist, "States, Markets, and Immigrant Minorities: Second-Generation Turks in Germany and Mexican-Americans in the United States in the 1980s", Comparative Politics, Vol.26, No:4, July 1994, (pp.439- 460)p.447.

321.Ibid., p.455.

322.The author of this Thesis has recently had an experience with regard to such an issue: He has been invited to contribute/work for the new issue of the periodical of the Chamber of City Planners of which he is a member. After sometime it has been asked also by him (as by the other

members of the group) to write an article relating to the topic selected for the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Chamber, i.e.: The "occupational ideologies"! He has written thereupon his original article ("Türkiye'de Kurumsal Şehir (Post(-u-))Planlamanın 25 Yılı Ya da Ankara Modernizminden stanbul Modernizmine" ("The 25th Anniversary of the Institutionalization of the City (Post)Planning in Turkey or From Ankara Modernism to Istanbul Postmodernism")) (in October 1994) basing it rather on two axis, one of them being a critical elaboration of an ("urban"(ization)) "ideology" represented by a young, theoretically oriented, Marxist, and Germany-, and German greens'ğsocialists' intellectual worlds-linked researcher activist Tanıl Bora from the (Turkish) socialist monthly journal "**Birikim**"; the other one being the intellectual "gliding" from (the Republican capital city) Ankara to (imperial) İstanbul on the side of the city planners.. The article has not been published with the allegation that "the periodical and moreover(!) the colleagues' "society" should not be involved and bothered with "persons" or "polemics""?! (And, "if the polemics could be curtailed, then, o.k., it would be accepted!") **The ideologies are to be represented by persons and to be defended, if necessary, also by polemics**, are they not? (Let me add to the information given above with regard to Bora that one, too, because it relates more directly to Germany: Being one of the influential writers of "Birikim", Bora paves way/makes invitation (for writing articles and/or books to be published by the "Birikim"'s "twin" publishing company "İletişim") to other (mostly leftist) Turkish researchers like Taner Akçam who, after fleeing away from the Ankara prison in 1977 went to Germany and settled as a "political refugee" there. Akçam had been working (before returning back to Turkey in 1995 and starting to make "half-official" trips to Armenia as "adviser" to some (Esenyurt/İstanbul) Turkish mayors(!) (see: Anon., "Soykırımı Anıtı'nda İlk Türk" ("The First Turk Visiting the Holocaust Monument"), Hürriyet, 03.07.1995, pp.1, 22)) as a researcher at the "**Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung**". He has recently written three"critical" books about Turkey (as being "promoted" by and within the "working program" of the "Hamburger Institut" mentioned and its director Jan Philipp Reemtsma (contributing by writing the "prefaces")) such as: Taner Akçam, İşkenceyi Durdurun: "İnsan Hakları ve Marksizm" ("Stop the Torture: "Human Rights and Marxism""), İstanbul: Ayrıntı No:34/20, January 1991; T.Akçam, Siyasi Kültürümüzde Zulüm ve İşkence ("Oppression and Torture in Our Political Culture"), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları No:172 32, April 1992; and T.Akçam, Türk Ulusal Kimliği ve Ermeni Sorunu ("The Turkish National Identity and the Armenian Problem"), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları No:153 23, November 1992. (Interestingly enough, in the last book, Akçam argues that the alleged Armenian "massacre" was "not" a result of the "racist" thinking (as in the case of the (German) "Jewish problem") of the Turks; but a result of "religious/national population planning on the side of the "non- ideological" ("ideolojisizlik ideolojili") Ottoman-Turco ruling elite"?! (See pp.95-116.) (We think that the "Hamburger Institut"

should be more careful with such judgements of "its" researchers about the damned "Jewish holocaust" by the Germans?!)))

323."Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi, Essen Üniversitesi". (Brochure)

324.Hermann Heinemann (The Minister for Work, Health and Social Issues of the Federal State of Nord Rhine-Westfalia), (Speech on 28.11.1991 in Essen), (in) Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien (Ed.: Zentrum für Türkeistudien), No:1/92, (pp.116-122)p.116.

325.Faruk Şen, (Speech on 28.11.1991 in Essen), (in) Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien (Ed.: Zentrum für Türkeistudien), No:1/92, (pp.114-116)p.115.

326.Annette Jaeger, (Speech on 28.11.1991 in Essen), (in) Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien (Ed.: Zentrum für Türkeistudien), No:1/92, (pp.122-124)p.122. The "Centre for Turkish Studies" is really trying to realize its functioning objectives set before, be it, however, to a greater extent conceptualized and designed out from the "**German viewpoint**". A vivid example is given (as understood from the headline alone) by the investigation of the EU-Turkey relationships in a recent newspaper serial published in Turkey for influencing the Turkish public opinion just before being "accepted" into the customs union with the EU in direction of that would-be "partnership": Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi, "Gümrük Birliği ve Türk Tekstil Sanayii - AB'ye Arka Kapıdan Giriş" -1" ("Customs Union and the Turkish Textile Industry - Entrance to the EU From the Back Door"), Cumhuriyet, 15.11.1995, p.10. The last sentence of that serial reads as follows: "What is not to be forgotten is the fact that the CU is an important possibility for Turkey in order to restructure her economy in an healthy manner." See: Türkiye Araştırmalar Merkezi, "Gümrük Birliği ve Türk Tekstil Sanayii"- "Çözüm, Yeni Teknoloji ve Yatırım" ("Solution, New Technology and Investment"), Cumhuriyet, 18.11.1995, p.10.

327.Zentrum für Türkeistudien, Turkey and the European Community, Opladen: Leske+ Budrich, No:11, 1993, p.90.

328.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., pp.21-43.

329.Ibid., p.17.

330.Faruk Şen, "The Possible Effects of A Potential Turkish Accession to the EC: An Evaluation on the Financial Means of the Community; Especially in Terms of Regional and Social Structure Funds", Foreign Policy, Vol.XV, No:1-2, (1990(?)), (pp.78-94)p.78.

331.Ibid., pp.91, 92; Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., pp.48-51.

332.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., pp.116-120; Şen ve Koray (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'den Avrupa Topluluğu'na(..)op.cit., pp.117-119; Şen, Almanya'daki Türkiye(..)op.cit., pp.117-124. The German mass media was propagating also in the same manner: Der Tagesspiegel, "30,000 Türkische Selbstaendige in der Bundesrepublik", 19.01.1989. The last number of the Turkish businessmen has been estimated as being 37,000! (Ferah Zarif, Andreas Goldberg, Yasemin Karakaşoğlu, 2000'li Yıllarda Almanya'da Türkler ("Turks in Germany in the 2000s"), Ankara, Köln: Önel Verlag, April 1995, p.15.) The propaganda for Turkish businessmen in Germany is still being conducted and this time in international media (with "informational" help of the "Centre for Turkish Studies", of course!): Rod Usher (and Rhea Schoenthal), "Up From the Cellar: Once Stuck at the Bottom of Germany's Social Scale, Turks Are Becoming the Nation's Newest Tycoons", Time, Vol.146, No:22, November 27, 1995, p.57. (See for the "success" of the Turkish businessmen (with their average characteristics of (only) 4 persons per business; and with investment amounts lower than 60,000 DM for nearly 60% of them) on the basis of a research (revealing that 41.9% of them were groceries, bakeries, greengroceries, and butchers; 20.9% were facilities of gastronomy; 10.5% were tailors; and 9.8% were exportğimport businesses(!)) made about 153 businesses in Dortmund, Duisburg, and Essen: Zentrum für Türkeistudien (Ed.), Türkische Unternehmensgründungen - Von der Nische zum Markt? Ergebnisse der MAGS-Untersuchung bei türkischen Selbstaendigen in Dortmund, Duisburg und Essen, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1989, (esp. second part)pp.93-95.) (To this sheer "propaganda chorus", Turkish officials here in Turkey have agreed to and given full support, of course, and "wholeheartedly"! Only a critical voice has been raised brand newly by elik Gülersoy (who has been recorded really as a very "talented" and "enlightened" **jurist** who has contributed a lot to the city historical, architectural and touristic heritage of İstanbul with his Institute's ("Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu") rather meagre financial sources (obtained also from "trip-tic fees" paid by Turkish guestworkers while entering into Turkey, a fact which was vehemently(!) criticized as a "tribute collecting act" by Faruk Şen trying to prevent any "harm" to the Turkish community in Germany (be it even a positive contribution to the "motherland"?!) (See: Şen, Almanya'daki Türkiye(..) op.cit., pp.172-174)). He said that the group of Turkish businessmen in Germany is consisting only of 20-30 thousand people within a mass of 3 million! Hence, this "successful case" is "limited (only) with its own diameter"! See: Çelik Gülersoy, "Avrupa İle Nişanlılık 1963-1994" ("Engagement (to be Married) With Europe 1963-1994"), Cumhuriyet, 31.12.1995, p.2.) Here one should remember the "**social myths**" invented and made to circulate with regard to the "**black bourgeoisie andğor middle class negroes**" in the U.S.: According to Frazier (whose book about the very topic created a hot discussion (in black-, and in white audiences, as well) when published in the late 1950s still going on), since Emancipation, Negroes had been

outsiders in American society. They were not only at the bottom of the economic ladder but that all the pretended economic gains which Negroes were supposed to have made had not changed fundamentally their relative economic position in American life. The "new Negro middle class" was comprised almost entirely of wage earners and salaried professionals and the so-called Negro business enterprises like beauty shops, barber shops, cleaning and pressing places, undertakers, shoe repair shops, retail stores including eating and drinking places (which are owned and operated by Negroes and fall within the definition of "small businesses", in fact the lowest category of small businesses for which the upper limits were 250 workers employed, US$ 250,000 as the value of assets, US$ 100,000 net value or US$ 1,000,000 in business volume and thus which "amounted to practically nothing in the American economy")! See: E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States, New York: Collier Books, 1962 (1957), esp.pp.7-14, 50-55, 129-145.

333.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., p.125; and Şen, Bonn-Ankara(..) op.cit., pp.32-33.

334.Şen (Zentrum für Türkeistudien), Türkiye'nin Ufukları(..)op.cit., pp.102-104.

335.Ibid., pp.88-91; and Şen, Almanya'daki Türkiye(..)op.cit., pp.125-127, 131-132. The original idea for the worker companies was actually closely related with worker savings abroad to be invested and the so-called "folk sector" ("halk sektörü") concept as proposed by a theoretically-oriented functionary of the "Republican People's Party", Ali Nejat Ölçen, besides the other two basic economic sectors, namely the "public-" and "private sectors" of the national economy. (See his original work: Ali Nejat Içen, Halk Sektörü ("Folk Sector"), Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1974; and see also: Bülent Ecevit, Demokratik Solda Temel Kavramlar ve Sorunlar ("Basic Concepts and Problems in Democratic Left"), Ankara: Köylü Derneği Yayını, 1975, esp. pp.71-101 (Chs.7 and 8); Beşir Hamitoğulları, "Halk Sektörünün Anlamı, Doktrini ve Yapısı (Yeni ve Ulusal Bir Kalkınma Modeli Olarak Halk Sektörü)" ("The Meaning, Doctrine and Structure of the Folk Sector (Folk Sector As a New and National Development Model)", (in) Halk Sektörü Semineri-26, 27 Nisan 1974 - Ankara ("Seminar For the Folk Sector- 26th- 27th April 1974 - Ankara"), Ankara: Köy İşleri ve Kooperatifler Bakanlığı Yayını No:224, 1974, pp.20-83; Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Ak Günlere - Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi 1973 Seçim Bildirgesi ("To White Days- CHP Election Program of 1973"), Ankara: Ajans-Türk, 1973, esp. pp.58-65; brahim Yasa, H. Sami Güven, "Yurt dışında Çalışan İşçilerimizin Yaygın Tabanlı Halk Girişimciliğine Katkıları: Şereflikoçhisar Örneği" ("Contribution of Our Workers Living Abroad to the Folk Sector Entrepreneurship: Şereflikoçhisar Case"), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol. 8, No:3, September 1975, pp.85-114; İlhan Tekeli, Erdoğan Soral, "Halk Sektörü" ("Folk Sector"), (in) Özyönetim ve

Halk Sektörü: Demokratik Sol Düşünce Forumu 9-11 Ocak 1976, Ankara, Cilt.2 ("Self-Governance and Folk Sector") (Eds.: Alev Coşkun, İlhan Tekeli, Erdoğan Soral), Ankara: CHP Gençlik Kolları Yayını No:4, August 1976, pp.105-196; and H. Sami Güven, Dış Göç ve "İşçi Yatırım Ortaklıkları" ("External Migration and "Worker Investment Companies""), Ankara: TODAİE Yayını No:168, 1977; see also for an excellent account by Dutch experts: Rinus Penninx, Herman Van Renselaar, Gurbet, Mihnet, Üç Kuruşluk Servet ("A Fortune in Small Change"), Ankara: NUFFIC (Hollanda Üniversiteleri Uluslararası İşbirliği Vakfı), IMWOO, REMPLOD Yayını, 1979.

336.See: Zarif, Goldberg, Karakaşoğlu, İkibinli Yıllarda(..)op.cit., pp.36, 52.

337.Gönül Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı Ankara: (1929-1939), Ankara: ODTÜ Yayını, 1990, pp.8-31. For the importance of Ankara as a new and national capital city to the Turkish society in general, Fehmi Yavuz says the following: "If İstanbul were staying the capital, the (Atatürk) revolutions couldn't be realized." (See: Fehmi Yavuz, "Başkent Ankara ve Jansen" ("Capital Ankara and Jansen"), ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol.7, No:1, Spring 1981, (pp.25-33)p.25.)

338.Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı(..)op.cit., p.64 (Footnote (44)).

339.Ibid., p.45. The observation of Prof. Keleş who has stated that the urban planning principles and practices in Turkey until the WW II were under heavy influences coming from both Germany-Austria and France (and then afterwards from Anglo-Saxon countries), is also verified by this historical fact; see: Ruşen Keleş, Şehirciliğin Kuramsal Temelleri ("Theoretical Foundations of Urbanism"), Ankara: A.Ü.Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını No:332, 1972, p.65.

340.Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı(..)op.cit., p.78.

341.Ibid., pp.50-51, 75-78. See also: Fritz Neumark, Boğaziçine Sığınanlar: Türkiye'ye İltica Eden Alman İlim Siyaset ve Sanat Adamları 1933-1953 ("Refugees to the Bosphorus: German Scientists, Politicians and Artists Taking Refuge in Turkey (between) 1933-1953") (Trans.by: Şefik Alp Bahadır), İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü Yayını No: 3062/491/66, 1982, p.83.

342.Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı(..)op.cit., p.78; see also: Metin Sözen, Mete Tapan, 50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi (2nd Edi.) ("The Turkish Architecture of the Last 50 Years"), İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları No:122, 1973, pp.167-172.

343.Tankut, Bir Başkentin İmarı(..)op.cit., pp.52-53. The "cultural closeness" comes into being essentially with the language spoken. Whereas some scholars mention eagerly from "culture" and "adaptation laws into the

environment" which actually determine the "national character" more than the language spoken in the community (for instance in the case of the Jews dispersed to different parts of the world who display a common national character while speaking different languages) (see: Sadri Maksudi Arsal, Milliyet Duygusunun Sosyolojik Esasları ("Sociological Foundations of the National Sense") (3rd Ed.), İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi No:43 2, 1975, esp.pp.85-86)), we do want to stress the utmost importance of the language as the "medium" for creating andğor gettingğadapting the culture itself. Prof. Ernst E. Hirsch, an emmigrant in Turkey during the Nazi era, too, claims in his memoirs that he has always felt himself "culturally German" although he has been born as a Jew and although he has got Turkish citizenship after loosing the German one! See: Ernst E. Hirsch, Hatıralarım: Kayzer Dönemi - Weimar Cumhuriyeti - Atatürk Ülkesi ("Aus der Kaisers Zeiten durch Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks. Eine unzeitgemaesse Autobiographie"), Ankara: Banka ve Ticaret Hukuku Araştırma Enstitüsü No:169, 1985 (1982), pp.45-47. For another witness to "Germanness" of the (German) Jews during the Nazi era, see: Ahmed Emin Yalman, Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim - Cilt:1 (1888-1918) ("What I've Seen and Lived in Near Past - Vol.1: (1888-1918)"), İstanbul: Yenilik Basımevi, 1970, p.45.

344. In addition to the German-speaking architects cited above, one should also count among the influential Germans active in the field of Turkish city planning and architecture fields, a specific Paul Bonatz (1877-1956) who had been an adviser to the Ministry of Public Works and also a teaching professor at the İstanbul Technical University's Architecture Faculty. He had come to Turkey at the occasion of the "German Architecture Display" in 1942 (A. Speer, Neue Deutsche Baukunst, Berlin, 1942) and had advocated a "zeitlos" (timeless) architectural style. Among his architectural works, one can cite the following: Faculty of Natural Sciences - Ankara; Saraçoğlu Mahallesi - Ankara; Opera House - Ankara, etc.. (See: Sözen & Tapan, 50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi(..)op. cit., pp.244-245 (Footnote: 49).) Other famous (city) architects were: Bruno Taut (1880-1938) (the German architect who had spent in Turkey only two years before passing away (his most famous building is "Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi" in Ankara), Hans Poelzig (1869-1936), Martin Elsaesser (1884-1957) (architect of the "Sümerbank Genel Müdürlüğü Binası"- Ulus Ankara), Herman Elgötz and Martin Wagner. (See: Metin Sözen, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983) ("The Turkish Architecture of the Republican Period (1923-1983)"), Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları No: 246/9, 1984, pp.173-175.) (This "German tradition" in Turkish planning/architecture is still being continued via activities of some young Turkish architects who have been educated in Germany. An active Bayar Çimen (educated in Berlin TU/Germany, as well) who has been affiliated with the Chamber of Architects in Ankara, has been trying to "propagate" "German way of (city) architecture" via help of the Turkish architectural journals.. (See for instance: Çimen, "Uydu (Trabant) Kentler" ("Satellite (Trabant) Cities"), Mimarlık, Year 26,

No:227, 88.1, pp.64-66; Çimen (as the "Guest Editor" of the issue), "Kadın Mimarlarımızın Konumu" ("Situation of Our Women Architects"), "Kadın Mimarlarımızdan..." ("(Works) From Our Women Architects..."), Mimarlık, Year 27, No:235, June 1989 ('89ğ3), pp.52-54, 55-57; Çimen, "Endüstri Mimarisi" ("Industrial Architecture"), Yapı, No:109, December 1990, pp.57- 61; Çimen, "Demokrasi ve Dekonstrüktivizm" ("Democracy and Deconstructivism"), Yapı, No:122, January 1992, pp.45-51; Çimen, "Geleceğin Konutu ve Ekolojik Mimari" ("Housing of the Future and the Ecological Architecture"), Mimarlık, Year 32, No:261, January 1995, pp.38-42. A last activity under guidance of Çimen has been a symposium for preparing the ground for entering of German architects (under the coverage of the "European Union") into the Turkish "architecture market": B. Çimen, "Mimarların Avrupa Birliği'ndeki Konumu ve Avrupa Mimarlar Konseyi (ACE)" ("Position of the Architects in the European Union and the Architects' Council of Europe (ACE)"), Mimarlık, Year 32, N0:265, September 1995, p.5.) Actually and moreover, the Germans were trying to be influential in nearly every field in post-War Turkey. They have had a very diligent ambassador (Rudolf Nadolny) in Turkey between the years 1924-1933; and Turkey had invited ("as a newly established state") German experts to benefit from in many fields. The Germans were concentrated especially in the field of "educationğtraining". See: Cemil Koçak, Türk-Alman İlişkileri (1923-1939): ki Dünya Savaşı Arasındaki Dönemde Siyasal, Kültürel, Askeri ve Ekonomik lişkiler ("The Turco-German Relationships (1923-1939): The Political, Cultural, Military and Economic Relationships Between the Two World Wars"), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını No:XVI/66, 1991, pp.10, 38-42, 55-58, 66- 72.

345.Ibid., pp.13-15. The british Foreign Minister Chamberlain was describing Ankara as "a dirty and small mountain village in the middle of Anatolia" where England could not send her ambassador to "exile"! (See; Ibid., p.14 (Footnote (20).) See also: Dietrich Gronau, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Cumhuriyetin Doğuşu ("Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Birth of the Republic") (Trans.by: Gülderen Koralp Pamir), İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, October 1994, pp.227-229.

346.Ernst Reuter, Komün Bilgisi: Şehirciliğe Giriş ("Communal Science: Introduction to the Urbanism") (Trans. by: N. Çıtakoğlu, B.S.Baykal), Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu Yayını No:12, 1940. The other two are: Belediye Maliyesi ("Municipal Finance") (with Necmeddin Ergin); and Yakın Münakale: Şehir Münakalesi ("Short-Distance Transportation: Communal Transport"). (See: Fehmi Yavuz, Şehircilik Ders Kitabı ("Urbanism Reading Book"), Ankara: A.Ü.Siyasal Bilgiler Fak.Yayını No:31-13, 1953, p.V.)

347.Fehmi Yavuz, Ernst Reuter in der Türkei: 1935-1946, Berlin: Presse und Informationsamt des Landes Berlin, 1970, pp.18-19; Ruşen Keleş, "Ankara niversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi" ("Ankara University Political Science Faculty", (in)Türkiye'de Kentbilim Eğitimi ("Urbanism Education in

Turkey") (Ed.: Ruşen Keleş), Ankara: A.Ü.S.B.F. Yayını No:561ğ17, 1987, pp.175-183.

348.Yücel Gürsel, Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Kent ve İnsan ("City and Man in the Democratization Process"), İstanbul: E Yayınları No:36, March 1990, p.41; and Oktay Ekinci, İstanbul'u Sarsan On Yıl: (1983-1993) ("The Decade Upsetting Istanbul: (1983-1993)"), İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, March 1994, p.76.

349.Ekinci, İstanbul'u(..)op.cit., pp.77-79. (A note to the interested reader: The Thesis writer was during this "operation" which was undertaken mostly in Fall 1987, in Berlin stationed. He remembers that there had been opened a display organized by the Chamber of Architects-Branch of İstanbul in Berlin by which the German architecture experts who were very eager to explain their "saving city renewal" experiences in Kreuzberg/Berlin to international visitors of the activities organized at the occasion of the "750th anniversary of Berlin", were "informed" about Tarlabaşı project and were asked to give their signatures against it!We'd "all" signed..)

350.Semra Somersan, Olağan Ülkeden Olağanüstü Ülkeye: Türkiye'de Çevre ve Siyaset ("From a Normal Country to Exceptional One: Environment and Politics in Turkey"), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, November 1993, p.108.

351.Ibid., pp.10-11, 74, 108; Semra Somersan, "İthalatçısı Alman Çöpünü Savunuyor"("Its Importer Defends The German Garbage", Cumhuriyet, 19.01.1988; and Özer Bostanoğlu, "Türkiye Çevre Gündeminde Alman Çöpü" ("German Garbage On Turkish Agenda"), Planlama, No:88/1, pp.27-29.

352.Oscar Schneider, Fundamente - Plaedoyer für eine menschenwürdige Architektur und Baupolitik, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt (DVA), 1986, pp.100-101. (The writer of the Thesis had been invited to Germany upon Herr Schneider's request (by the K. Adenauer Stiftung). The writer remembers very well the rendezvous with him in Bremerhaven on 30.07.1987 (at "the A.W. Institute of Pole and Sea Investigations") when the minister had "joked" by saying to him: "We can assume that (by your very presence here!) our (German) urban problems have already been solved!" The Thesis writer wonders whether he has done with this Thesis work his rather meagre contribution to that effect or not?!)

353.Representation of the KAS in Turkey, 11. Year of Service, 1995, p.6. The three columns carrying the German foreign policy are "diplomacy", "economics" and "culture". (See: Frank Pfetsch, Einführung in die Aussenpolitik der BDR, Opladen, 1981, p.99; cited in: İbrahim S. Canbolat, Değişen Dünya ve Alman Dış Politikası: Ulusal Birlik Ulusal Çıkar ve Kamuoyu Tercihi Açısından Bir İnceleme ("Changing World and

German Foreign Policy"), Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, January 1995, p.57.) F.Germany spends 2 billion DM annually for its "culture" policy in support of its general "foreign policy" followed in foreign countries with such organizations like the DAAD ("Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst"), the GI ("Goethe-Institut"), etc.. (Canbolat, Değişen(..)op.cit., p.61.) The KAS should be regarded within that context, too.

354.Anon., Belediyelerimizin Hükümetten Beklentileri - Kuşadası 14-15 Aralık 1991 ("The Expectations of the Municipalities From the Government - Kuşadası 14-15th December 1991"), Ankara: Türk Belediyecilik Derneği Yayını, May 1992, (Cover page).

355.Representation of the KAS in Turkey, 11. Year(..)op.cit., pp.2-3, 6- 15

356.Anon., (Information page), Mahalli İdareler, No:4, Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1994, p.5; see also: Representation of the KAS in Turkey, 11. Year(..)op.cit., pp.12-13.

357.Some of the books (which were distributed to the municipalities "free of charge" until 1995) are: Belediyelerimiz 1987 ("Our Municipalities 1987"); Belediye Başkanları Albümü 1991 ("Album of Mayors 1991"); Büyükşehirlerin Kuruluş Sorunları 1992 ("Problems in Metropolitan Cities 1992"); Şehircilik ve Toplu Konut Bakanlığı Kuruluş Çalışmaları 1992 ("Establishment of a City Planning and Housing Ministry 1992"); Belediye Personelinin Uygulamada Karşılaştığı Sorunlar 1992 ("Problems With Municipality Personnel 1992"); Belediye Gelirleri 1992 ("Municipal Incomes 1992"); İmar Planları Uygulamaları 1992 ("City Planning Applications 1992"); Yerel Yönetimler ve Çevre 1993 ("Local Administrations and Environment 1993"); 21.Yüzyıla Girerken Belediyelerimiz 1993 ("Municipalities Entering the 21st Century"); Gecekondulaşmanın Önlenmesi, Kentleşme ve Planlama 1994 ("Prevention of Slums, Urbanization and Planning 1994"); (an interesting topic for "victim" Turkey:) Yerel Yönetimlerde Katı Atıkların Toplanması, İmhası ve Değerlendirilmesi 1994 ("Collection, and Recycling of Solid Waste in Municipalities 1994"); Yerel Yönetimlerde zelleştirme -Şubat 1995 ("Privatization in Local Administrations -February 1995"); Yerel Özerklik, Demokrasi ve Halkın Katılımı -Nisan 1995 ("Local Autonomy, Democracy and Public Participation -April 1995"); and Dürüst ve effaf Belediyecilik -Nisan 1995 ("Honest and Transparent Municipalism - April 1995"). See for a complete list of the books: Anon., "Yayınlar" ("Publications"), İller ve Belediyeler, Year 50, No: 593, March 1995, p.138; and also: Representation of the KAS in Turkey, 11. Year (..)op.cit., p.20. There have been published also some research books written by prominent Turkish academicians of the Political Science Faculty of the Ankara University who are closely related with local governments: Ruşen Keleş, Can Hamamcı, Belediye Başkanları ve Belediye Meclis Üyeleri ("Mayors and Members of the Municipal Assembly"), Ankara: TBD-KAS

Yayını No:1, 1994; Cevat Geray, Can Hamamcı, Belediyecilik Eğitimi ("Municipal Training"), Ankara: TBD-KAS Yayını No:2, 1994; and Ruşen Keleş, Fransa ve İspanya'da Yerinden Yönetim ("Local Administrations in France and Spain"), Ankara: TBD-KAS Yayını No:3, 1994.

358.Anon., "Sunuş: Daima Hizmetinizdeyiz" ("Presentation: We're Always At Your Service"), Mahalli İdareler, No:2, April-May-June 1994, p.3.

359.Teoman Erel, "Almanya'nın Federalizm Pazarlaması" ("Germany's Federalism Marketing"), (in)Almanya'da Yerel Yönetimler: İnceleme Gezisi Gözlemleri ("Study of Local Administrations in Germany"), Ankara: TBD-KAS Yayını, 1992, p.188.

360.Özer Bostanoğlu, "Dünyada Kıyı Planlama Örgütlenmeleri Üzerine" ("On Coastal Planning Organizations in the World"), (in) Kıyılarımız Semineri: Mevzuat-Planlama ve Uygulama - Bildiriler ("Seminar For Our Coasts: Legal Codes- Planning and Implementation - Reports"), Ankara: Bayındırlık ve skan Bakanlığı TAU Gn.Md. Yayını, 1993, (pp.63-81)p.79; see also: Alain Delcamp, (His speech), (in)Uluslararası Yerel Yönetimler Semineri: "Yerel Yönetimlerde Yeniden Yapılanma" - 1-2 Aralık 1994, Ankara ("International Seminar on Local Authorities: "Restructuring in the Local Authorities" - 1- 2 December 1994, Ankara"), Ankara: TBD-KAS Yayını, (1995), (pp.93-121)p.95.

361.Erel, "Almanya'nın(..)"loc.cit.. As a supporting example of that what has been said above, one may cite the following book published by the TODAİE's director of the "Research and Training Center of Local Administrations": Dr.Selçuk Yalçındağ, F.Almanya'da ve Türkiye'de: Yerel Yönetimler ("In F.Germany and Turkey: Local Administrations"), Ankara: TODAİE Yayını, 1992. (The financial contribution came from the second German think-tank foundation located in İstanbul: (The SPD-tendenced) "Friedrich Ebert Stiftung" ("FES"); it is, anyway, "German"!) The author states that "the German local government system is the most efficient/productive service providing system in Europe" which is at the same time "one of the basic stones of the (German) democracy"! (See: Yalçındağ, F.Almanya'da(..)op.cit., p.IV. As paralleling to these words, the Managing Director of the KAS states that "(p)romotion of democracy - i.e. political participation - is the central area of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's development cooperation (especially in the countries of transformation)"; see: Gerd Langguth, "The Global Social Problem As a Challenge For the Konrad Adenauer Foundation", (in)For Democracy and Social Justice (Ed.: Josef Thesing), Sankt Augustin near Bonn: KAF, (1994), (pp.13-16)p.15.) Yalçındağ adds also that the newly propagated (Turkish) local administration model called as "ilçe yerel yönetimi" ("district local administration") which is proposed and advocated by him (see: Yalçındağ, İlçe Özel Yönetimi: Kırsal Yöreler İçin Yeni Bir Demokratik Yerel Yönetim Birimi Denemesi ("District Special Administration: (For Rural Areas)"), Ankara: TODAİE Yayını No:157,

1977) and some other scholars (Cevat Geray, "Toplum Kalkınması Programlama ve Uygulama Birimi Olarak İlçe" ("District As the Programming and Implementation Unit For Community Development"), VIII.İskan ve Şehircilik Haftası Konferansları: Türkiye'de Bölge Planlaması, Mahalli İdareler ve Toplum Kalkınması ("Conferences For Settlement and Urbanism Week: Regional Planning, Local Administrations and Community Development in Turkey"), Ankara: İskan ve Şehircilik Derneği Yayını No:3, 1966, pp.196-248) and which has also been mentioned in the "Sixth Five-Year-Development-Plan" of Turkey, is (quasi) the same as the German local "Landkreis" administration! (See: Yalçındağ, F.Almanya'da(..)op.cit., pp.1-2, 127; and S. Yalçındağ, Kırsal Kalkınma Projeleri İle Yerel Yönetimler Arasındaki İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesinde Yaklaşımlar ("Approaches For Development of the Relationships Between Rural Development Projects and Local Administrations"), İstanbul: FES, 1992, p.87.) According to Yalçındağ, the "revolutionary new" and "real" local administration model in Turkey should have mainly three features as being: i)The only boss providing for all kinds of urban services in the settlement unit should be the local administration; ii)The financial burden of those services should be borne principally by the local people only; and iii)It is a main target that a critically oriented "urban folk", i.e. a responsible citizenry observing the municipal government closely be "created" (since "we can not import the folk" of the "Burgs of the 11th century", as we did the "municipality" as an institution with the law with number 1580?!) (See: S. Yalçındağ, (his speeches), (in)Dürüst ve Şeffaf Belediyecilik, Ankara: TBD-KAS Yayını, April 1995, pp.84-86, 100-102.) The "intention" hold by these words is very clear: A "federal" government system consisting of "strong" and "autonomous" local units (like the one met in Germany)! (See: Heinrich Hoffschulte, (His speech), (in)Uluslararası Yerel Yönetimler Semineri(..) op.cit., pp.133-168. Hoffschulte states that the "**subsidiarity principle**" of the Maastricht Aggreement of 07.02.1992 (Art.3ğB) which means that "local services should be carried out at the nearest local administration level" (see also: Ruşen Keleş, "Hizmette Halka Yakınlık (Subsidiarity) İlkesi ve Yerel Yönetimler" ("The Subsidiarity Principle in Service Provision and Local Governments"), Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler, Vol.4, No:1, January 1995, pp.3-14; and R. Keleş, (His speech), (in)Uluslararası Yerel Yönetimler Semineri(..) op.cit., (pp.23- 34)p.28), does fit to the federal system (of Germany) more easily! (Hoffschulte, op.cit., p.141; see also: Lüdger Kühnhardt, "Federalism and Subsidiarity", (in) The Example of Federalism in the Federal Republic of Germany: A Reader (Ed.: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung), St. Augustin, 1994, p.27, cited in: Keleş, "Hizmette Halka(..)" op.cit., p.10.) Prof. Keleş mentiones that Turkey has signed the "**European Local Autonomy Contract**" of 1985 (foreseeing to strengthen local administrations) in 1991 (with the law No:3723) and thus seems to be supporting the principle of "local autonomy" as well, albeit however without sacrificing the principle of "unitary state". (Keleş, (His speech)(..)op.cit., pp.33-34.) Prof. Geray also raises the issue of the closeness of the Turkish (local) goverment system

(due to its having been imported from there nearly 100-150 years ago) rather to the "centralist" type of government seen in France. He therefore claims that "we should change our local- and general democracy understanding radically"! (See: Cevat Geray, (His speech), Uluslararası Yerel Yönetimler Semineri(..) op.cit., (pp.200-206)p.200.)) The KAS is still continuing its efforts (with collaboration of the TBD) to propagate and sell its "federalism" in Turkey.. Its last undertaking has been an "International Local Authorities Conference - July 13-14, 1995, Ankara" headed as "Local Authorities in Unitary and Federal States"..

362.Max Georg Meier, Béatrice Gorawantschy, "Preface", (in)Education, Educational Reforms and Social Change (Eds: M.G. Meier, B. Gorawantschy), Ankara: KAS ("Euro-Arabisches Dialog-Programm") Pub., 1994, (pp.5-6)p.6. (The writer of this Thesis also believes in education as a very powerful instrument for social change. And, he confesses being very astonished when his ask to get stipendium for partial financing of (t)his PhD Thesis study to be realized (also) about Turks **in Germany** was "refused" by the KAS with a pretext that by them "principally no stipendium is being provided for PhD works"?! (Letter by Suzanne Weiler from St.Augustin dated 30.07.1990 ("Durchwahl Nr.246 376".) (In a very recent letter dated 19.06.1995 sent to him by Dr. Meier, Representative of the KAS/Ankara, one mentiones from an anonymous "PhD stipendium" to be allocated by the KAS in 1996?! What a great pitty for him!) Apart from this, the Thesis writer believes also that the education process should not be deliberately "distorted/distortive": A book which was forwarded to him by the KAS (upon his request as it was possible for him after his being a stipendiat of the KAS in Germany in 1987, for some time until the "(German) unification" process which has thus created its negative effect upon him(!)) was not including those pages (81-84) which were describing in the original English version the "foreigner policy" in Germany! Being a Turkish researcher interested with the living conditions of the Turks in Germany, the writer had then to search for getting the original copy from somewhere else?! It is known that some of the parts of the book have been omitted (like Chs.4 ("The Turkish Connection") and 6 ("Civil and Political Rights")) by the German publicists(!). Okay, but, who did the pages mentioned take out, then? (The mentioned book is that one: Ray C. Rist, Die ungewisse Zukunft der Gastarbeiter ("Guestworkers in Germany") (Trans.by: Gerda Binning), Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980.) Since it is yet the proper moment to speak upon the books, let us mention from two other observations with regard to books related with Germany/Germans: Gül Turan's famous book about **the hidden racism (against Turks) prevailing in the German justice system** and/or (Frankfurt) prison and **her sexual harassing by a German judge**, Gülün Dikeni (see Ref.(181)), has been "censored"(!) in Germany; and has been "sold out" completely in Turkey(!) (although it was re-printed many times by "Milliyet Yayınları"), so that one could not find any single copy of it?! Another book which has been "sold out" completely right after being published in Turkey (and within a couple of

days) is Söylemez's book: Almanya'nın Mülteciler Politikası ve Irkçı Saldırılar (see Ref.(135))?! Nobody (even big booksellers like "Turhan" in Ankara included) can now find a single copy of that book?! Why? (A most probable answer is: "**Because someone, an authority (like the embassy or the KAS) andğor an invisible (German?) hand buysğcollects them from the market due to their being "criticallyğnegatively" oriented with regard to the German(y's) political interests?!**" It is most probable because of mainly two reasons: a)The "propaganda" is one of the most credited issuesğtasks of German foreign affairsğdiplomacyğmilitary authorities andğor policies as witnessed during the Hitler's "Third Reich" régime in its most open and vivid forms (see for an description of it: Erkilet, Şark Cephesinde Gördüklerim(..)op.cit., esp pp.232-237 (Ref.(121) above) and: Attila İlhan, O Karanlıkta Biz ("We In That Darkness"), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları No:183/5, January 1988); and b)To counteract the anti-propaganda is to makeğsave the (previously made) propaganda! (It is, for instance, known that the American CIA has made an offer in 1964 to the "Random House" publisher which was going to publish a book (about the CIA) called "The Invisible Government" (by David Wise and Thomas Ross) for "buying up the entire first printing of over 15,000 books" by itself! (See: Victor Marchetti and John D.Marks, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, New York: Dell Publishing, March 1989 (Ori.: 1974), p.308.))

363.Serol Teber, "Almanya'da Post-Faşist Dönemin Sonu" ("The End of the Post-Fascist Era in Germany"), Cumhuriyet, 22.12.1992, p.2.

364.Frantz Fanon, Yeryüzünün Lanetlileri ("The Wretched of the Earth") (Trans.by: Şen Süer Kaya) İstanbul: Sosyalist Yayınlar No:14/3, May 1994 (1970); Paulo Freire, Ezilenlerin Pedagojisi (2nd Edi.) ("Pedagogy of the Oppressed") (Trans.by: Dilek Hattatoğlu, Erol Özbek), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, April 1995 (Ori.: 1969); and Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie(..) op.cit., pp.112-126. A very good example for being "psychologically tendenced and/or vulnerable" in the case of "Turco-German" relationships is provided by the very topic of "**football**": The turkish football "industry" has entered into the "F.German orbit" with the "import" of Jupp Derwall who was the trainer of F.German national football team (which had "won" the European championship under his guidance) to Galatasaray team in the saison of 1984-1985.. The Turkish football has "learned" "attack football" from him! He has also brought with himself, so the Turkish "authorities" say, "**a new ("European") mentality**" which has been "transplanted", so to say(?), to his Turkish "assistants" like Mustafa Denizli, as well, who, surprisingly enough, had been "exported" after this "transplantation operation" to a German (A.Aachen) team (be it even if from the second "Bundesliga") in 1989?! "Derwall had always told in his speeches that Europe was not a bogey ("öcü") and that each (European) team had played football! That was all what the Turks had wanted to hear!" Here one sees the whole mechanism of a "**psychological machine**" functioning with "(quasi-national) **inferiority**

senses" deeply embedded in the souls of (at least (and most hopefully only) some?) individuals.. (See: Yılmaz Kalkan, Mustafa Denizli Fırtınası ("The Storm of Mustafa Denizli"), Ankara: Yazıt Yayınları No:10/1, August 1990, esp.pp.13-21, 24, 27-28, 41, 63-64, 91, 118-121; also: Halit Deringör, "Türk Antrenörünün Devrimi" ("The Revolution of Turkish Trainer"), Cumhuriyet, 24.11.1995, p.18.) The "matching" of this "inferiority sense" with the "fertile" German "racist" soil raising many young Turks as football players (like the ones in the "champion" "**Türkiyemspor**" team of Berlin (see: Robert Kellermann, "Berlin'de Futbol" ("Football in Berlin"), (in) Futbol ve Kültürü ("Football and Its Culture") (Eds.: Roman Horak, Wolfgang Reiter, Tanıl Bora), İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları No:231/25, October 1993, (pp.143-155)pp.152-154); and Anon., "Türkiyemspor Kupa Yolunda" ("Türkiyemspor on the Road to Championship"), Ekin (W.Berlin), No:36, April 1988, p.16; there are altogether **six** Turkish youngsters at the end of 1995 who are playing football in the 1st German "Bundesliga" and besides "Türkiyemspor", there are also two other very famous Turkish football teams in Germany, i.e. "Münih Türkgücü" from Munich and "Vatanspor" from Bremen which do function also as the "breeding place" for future "talents" who will also be "exported" to Turkey as Erhan Önal and İlyas Tüfekçi (see: Rıza Almalı, "Almanlar Futboldan Boksa, Güreşten Atletizme Şeref Kürsüsüne Çıkan Türk Çocuklarını Alkışlıyor: Almanya'da 4.Kuşak İmzasını Atıyor" ("The Germans Applaud the Turkish Sportsmen (From Every Branch): The 4th Generation Already Signs in Germany"), Cumhuriyet, 03.01.1996, p.16)) can and will make Turkey "**European champion**", "inşallah"..

CHAPTER 7

HOUSING AND TURKISH GUESTWORKERS' PROBLEM IN (FEDERAL) GERMAN URBANIZATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the "post-industrial" and/or "informational"(1) capitalist western societies are displaying a rather very high level of modernity in the technological sense of the word, they also have immense problems of socio-economic nature. These societies show very great hierarchical disparities between their social classes. Especially the "bottom" layers of the mentioned societies and/or their so-called "underclasses" do occupy a very low position with regard to socio-economic evolutional process. This situation of striking "structural imbalances" existing within western capitalist societies has sharpened during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of "liberal and monetary" policies followed by "Reaganist" and "Thatcherist" governments (not only in the U.S. and Great Britain, but nearly everywhere in the capitalist bloc) which were influenced very much by the "Friedman" school of (money/supply) economics.

The "global (economical) restructuration" processes (handled thoroughly in Ch.3 above) caused and accelerated by the "informational technologies" and as especially witnessed in the leading core countries,

accompanied by an unprecedented growth of related tertiary sector activities, are principally carried on the shoulders of specific population groups. These economic activities were and still are employing mainly two socio-economic groups: The so-called **Yuppies** ("young urban professionals") and the **Dinks** ("double income no kids") from "middle-, and upper-middle income" groups; and some sections of the "former working class", however newly (potential) "underclass" members, i.e. the would-be unemployed persons (due to the technological transformations), the "urban have-nots" and/or the (be it "legal" or "illegal") "immigrant (guest)workers" coming from poor and populous Third World countries..(2) The existence of such a "**polarized**" (and thus "dollar-ized") societal structure in western core countries makes itself be felt also in the socio-spatial processes going on especially in metropolitan cities there. Both social groups do confront each other very severely in specific areas of the metropolitan cities, e.g. in transitional housing areas just around the CBD and/or in "inner city" areas, for "living" and/or even "survival" purposes! Thus, although, and quite paradoxically, the capitalist First World has realized its first and second industrial revolutions and thus accumulated at the end of those development periods very important (urban) planning experiences which have paved the way to massive urban "theorizing" efforts also to be "exported" to the Third World countries, the same capitalist core countries do struggle today within their own borders with a "**new urban/housing problem/crisis**"?!(3)

According to J. Friedrichs, "urban decline" which is usually described by rising unemployment, rising number of persons on public

assistance, and plant-closing, is rather a common phenomenon in cities of all highly industrialised countries.(4) Germany is not an exception in this issue. Again, S. Sassen has stated that over the last 20 years, there have been sharp transformations with regard to the empirical characteristics of cities and urban sociology. She has summarized the principal empirical transformations witnessed as follows(5):

> "First, 17 of the 20 largest cities of the world are in developing countries.(..) Second, there has been a growing suburbanization and metropolitanization of the population in both developed and developi ng countries. Third, we have seen a growing concentration of poor, homeless, and unemployed people in major cities, especially in developing countries, but now also increasingly in developed countries. Fourth, there has been a sharp transformation in the economic structure of major cities; most notable has been the growin g incidence of service industries(..) and an often severe decline in t he manufacturing sector."

It is understandable also from the excerpt above that the population explosion mentioned in the developing world is also creating pressure on the cities of the developed world, a fact which realizes itself most apparently in (international) (labor) migrations either of "guest)workers" or of "refugees"! It is maybe to a not neglectable extent therefore that the "President's Commission" in the U.S. had stated some 15 years ago that "(t)he nation can no longer assume that cities will perform the full range of their traditional functions for the larger society. They are no longer the most desirable settings for living, working, or producing".(6) Friedrichs, again, takes this for granted even for F.Germany. However, he concludes that the similarity between the U.S. cities and those German ones which follow in their evolutional processes their counterparts in the U.S. with a time lag of

(only) 10-15 years, should be handled with a contingency for existing differences between both countries (like more physical/spatial widening possibilities in the U.S., and the more sharp tension felt between the social and ethnic groups living there with a potential for creating a much more greater barrier for every type of city (re-)development activities). He further adds that one should compare F.German cities with those rather "old" U.S. cities located in the Northeast and not with those "younger ones" in the South.(7)

As we'd mentioned before (in section 6.5.3.4 above), H. Esser points out to the particularities of the settlement processes of the foreigners who are massively composed of the so-called "guestworkers" (from non-EU countries), most of whom are Turks (i.e. to an extent of 43% of the total stock (1,507,800) of foreign labor in 1989 in Germany(8) and/or 34,2% of all foreigners in 1983(9)) and states that their settlement process has taken place in "threefold concentration" rings being described as follows: 1-The settlement process was directed to those **regions** where the "industrial agglomerations" were met; 2-The concentrations within those regions were taking place in those **big cities** where the "foreigner- specific" branches like metallurgy, textile industry, etc. were present; 3-The housing areas of the workers were densely located in some **city parts** like the "urban renewal areas" of the cities where a lot of socio-spatial, environmental, engineering and architectural deficiencies/defects were detected.(10)

Again, Esser further underlines his descriptions with regard to the settlement characteristics of the foreigners by adding some facts and figures

as follows: According to him, the foreigners in F.Germany have concentrated mainly in three regions being: 1-**Baden-Württemberg** (The southwest corner of Germany with a population of 9,3 million which was considered only a century ago the "poorhouse" of Germany; after industrialization following the WW II, home to Daimler-Benz, now the largest German industrial company); (The rate of the foreign population within the regional whole was in 1961 2,2% and in 1981 10,1% (of which 28,3% were Turks); 2-**North Rhine-Westphalia** (Germany's most industrialized (Germany's top 100 industrial companies, among others "Thyssen", "Bayer", "Krupp", "Mannesmann" etc. are located here) and most populous "Land" with around 17,1 million; it contains the densely settled industrial heartland of the country: the "Ruhr district" where the mining of bituminous coal spawned a vast iron and steel industry starting as early as in the 19th century. Today, key industries include electronics, chemicals, machinery and plant engineering, automotive industry, synthetic fibres, glass and textiles) (The rates of foreigners and of the Turks, respectively, in 1981, were as follows: 36,6% and 32,3%; and now (in the 1990s) 50% of the foreigners in Ruhr district are Turks! It is the most densely "Turkish" region in the country! (And its capital is Essen which is "western Germany's fifth largest city" and the seat for the "Center for Turkish Studies"); and lastly: 3-**Berlin** (the official "capital" of the united Germany) (foreigners: 37,1% and Turks: 45,9% in 1981).(11)

The above-stated settlement patterns which are valid for the Turks living in F.Germany since nearly 35 years, too, have (as coupled with

the rather systematic efforts spent on the side of the German state and maybe non-systematic, even maybe unconscious, however "racist" efforts spent on the side of the German people at large for the "**racialization of the Turks**") given birth to the so-called **"Turkish Ghettos" on German soil**! The Turks in Germany as an "ethnical guest/working class group" have evolved (as we'd thoroughly elaborated it in Ch.6 above) into an **"ethnical underclass (labor) group" living in their "ghettos" located in the "concentration rings"** (hopefully not "**camps**"!) of German cities as described by Esser..

One of the reasons contributing to the evolution of "Turkish ghettos" as an "ethnical concentration" is the rather demographic structure of the Turkish worker families with "many children" wanting to rent a large housing unit for a not so much high price! Of course, this situation creates pressures on the rather tight and standardized rental housing stocks of the German cities.(12) According to Cihan Arın (a Turkish prominent architect/city planner who lives in Berlin since the 1970s) and his colleagues, the foreigners (in Berlin and in other cities, as well) are concentrated in the "**worst-conditioned housing submarkets**". These submarkets are "as a rule" "**former working class housing areas**" consisting of buildings from the turn-of-the-century years with rather small units to live in (e.g. a kitchen-room unit). What has to be added to this is the fact that two groups among the ranks of the foreigners are more severely handicapped within housing issues: a) The Turks; and b)The families with many children.. Thus, the **three characteristics defining the lowest level**

of housing quality in Germany are as follows: **To be a "foreigner"; to be a "Turk"; and to have "many children"!**(13)

This situation has been created and/or dictated by the very weak and fragile legal/judicial existence conditions (as explained in Ch.6) of the Turks in Germany. The insecure staying conditions, the socio-cultural distance between Germans and Turks, discrimination against Turks and its repercussions in the field of housing are the main causes for Turkish (housing) misery in Germany.(14)

If it comes to some statistics with regard to the housing units with lowest quality which are occupied by the foreigners/Turks, then, one can cite preliminarily the following: To an extent of nearly 50% by the foreigners, and 60% by the Turks, their housing units are "over-occupied"! 54% of the foreigners, and 67% of the Turks do live in poorly installed housing units; 48% of the Turks live in "old buildings" with lowest level of service.(15) (We'll return to the topic of the Turks later on.)

Okay, but, how was such a disturbing situation even possible in a country like F.Germany which is defined by its Basic Law (of 23.05.1949; in the 20th and 28th articles) as being a "**social state**" which is required "to correct social inequalities and assure social security and justice"?(16) What is the historical past of Germany with regard to these urban/housing issues at all? Let's handle these topics a little bit.

7.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY

The history of the German urban settlement system and/or of local governments is rather very long, indeed.(17) And it should be examined in a broader Central European context. Some experts say that this development can be divided mainly into four periods as follows:

> "(1)formation of the urban system during the (..) Middle Ages (eleventh to fifteenth century),
> (2)shifts and additions from early modern times until the beginning of industrialization (sixteenth to early nineteenth century),
> (3)growth, intensification and reorganization of the urban system during industrialization (early nineteenth century to the Second Wor ld War),
> (4)development of the urban system under the influence of the war and the division of Germany (Second World War to 1970)."(18)

The urban system of Central Europe has arisen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.(19) And in Germany, as Knemeyer has stated, after forming of villages and settlements the basis of local life for centuries, in the eleventh century did new towns emerge being endowed with special charters and privileges and establish themselves alongside the towns which were originally founded by the Romans.(20) The development of the rural settlements and their living styles in Germany were naturally enough different than the development of the towns and their life styles up to the twentieth century. The introduction of town privileges that brought liberties for its citizens proved vital for the growth of local governments in Germany. The saying in the form of "living in town sets one free!" ("Stadtluft macht frei!") denotes to such a difference.(21) It is maybe due to this "strength of the

local cultural tradition" that the differences thus detected between the traditions of the villages and ("imperial") towns are also seen between both of mentioned settlement patterns and a third one, namely the German "hometowns" of the seventeenth century each with a population of ten to fifteen thousand.(22)

However, the knowledge of the fact that the period lasting until the end of the 18th century for all humanity is a period of "classes and engagements" and/or with other words a period of "privileged-, non-privileged ones"(23) will be helpful in understanding the common denominator of those all kinds of local governments. The hierarchy of the "privileged ones" was consisting of: The emperor, the king, the prince, the (landed) aristocracy, and the clergy (members) who were owning rather huge lands.(24) The political power was resting with them. The "non-privileged ones" were consisting of peasants serving their landlords from the aristocracy; and of merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, craftsmen and free capital-owners in towns. "The middle class then called now as the bourgeois class was in the same category as the working class, i.e. the proletariat."(25)

Even if one describes the middle classes as the "**citizenry**" (or "Bürgerschaft")(26), they were not allowed to participate in town government. In great towns, there was likely to be a distinct and permanent ruling caste of families, a "**patriciate**" ("Patriziat" or "Geschlechter").(27) Another and rather a big population share in the imperial cities was consisting of those persons who were either "**noncitizens**", or "**partial citizens**". They were called variously as "Beisitzer" or "Beisass", or in some instances "**Untertanen**"..

They were perhaps holding distinctive legal status; but they all were alike in their **exclusion from full communal membership**! (Walker calls them as "tolerated residents"..) They were scarcest in the home towns because the middle-sized community was least tolerant of their presence. But although their societal situations were somewhat precarious, they were by no means always poor. Most of them were people "who could not afford to buy their ways into the community or who were excluded for some other reason denoting "**inferiority**": the illegitimately born for example, or **Jews**, or indigent aunts, or **menial servants**, or **immigrants** from the country who settled in the suburbs".(28)

According to Knemeyer, the idea of citizenry and citizen's rights in Germany gained ground during the "Age of Enlightenment" and the "French revolution". Freiherr vom Stein had introduced reforms which were incorporated in the "Prussian Town Act of 1808". They were based on the principle that, in future, states will only thrive if their citizens would participate in an active manner in the life of their states.(29) Although the process of the foundation of new towns in Germany which had begun with Freiburg in Breisgau in 1120 by the Duke of Zaehringen and had continued also in modern times between about 1500 and 1800 with a pace of 5-10 new towns per decade, the establishment of those new towns was itself less characteristic of the urban system as a whole than were shifts and dislocations within the existing pattern. The growing power of the princes and other territorial lords in Germany after the Middle Ages has not only ruined the power of the Emperor but also the independence of towns. Late-

medieval leagues of towns, like the Hanse, had broken up. Urban independence in the form of a "free imperial city" ("freie Reichsstadt") or of a partly autonomous territorial town, proved to be a handicap for urban development in the age of mercantile economics. Thus, state and territorial capitals became the centres of urban growth. Following the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia (Preussen) in the 17th and 18the centuries, Berlin became the largest city of Germany with about 200,000 inhabitants in 1815.(30)

As with regard to the town administrations until modern times, one can mention from home town's administrations which were small enough to delineate function areas. The most important local political body was the "Inner Council" (called also the "Smaller Council", "Magistracy", "Court", "Schöffenstuhl" or "Vogtei"), usually with from 6 to 12 members. The Inner Council were the main formulators and executors of community politics. Each member had a perticular sphere of authority. For instance, one member was administering town properties outside the walls (like forests, fishponds, villages); a second Councilor might administer community rigths or properties held as trusts or endowments (like schools, churches, hospitals, etc.); a third one might have special responsibility for taxes and fees to be levied on "full" citizens, "tolerated residents", and "Jews". A fourth one was bearing special responsibility for "police", meaning not just public security, but also sanitation, foodstuffs, maintenance of roads, and so on. The acceptance of new citizens into the community, i.e. the extension of the "Bürgerrecht" was handled in a collegial manner. (The guilds had important

rights here, as well.) The chief of the Inner Council was the "Bürgermeister" ("Mayor") who usually held office for life or for very long by law, by seniority on the Council, or by election. The Bürgermeister directed day-to-day business of the town, although the actual administrative labor was carried out by appointed officers. There was a civil patronage list of several dozens (from organist to midwife) appointed by the Bürgermeister even in very small communities.(31)

Inner Council membership was reached by way of an "Outer Council" ("Greater Council", or representative "Citizens' Council"), for the membership of which (altogether 25 to 50 persons) usually the whole citizenry was eligible for elect. (There were some limitations for being elected, however.) The "Viertelmeister(s)", i.e. leaders associated with the several districts of a community, were channels (besides the guilds) for the citizenry to come into contact with the local authority.(32)

It should be understood now that local government tradition in Germany has a long history. What has another old tradition in that country is the institution of the "Bürgerrecht". It is more inclusive than the "civic right". And unlike the privilege, franchise, or immunity that a sovereign might grant a subject, the "Bürgerrecht" was communal, and held by grant of one's neighbors. However this status necessitates a fixed capital, as well: For instance, whereas the "Bürgerrecht" was free for a butcher's son from Rottweil who was 25 years old, married with the council approval, and was accepted as "master" in a guild, an outsider ("Fremde") had to pay (in the 18th century) 120-300 gulden for the man, 60-100 gulden for the wife- and

20-35 gulden for each child! Moreover, the outsiders were often forbidden to own immovable property in the town, and citizens were forbidden to sell such property to noncitizens (or even rent), so that physical property itself while not held in common had a strong "communal cast"!(33)

According to a record dated 1822, local governments in Germany had penetrated even into villages and some more than 100 local government laws had been put into force. One has to add that the "Deutsche Gemeindeordnung" ("German Municipal Order") of 1935 was not capable of cancelling out the existing local government initiatives. This fact also shows that "Germany had never been a unitary state". The traditional local differences have fully re-established themselves after the WW II and moreover, they were increased by the fact that the "occupation forces" tried to transplant their own understanding of local governments to Germany in a futile attempt!(34)

It can easily be said even for today that Germany is "the country of local governments" which do function in accordance to the "principle of decentralisation". The official local government system ("**Kommunale Selbstverwaltung**") in F.Germany as for today does function (being under the hierarchical administrative umbrella of: i)One "**Bund**" ("Federation"); ii)16 "**Laender**" ("states"); and iii)"**Regierungsbezirke**" ("Laender administrative districts") and "**Regionalverbaende**" ("regional associations")) with **three types of communes** ("Kommune") being: 1- "**Gemeinden**" ("municipalities"): "Gemeinden" are constitutionally sanctioned corporate entities comprising a spatial unit with an effective organisation for political decision-making and

planning at the lowest level of the political system. (They are of two types: a)Those belonging to a county ("Kreisangehörige Gemeinden"); and b)Those not belonging to a county ("Kreisfreie Staedte").) Their typical functions include: i)General administration; ii)Finance; iii)Law, order and safety; iv)Schools and culture; v)Social- and health policy; vi)Building and town planning; vii)Local facilities; viii)Commerce and transport; 2-"**Landkreise**" ("counties"): Their duties include: i)Those which cannot be done by one "Gemeinde" such as the construction of roads; ii)Duties which can not be performed by small authorities such as the maintenance of hospitals; iii)Equalising small duties like payment for subsidies to weaker local authorities; iv)General duties such as support of secondary schools; and 3-"**Kreisfreie Staedte**" ("county-free towns or cities"): They possess both "Gemeinde" and county functions and may be administratively sub-divided into "Ortsteile" ("districts"). One has reduced the second-level authorities, i.e. the counties ("Kreise") (in all "Laender" except Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin) to a large extent during the sweeping reforms of 1968- 1978.(35)

7.3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN PLANNING IN GERMANY

Since urbanization processes of the 19th century and following these urban planning practices developed in capitalist core countries are rather a product of the industrialization processes(36), it is necessary to dwell upon them for a while before handling German urbanization per se. Germany had started its industrialization process much later than many other European countries like Great Britain, France and Belgium, i.e. in the

second half of the 19th century. In 1800 when the world population was 906 million, and the European one only 180 million, and when there was only one city, London, which was approaching one million, Germany was mainly an agricultural land. London's population had reached two million and Paris was one million in 1850 when German industrialization had already begun. Whereas the urban population of Great Britain had passed the threshold of 50% as early as in 1851, Germany had been able to catch that level in 1900.(37)

However, the German industrialization process was a unique one in the world economic history from speed and scope viewpoints. The years between 1848-1873 are called as "starting"-, and the years around 1910 "peak"- periods. The "development motor" role played by the textile industry in England was carried out in Germany by railway network construction activities. Following the construction of the first railway line in Ruhr district in 1847, the first coal-iron industrial plant had been established in 1849. And in 1910, Germany had passed England in iron and steel exportation.(38)

The speed and scope seen in the industrialization process have displayed themselves in German urbanization process and in German cities, as well. Whereas there were only 8 cities with a population more than 100,000 around 1871, i.e. the foundation year of the "German Empire", the same figure had risen to 48 after 40 years around the year 1910. The share of these cities within the imperial population had increased from 4,8% to 21,3 percent. The imperial population within the same time interval had increased (with a ratio of 58,1%) from 41 million to 65 million. And the total

population living in settlements with more than 5,000 people had risen from 9,7 million up to 31,7 million.(39)

Meanwhile, (im)migration movements both inside-, and outside of the national borders, were functioning as the principal population exchange means. Approximately, 675,000 persons had come to Ruhr district between 1880-1907, as opposed to the event that 610,000 persons had moved to Westphalia. The limitation of free entrance to the U.S. had caused a migration movement within Germany and in the direction of the industrializing regions.(40)

Germany, as we'd discussed it above, was consisting of many local governments administered by princes, counts, and dukes before 1871.After the "Thirty Years' War" (1611-1648), many cities have been developed and transformed into the so-called "Residenzstaedte" which were capitals of some 200 states born due to the war. The city which was taken as a learning sample by those building/construction activities was "Versailles"' palace-city located in the southwest of Paris and developed by Louis the XIVth starting as early as 1670. Many cities like Kassel, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim had made use of the same housing layouts, impressive city centres, roads and parks at the end of which the so-called "baroque-planning-style" had emerged.(41)

As evolved rather into a tradition of German local governments since the medieval times, the practice of keeping, and saving urban lands for the future uses in the hands of the local administrators has proven to be of great value. Eased by this policy, German local governors and/or

planners/technicians could control the city development activities. However, the demands of the representatives of the "German enlightenment" in the 18th century which were raised with regard to "equal and free" individuals as against the absolute power of the princes were denoting a real challenge. The Prussian kings had formulated and put into force the so-called **"Allgemeines Landrecht law"** ("General Land law") in 1794 which was a response given to the demands voiced for individual landownership. However, the same law had introduced also the right for intervention in the name of the public at large and to be used by the "Polizei".

In order to solve the problems of authority, however, as detected by local elected persons and those who were authorized by legal orderings, one had put into force the **"Prussian Town Act" ("Staedteordnung") of 1808** which was aiming at strengthening the elected authorities. Except in Berlin and Potsdam, all "police" authorities have been taken under control of the elected ones. The "Town Act" had also ordered that each municipality should establish a "building committee" ("Baudeputation") responsible for physical built-up of the town, road construction and maintenance activities, and drainage. Besides that, the municipalities with a population exceeding 10,000 would hire a professional expert ("Baurat") for getting involved with town development issues. In this way, local spatial developments have been put under close control of local authorities.(42)

The industrialization process speeding up since the 1850s had created important changes in the German urban system and structures. What however should not be forgotten here is the fact that the Germans had

a classical example in front of them, namely England.(43) Benefitting from this experience accumulation as well, German scientists have been able to perfect urban planning as a scientific disciplin and to point out to the fact that planning methods to be used by and with public initiatives were possible. Whereas in the German Union established in 1871 under the leadership of Prussia at first a period of "civil code system" had been lived and (in 1873) an "autonomy for municipalities" and some other liberal reforms (between 1871-1879) had been introduced, after the economic crisis lived in 1879, the course of the socio-political events had been changed. Paralleling the limitation of the freedoms, the influence of the landed industrialists upon Bismarck's government had increased. The strive for "strong state" had also made its impacts be felt upon urban structures and urbanization theories. Thus, social and humanistic reflections which had paved the way for some preventive urban planning measures in England, had remained and been viewed in Germany only as individualistic reactions. Solutions to (urban) problems have been searched after in technical levels of the urban planning discipline.(44)

Urban populations have increased due to rural-urban migrations. The capital of German Empire, Berlin, had reached the threshold of one million population in 1875. Hamburg and Breslau had over -; Dresden and Munich around 200,000 population. The land-, and housing market prices and/or rents within cities have risen rapidly since many industrial plants had chosen their locations therein. The reasons for the huge housing demand

being remained unsatisfactorily met in these cities can be summarized as follows:

a)The unavailibility of the land around towns for new housing since it was owned by many persons via "many and small shares" which again was rather a result of the delay in carrying out the necessary "rural land ownership reform" in the 19th century;

b)The existence of the city walls stemming from the medieval epochs;

c)The problems witnessed in the organization of the housing construction process. Among them was the specific condition of the capital market for housing construction the "number one" issue.. Whereas in England many small capital owning investors had found their way to the market within the period starting at the end of the 18th century and ending in the middle of the 19th century, the situation in Germany had not been like this. Small- scale housing investment activities which were seen until the 1850s also in Germany, had lost their importance right after that date. Not having small contractors (as it was the case in England) as a driving force, the German housing sector had to compete for national credit resources from a unified capital market with big commerce and industry groups. So, rather large-scaled "Terraingesellschaften", "Baugesellschaften" ("Land-, Building societies") which were working with big investment banks had entered (German) housing construction market, even if there were many small plots within and around the cities to be developed! And again in this

way, the monopolized land firms could determine the land prices within cities very subjectively!(45)

Under such market conditions and under pressure of masses migrating to cities, the appearance of the so-called "**Mietskasernen**" ("Rental (high- rise-, and as if it were "military") Barracks") to be erected on city blocs (with dimensions of (200 x 400 m) length and of (150 x 200 m) depth) in such a density that would harm their occupants' health, is anything but a surprise!(46) Whereas it was an ordinary standard to live in "one-room houses" in most of the German cities, and even such practices like "sharing", "sub-renting" (one's housing and/or even sleeping unit!) were also widely exercised, Berlin had started to lead in "high-rise building" construction. The speculative building of "Familienhaeusser" ("family houses") for poor workers in outer districts of the cities in the 1820s has evolved into the practice of "Mietskasernen" which were high-rise apartments situated and erected on each of four sides of and around a common (inner) courtyard. These are followed by the "Mietshaeusser" ("Rental houses") built in city centres especially for middle-income classes. So, the figure of total persons pro building plot which was 30 in 1815 has risen up to 40 in 1840, and to 48 in 1861! The "apartment" style has been accepted and repeated in other big German cities as well, especially after the 1850s. The "Bürgerhaeusser" ("Bourgeois houses") with 2-4 floors had been built even in small cities.

What were contributing to the rather not-so-good housing conditions had been the technical infrastructural deficiencies. The main reasons for the epidemics seen in the cities were the improperly existence of

water and drainage services. The first European cholera epidemics in 1832 and the second one in the 1840s had warned the city officials for renewing their infrastructure systems! However, the necessary financial resources were not ready! Apart from this, the technical capacity and/or engineering know-how of Germany with regard to drainage system construction and installation was not as developed as it was in England. Only with some hygienic researchs, and with the contributions of some physicians like Virchow and Koch and some other social reformists in contact with local governors, a renewed drainage system was put into service in Berlin to which nearly 90% of buildings were connected, as late as 1885/1886.(47)

The investment in the field of drinking water service had also started quite late. Until the end of the 19th century, the drinking-, and use water need of 60% of the total Prussian population had been satisfied by district fountains, cisterns and natural water sources.(48) Another technical infrastructure field was road and transport. Since it was not always possible to build in close vicinity of the newly founded industrial plants (located mostly in agricultural land around the city) also housing districts for workers, the only way for solving/easing their transport problems was to develop mass transport networks (consisting of omnibuses, buses, horse tramways, horse-carts, banlieu trains, tramways, underground railways (metro)) and to reduce fares. This, also coupled with opening of new lands to urban development, would introduce decreasing unit prices in existing land and housing stocks.(49)

So, it is deducable from the information given above that main problems of German urbanization in the second half of the 19th century are rapid industrialization, massive rural-to-urban migrations, insufficiency of the existing urban housing stocks to cater for the newcomers, urban land speculation, speculative and sensational housing forms' provision for especially working class members, and establishment of capitalist housing and building societies.

As parallel to the above-said developments, there have been published many books starting with 1870s: Reinhard Baumeister's **Stadterweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung** (1876); Camillo Sitte's **Der Staedtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundlagen** (1889); Joseph Stübben's **Staedtebau** (1890); Theodor Fritsch's **Die Stadt der Zukunft** (1896); and Rudolf Eberstadt's **Handbuch des Wohnungswesens und der Wohnungsfrage** (1909).. Apart from these, famous economists like C.J. Fuchs and A. Wagner; the proponents of the "German Garden City Movement" (1902); and the tenants who were organized as local units since the 1870s and who had founded their "German Federation of Tenants' Unions" in 1900; they all had begun to fight their urban settlement rights as against the landlords, speculants, land and building firms, rather in an organized way.

At the other end of the spectrum, German land-, and housing owners were organized since 1879 when they had founded their "German Central Federation of House-, and Landowners' Unions". As regarded historically, the coming-together of the house-, and landowners in Germany

is rather very old. And they have had always a great influence on local city politics. For instance, the so-called "Three-Classes-Election-System" ("Dreiklassenwahlrecht") used for denominating "city representatives' councils"'s members, firstly starting in 1845 in "Rhein" state, and afterwards (beginning in 1849) in remaining regions of Prussia, was pointing out to their effectiveness in local politics: According to this system, a list showing tax-paying citizens within an electoral district had to be prepared and then, these citizens should be divided to three sub- groups which had to be determined by sheer amounts of the taxes in such a way that the first sub-group thus developed should have been paid the first one-third of all taxes collected in that election district; the second sub- group should have been paid the second one-third of the total; and the third sub-group should have been paid the third one-third of all taxes. At the end of the classification system thus created, a member of the first sub-group had had in average 17 times more votes than a member of the third group. A first sub-group member in Berlin in 1874 had for instance 21 times of the vote total of a member of the third sub-group. In Wattenscheid, there was only one voter of the first group who had 1100 times the votes of a member of the third sub-group. In Essen there was only Alfred Krupp in the first sub-group who was able to elect by himself alone one third of all city representatives in the city council! Moreover, a sheer half of the elected representatives should be houseowners, too! In this way, the house-, and landowners were imposing their views on urban matters easily to the city governments.(50)

That's why there have appeared on the city scenes "Mietskasernen" in Berlin; "terrace houses" in Hamburg; and "Bremen houses" in Bremen.

The overall regional spatial configurations resulting from a combination of particular city development schemes can be considered mainly in two groups: a)The evolution of traditional cultural, commercial, and/or industrial city centers surrounded by their banlieus to "growth poles" ("Greater Berlin" is a classic example); and b)The "conurbation" type of regional growth process which consists of many individual settlements added together in the form of an urban spatial chain without a specific center. Until the First WW, there have developed in Germany mainly two regional growth poles: Berlin and Ruhr regions. Berlin had been made a great planning region with the law of "Common-Target" ("Zweckverbandsgesetz") of 1912. This regulation was a further (regional) step in the process started for unification of dispersed settlements ("Eingemeindung") since 1885.(51)

The Prussian legal regulations put into force starting from the third quarter of the 19th century onwards, such as the "Expropriation Law" ("Enteignungsgesetz") of 1874, the "Straight Line Law" ("Fluchtliniengesetz"), etc. had an immense effect upon the development of German cities. And Berlin as the imperial city was accepted by many city authorities and officials all around Germany as the "model city". The Berlin Plan of 1862 prepared by James Hobrecht had been taken as a model in many other German cities planning their spatial futures in the late 1860s and early 1870s, as well.(52)

With the introduction of electrical tramways in cities after 1890 and as a result of housing demands of middle-income urbanites to be met in urban peripherical areas, the so-called "stepwise urban development" programmes ("Abgestufte Bauordnungen, Staffelbauordnungen"), i.e. programmes for "dense urban centers and diminishing densities as one moves forth", have come into urban agendas.(53) The "**General Building Law**" ("Allgemeines Baugesetz") of 1900 giving to local authorities all kinds of controlling power with regard to urban developments and which had been put into force in Saxony, had been accepted in all German states but Prussia.(54)

So, if one should say it in one sentence, the urban planning policies and practices in Germany until the WW I have been determined by and with large-scale, (between the central government and landed capitalists) compromise-searching technics and manners and however, without any slightest respect for urban poors and/or low-income white-collar urbanites who were (and still are) the real consumers of urban structures and services.

7.4 OLD(!) URBAN HOUSING PROBLEM IN GERMANY

In Germany, there have been many efforts spent for halting the rural- to-urban migrations like the one by the "Union for Social Policy" group handling the very issue of "inner-colonisation"(55); and also the "Prussian Settlement Law" of 1886 which was designed to be functional in "Germanisation of the (rural) lands" by keeping out the peasants and the

Slavs, as well, outside of towns (necessitating some one billion golden Marks' spending).(56)

However, neither the flows of migrants have stopped; nor the urban housing problems met in urban areas have lessened.. The problems have continued to increase; and the loss of the WW I on the side of Germany has also been added to them as another negative contribution! Although the "housing co-operatives" ("Wohnungsbaugenossenschaften") in Germany do have a long past (since their "approval" by the "Law for Economical Co- operatives" ("Gesetz betreffend die privatrechtliche Stellung der Erwerbs- und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften") of 1867), and although they have benefitted from the financial supports of the second ("Genossenschaftsgesetz") Law of 1889, they could not solve, quite naturally, all of the housing problems of especially poor masses.(57) As it is also seen by the fact that the German economy was a monopolistic and expansionist economy consisting of 385 cartels in 1905, the German housing policy was (and should be) rather a "liberal" one(58), too, with other words "blind to poors' misery". Under such conditions, market forces have had dictated a solution to the problem by the famous "Mietskasernen"!

Although there had been lived also hot "reform debates" aiming at finding out better, newer, and healthier building types and standards and although some reform laws between 1918-1923 had been put into force such as the "**(Prussian) Housing Act**" ("(Preussisches) Wohnungsgesetz") (of 28.03.1918) introducing "housing offices" to be established in cities with more than 100,000 population in order to control the housing conditions,

"**Act on Tenant Protection and Rent Unification Offices**" ("Gesetz über Mieterschutz und Mieteinigungsaemter") (of 01.06.1923), "**Imperial Rent Law**" ("Reichsmietengesetz") (of 24.03.1922), "Law for Measures Against Housing Deficit" ("Gesetz über Massnahmen gegen den Wohnungsmangel") (of 11.05.1920); the "benefit circle" composed of the land societies, building contractors, mortgage banks and houseowners had ruled as the real power behind urban development processes.(59)

As the reform demands could not be satisfied with existing policy devices and as the material needs were more strongly felt after the WW I, "publicly supported new social housing programmes" have been aimed at. They have been realized during the "Weimar Republic era" and mainly between 1926-1930 by such prominent architects/planners (combining "functionalist" views ("form follows function") with "housing co-operatives"', and "garden city" concepts) as Bruno Taut ("Onkel-Toms-Hütte, Berlin, 1926-1935; "Schollenhof", Berlin, 1927), Hans Scharoun, Martin Wagner, Hans Hertlein, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius ("Dammerstock", Karlsruhe, 1927; Siemensstadt", Berlin, 1930), Ernst May ("Römerstadt", Frankfurt, 1927- 1928), and M. Kiesling ("Paulinenhof", Frankfurt, 1926), among many others.(60) However, the housing gap was so big that the nearly over-2 million new dwellings constructed in the Weimar era could not meet the actual need. The "Imperial Housing Survey" of 1927 was mentioning that 776,000 families were "without a home to live in", i.e. "homeless".(61)

Although the "social housing" schemes of the 1920s were of "social- democrat" origin, the Nazis have continued them after 1933 under their fascist regime, as well. They have only made technical reforms and put into force the "**Law of Housing-for-Public-Benefit**" ("Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz") in 1940.(62) During the Second WW, some 2,2 million housing units (including W.Berlin), i.e. an amount equaling to 18% of the pre-war total national housing stock have been destroyed. If one takes into account the facts that 12 million migrants had come to Germany between 1945-1950; 2 million refugees from East Germany were seeking shelter; and that total housing deficit was 6 million in 1946(63), then, the German housing problem after the WW II becomes more imaginable.

The first "**Housing Building Law**" ("Wohnungsbaugesetz") dated 27.04.1950 has been approved 2 years after the "German Money Reform" of 20.06.1948 which had really prepared the ground for the economic re-birth of Germany. This law has introduced the now rather classic "**three-partite housing typology**" described as follows:

a)"**Public housing**" ("Sozialer Wohnungsbau"): Social housing units constructed with public financial support (without interest rate; to be paid back in 30 years) and to be rented out to specific (low) income- groups for rents ("Kostenmiete") to be determined by the state);

b)**New**ly constructed **housing units** benefitting from some (land) **tax** deductions (for 10 years);

c)**Housing** units produced by **(free) market** forces. (However, there are also by this type of housing (income) tax deductions since 1951.)

A fixed 40,9% of totally produced 16,481,051 housing units (between 1949-1980), i.e. 6,738,364 units, have been supported publicly. According to some experts, **Germany has no more a housing problem in "quantity" terms**: There are 24,486,000 households as opposed to a total of 24,708,000 housing units. In other words, there are 101 housing units per 100 households. Apart from this, there are average standards of 4,4 rooms and 80 squaremeter of area per dwelling unit; and moreover, 1,77 rooms and 32 sqm of area pro head. So, the housing problem of Germany has already been solved!(64) Actually the market had solved its problem in 1973 with the exception of only some growth regions(!), as some journalists had reported.(65)

However, the situation is not so simple as seen at first glance. In February 1981, 100-160 houses were **(forcefully) occupied** in Berlin! And 40 others were occupied too, in western Germany's cities like Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Cologne, Nuremberg, Göttingen, Aachen, Detmold, Marburg..(66) The waiting-queues in the municipal (public) housing authorities were rapidly increasing in the early 1980s. According to a survey made in big German cities in January 1980, there were **250,000 persons (families) waiting for public housing**! (60,000 in Berlin, 40,000 in Hamburg, 15,000 in Stuttgart; in each case, 20-30% of the applications were of "emergency" type of urgency!)(67) The official response of the authorities to housing demands was anything but satisfactory: In Cologne where a total of 17,000 families were waiting their turns, only 99 public housing units were "finished" in 1979! In Düsseldorf where there were over 10,000 applicants, not any single

unit had been completed in the same period! In Nuremberg where there were 12,471 households (with 28,718 people) waiting for housing, only 800 units (between January-October 1980) could be supplied!(68) And, again in 1978, some **700,000 dwelling units were marked as being staying "vacant"**!(69)

As with regard to the "**homeless**" persons, the situation is not very hopeful, either. Their total "official" figure, i.e. the one only including the persons who have been institutionalized (in the "emergency shelters", hotels,etc.), is given as being between 500,000-800,000.(70) However, experts say that their "real" figure should lie around "**several million**", if one takes into account the people who live under unsatisfactory conditions and/or who are just on the threshold to homelessness.(71)

Again, in Germany, the "qualified standards" mentioned also above are not distributed evenly to different socio-economic groups. Not only some "marginal groups" ("Randgruppen") like homeless people, "guestworkers", families with many children, gypsies, etc. are vulnerable to low standards. For instance, there were living in dwelling units greater than 80 sqm in 1972: 83% of the professionals; 45% of the officials; 33% of the workers; and only 21% of the unemployed households (HHs). (The correlation of the house occupation and household income level is apparent.) Besides, the average floor area pro person is distributed as follows: 52 sqm by one- person-HHs; 34 sqm by two-person-HHs; 25 sqm by three-person-HHs; and lastly (be it partially) below-20 sqm by 4 (and more)-person-HHs! Moreover, it is a fact that physical deficiencies with

regard to bathroom, WC and central heating installations in dwellings are more frequently met by HHs with old persons and **foreigners**. (80% of the old buildings stemming from the early 1900s were not having a bathroom in 1950! The ratio in 1978 was 11 percent!)(72)

The reasons for the (at least for some experts, "paradoxical"?) inability of the German housing sector to cater for the actual demand are manyfold. In Germany, more than a half of totally 6,5 million housing units supplied with public support (after the WW II) was produced by "non-profit housing societies" which were active since the foundation of the "Berlin Building Society" in 1847. These societies have been able to grow until 1939 to 3 464 societies having produced totally 1,2 million units. With their number decreased to 1 885 in 1977, their total housing stock has risen to 3,3 million in the 1980s. The housing co-operatives which are making nearly two-thirds of those housing societies (1 246 co- operatives within 1 885 societies) are producing nearly (only) the one third share of the production (i.e., 28-31%)! Another producer, the "Neue Heimat" (of the German Federation of Trade Unions ("DGB")) established in 1926 has been able to have a share of 3,9% in the national construction sector and to complete some 452,985 units (a two-thirds of which is rental stock and a one fifth of which is privately owned) until the 1980s!(73)

Between the years 1950-1978, there have been constructed some 15,5 million units of housing in F.Germany, 4,8 million of which, i.e. a one third, was "owner-occupied". Whereas the share of the non-profit housing societies and co-operatives in the annual housing production was 25-30% in

the 1950s (with a typical inner city housing of 4-5 stories), it has diminished year by year to 17% in the early seventies (the typical housing forms of the sixties and early seventies were the "satellite settlements") ("Trabantensiedlungen") like "Maerkisches Viertel in Berlin"); and to only 7% in the second half of the seventies! Opposing this picture, the share of the "free housing firms" which was in the fifties around 3%, has risen to 15% in the 1980s.(74)

The composition of the German housing stock (in 1978) according to the ownership pattern was as follows: There were altogether 23,8 million housing units within the stock, of which 8,5 million units were "owner-occupied"; and the rest of 15,3 million were "rental units".. So, the **German housing stock was and still is a rental stock, to a great extent**! This situation was strengthened with the "Law of Allied Forces for Housing Economical Administration" ("Gesetz der Alliierten zur Wohnraumbewirtschaftung") of 1948 which was ordering that the "old-building stock" of 9 million units should be "(economically) enforcedly administered" ("zwangsbewirtschaftet"), i.e. controlled by the state; the tenants would not be evicted without an official permission. Besides that, the "**Law for Rent-Price Stop**" ("Mietpreisstop") of 1936 had been prolonged, too.(75)

The **housing policy** of the early 1980s in Germany has mainly "**three legal columns**" (therefore called as "**Dreisaeulentheoris**"): The first one is the "**1st and 2nd Housing Building Laws**" (of 27.04.1950 and 01.06.1956, respectively) which were directly and/or indirectly supporting

new (public and private, as well) housing units; the second one is the "**Urban Renewal and Town Development Act**" ("Staedtebauförderungsgesetz") of 01.08.1971 (aiming at preserving and modernising the existing building stock, promoting also new ones; it was changed in 1976, 1979, and 1984); and the third one is the "**Housing Modernisation Law**" ("Wohnungsmodernisierungsgesetz") of 23.08.1976 which has as its aim to modernise dwellings (by promoting private capital) also in accordance with the "Law for Energy Saving" ("Energieeinsparungsgesetz") of 12.06.1978. The German legal coding system related with housing issues has been "simplified" with the "**Law for Simplification of the Housing Law**" ("Wohnungsrechtsvereinfachungsgesetz") of 17.07.1985.(76)

Another important issue in German housing system in the early 1980s has been the idealization and perfection of the national "capitalist market economy" and accordingly, efforts have been spent for restructuring the housing (sub)market(s) in that general direction, too.(77) It is known that Konrad Adenauer had said as early as in 1946 that they would try to make the private capital be interested with housing building; otherwise "housing problem could not be solved". Apart from this, and although the share of publicly produced housing (in a **direct** way) is too small (i.e. around 3% only, the rest of the public financial contribution to the sector is distributed to private persons and/or firms as "subventions"), the CDU/CSU/FDP governments have always had wanted to "stop" the public intervention in order to have "**more market**" and/or to "**deregulate**" it! As a result of this policy and right after the issuing of the "2nd Housing Building Law" in 1956,

one had started to curb systematically the share of the publicly supported housing. (The share which was 70% of all "new buildings" in the early 1950s, was 50% in the end of the 1950s; 30% in the end of the 1960s; and below-25% in the early 1980s!) Again, one has started with the "Law About the Elimination of the Enforced Housing Economical Administration and About A Social Rental-, and Housing Law" ("Gesetz über den Abbau der Wohnungszwangswirtschaft und über ein soziales Miet- und Wohnrecht") of 01.07.1960 (which was the legal "coding" of the "Lücke (CDU)-Plan" foreseeing to exterminate the "rent control" for old-buildings (i.e. constructed before 1950), in "white circles" ("weisse Kreise") (i.e. cities where the housing deficit was calculated as being no more than 3 percent) in 1963; and in "black circles" ("schwarze Kreise") in 1966) to "**liberalise**" the old-housing-(sub)market. The enforced housing economical administrations and/or rent-price limitations were exterminated in the cities of F.Germany with the exception of some growth poles (like Munich and Hamburg until 1975) and W.Berlin, thereupon. As a result of this policy, **rents have skyrocketed and many tenants have been evacuated thus economically**. The federal government has introduced two laws (the "Law for Betterment of the Rent Law and for Limiting Rent-Price Increases" ("Das Gesetz zur Verbesserung des Mietrechts und zur Begrenzung des Mietanstiegs") of 01.11.1971; and the "Law About Protection For Evacuation From Rental Housing" ("Das Gesetz über den Kündigungsschutz für Mietverhaeltnisse über Wohnraum") of 25.11.1971, which has been

reformulated as the "2nd Evacuation Law" on 01.01.1975) for helping to the tenants.(78)

Preliminary results obtained by this "liberal" policies were pointing out to the fact that small-, and medium-scaled housing building societies were not very successful in provision of housing to especially low-income urbanites, since they have had to work in an environment of speculative urban land market(s)(79) and with rather high mortgage interest rates (being 8,5% in November 1972; 11,2% in May 1981). Urban land market increases coupled with other "market events" like the doubling of the construction costs within the decade of 1970-1980 and the likewise increase of the cost of financial sources, as well, have curbed (public) housing production remarkably. The annual housing production between 1970- 1979 has fallen to 498,000, and it has went down from 398,400 units in 1984 to 208,600 in 1988. The share of the public housing has went down to 27 percent (between 1970-1979) and new public housing production has decreased from 104,100 in 1983 to 38,900 in 1988. Even the eagerly efforts of the customers for "owner-occupied" units were not enough; and in 1980, 20% less construction permits for one-, and two-family houses were given than it were in 1979.(80) Moreover, with the entrance into "more market economy", the "**rental load**" of some socio-economic groups had grown enormously: Whereas the ratio of the "rental load" was only 9-10% of the HH net-income in the 1950s, it has risen to 13% in the 1980s and to 19% in the early 1990s. It lies in big cities often around 30 percent!(81) Besides this, the rate of the families (within total HHs) whose rental load's share within their

net income was more than 20%, has increased from 6% in 1956, to 25% in 1972, and to 30% in the 1980s.(82) The figure of the HHs which have been getting the so-called (official) "**housing allowance**" ("**Wohngeld**") (as introduced by the "2nd Wohngeldgesetz" of 14.12.1970 which has been changed on 01.01.1986) in order to "compensate their family budgets for paying the (steadily increasing) rents" (as on the basis of their (family-) sizes, the amount of the total family incomes and the amounts of officially defined 6 stages of subventions changing according to the actual rent levels in locations) has risen from 400,000 in 1965, to 908,000 in 1970 and to 1,760,000 in 1981 (i.e. it has grown more than four- fold)! Their figure has slightly fallen to 1,650,000 in 1988; and they were getting on average 144 DM per month. (The total rent subsidy paid in the whole country in 1988 had been 3,7 billion DM.) Nearly half of them still live in public housing units; a sign that **even public housing can not solve housing problems of especially some specific groups**!(83)

However, these and other signs were not taken into account by the governments targeting "liberalism". After the issuing of the (pro-owner) "**Law For Increasing the Supply of Rental Dwellings**" ("das Gesetz zur Erhöhung des angebots von Mietwohnungen") of 20.12.1982, the deregulation politics of the Kohl government has continued with the announcement of the "withdrawal of the federal state (even) from the promotion of the public housing" (stated in 1984 by the federal housing building minister O.Schneider (CSU); and put into force on 01.01.1986). So, whereas the number of the public housing units promoted by the state was

59,000 in 1983, the number in 1987 was only 12,700!(84) Besides this, the government has also decided to exterminate the "non-profit housing societies"' production form ("gemeinnützige Wohnwirtschaft") (which had produced between 1950-1985 more than 4,7 million of a total of 18 million units; i.e. a sheer 26%) on 01.01.1990. (Until 1995, the lower ("Kostenmiete") rents of those units will be equalized with higher "market rents"! This also would mean **evacuation of poor tenants**.. Here one should also think the size (nearly 600,000 units between 1972-1978!) of the old-buildings which had been "**modernized**" and afterwards "transformed" into "owner-occupied" dwelling units, in order to grasp the dimensions of the "**loss of rental stock**" and/or the heavy burden on the side of the tenants!(85)

The output in housing construction in western Germany dropped 4,7% in 1991, in the wake of an 8% spurt in 1990. Such factors as high mortgage financing costs, rising property prices and a squeeze on personal incomes kept many potential homebuilders out of the market. Although there had been a slight increase in their numbers in 1992, that could not be enough to alleviate "the housing shortage, which has been worsened by an increase in single-person households and migration from eastern Germany". Home construction fell likewise in eastern Germany and by a rate of 25 percent! The investors have been deterred by low prospective returns from putting up multi-unit dwellings and high interest rates combined with economic uncertainties have stemmed private homebuilding.(86)

So, one can easily say that **the results of the deregulation of the housing market in Germany have been catastrophal for low-income social strata, tenants and some specific groups such as the guestworkers and/or Turks with many children who are mainly the least wanted tenants of the housing (sub)markets**.. If one is reminded by the "German Federation of Tenants" ("der Deutsche Mieterbund") which accepts as the threshold of the end of housing (scarcity) problem by a vacancy rate of 3% of the total housing stock(87), that the German housing deficit is around 1,2 million (in the spring of 1990), the picture becomes more darker..(88)

7.5 NEW(!) URBAN HOUSING PROBLEM IN GERMANY IS THE "TURKS' PROBLEM"

As seen above from the short history in Germany, housing has always been (as everywhere in the world, too) a class-specific problem, i.e. a problem of the underprivileged ones, of the workers, of the urban poors in general. Starting right after the WW II and following the destruction of the "old colonial world order" in which the "white, Christian, civilized, and racist" Europeans were exploiting the native populations (living in different regions of the world) by letting them work for the First World, the western European world has entered into a new economic period: A new era during which the necessary labor forces for global capitalist undertakings would be "imported" from the former (full-, or semi-) colonies, protectorates, and/or "war-friends"' countries..

Then, one bears witness to the Turkish guestworkers' appearance on German soil and their evolution/involution into a stationary working ("under)class" group, as described in Ch.6. Since the **Turks** were and are now in the lowest ranks of the German society, they can be considered as **the real "urban poors" of Germany** living mostly as discriminated against, distanced, i.e. "**segregated**" from the rest of the larger society in their "**ghettos**"! It is clear that they will be meeting (rather huge) housing problems. **Their concentration in specific regions, specific cities, specific city-parts, and specific housing types of Germany is not a random case**, at all. Benefitting rather from the census survey data of 1968 (because the one in 1987 was not available?!), Friedrichs & Alpheis say with regard to the ethnic minority (i.e. largely Turks') housing conditons in F.Germany the following:

> "There are no differences in the dwelling spaces of owners, but foreign owners have only 1 percent of the total number of dwellings owned, a figure far below their share in the population. Foreign renters have smaller apartments than their German counterparts(..). Most of the major group of foreigners, foreign labor, was initially located in inner-city neighborhoods near declining industrial and commercial zones, areas often designated for urban renewal. Case studies for Augsburg (Ruile 1984; Reimann and Reimann 1987), Berlin (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik 1977, 1982), Frankfurt (Helmert 1982), Nuremberg (Maertens 1980), or Stuttgart (Loll 1982a, 1982b) have shown the disproportionate concentration of foreign born in such areas. Both Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Maertens demonstrate that invasion-succession processes occurred in such CBD-adjacent renewal areas, following closely the patterns observed in North American cities. In the FRG, it was foreign labor that invaded traditional working-class neighborhoods."(89)

Again, J. Friedrichs who states that "**the segregation phenomenon is the central survey field of city analysis**", adds to his words the following:

> "If there are in a society a social inequality of the members and an inequality of services in (different) space(s)(..)(..)then, (..) arises the segregation survey.(..) Segregation= The disproportional distribution of the element types (social strata, occupation-, age groups, etc., Ö.B.) to parts of a unity.(..) The theoretical concept of "segregation" can be analysed in three different concepts(..):

Segregation: The rate of the unequal distribution of the elements to the urbanized subregions of a region (plane "region").

Concentration: The share of the population in a subregion within the total population of the region (plane "subregion").

"**Spatial distance**: The spatial length between the persons in a subregion (plane "İndividual")."(90)

Moreover, according to him, "discrimination" (which means: "targeted reducement of the means bringing to objects and persons"), "prejudices" and "social distance" which are the three variables of a "**socialpsychological type of explanation for segregation**" could be used as coupled with the "**ecological type of explanation**" consisting of such factors as "rents" (which do differ from eachother in different subregions due to topography, emissions, land uses, types of buildings, etc.), "income", "city structure", etc. for clarification of segregation phenomena on the city surfaces.(91) Another point which has been found out in many researchs in Germany is that the existence of "guestworkers" within the local labor force

does influence the segregation phenomenon; if their share gets bigger, so does the social distance and also the income disequilibrium in a city.(92)

What Friedrichs had said with regard to segregational processes in Germany does point out to the very existence and essence of the topic called as "**Türkenproblem**". It is rather a **"vicious circle" for Turks**: When one enters into it as a (guest)worker, one has no other choice but to live, and work, and raise and educate their children, (and even die) according to the written (or unwritten) laws, standards, and prescriptions set before for themselves by the German state and/or society! In order to get out of this vicious circle, one necessitates huge civil courage, (judicial) knowledge, and financial resources. Since these factors are not always present for the majority of the Turks there, and since they live under too precarious judicial existence conditions which cannot prevent them from being expelled out in case of a failure, their socio-spatially segregational conditions will endure for an unanticipated future. Let's look at their spatial history in Germany from a closer perspective.

At the very beginning of the "Germany story", the Turks had mostly lived in the "**working places'/companies' collective(ly lived) large barracks and/or boarding homes, dormitories ("Heime")**" as it was agreed upon in the work contracts. (They were found in the areas of many cities where large industrial concerns are located in such a proximity that though it is illegal, the practice of "**hot bed**", i.e. the same bed being used by different workers as they consecutively switch work shifts(!), was met frequently.) For instance, the housing condition of a Turkish

construction worker who was among the first 134 Turkish workers to be brought by the German employers to North Rhine-Westphalia in 1961, was agreed upon in the work contract (signed in Istanbul on 24.02.1961) to be arranged as follows: "Housing of the workers will be supplied by the employer within movable housing units."(93)

In one of the pioneering researchs made in the field of Turkish guestworkers in Germany, Prof. N. Abadan had found out that the Turkish workers in Germany were living to an extent of 85% in "mass shelters" such as worker dormitories (Heime), of which were 9,7% "barracks free of charge" (like mobile homes ("Wohnwagen"), and makeshift barracks of plywood without water and gas), in 1963.(94) According to her, housing facilities of the Turks in F.Germany were as follows:

Table 7.1 : Housing Types of the (Turkish) Workers (1963)

Housing Type	Number of Workers	(%)
Lodgement supplied by work contract	417	84,4
Shared rental flat with other workers	4	0,8
Boarder by a family	46	9,3
Free, rented flat	4	0,8
No reply	23	4,7
	494	100,0

(Source: Nermin Abadan, Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları, Ankara: D.P.T., November 1964, p.103 (Table 83).)

Abadan has also stated that nearly half (47,0%) of the Turkish workers were living in "comfortable" buildings (more so than their original homes left behind in Turkey); and that they were staying to an extent of

52,4% in rooms for 4-6 persons which was rather an uncomfortable situation.(95)

The physical conditions of those "company collective housing facilities" were in most instances, at a very insufficient service level, indeed, although they were inhabiting in 1972 nearly 500,000 foreign workers (i.e. nearly one-fourth of the total) according to the data given by the "Federal Work Agency" ("Bundesanstalt für Arbeit")! In a survey carried out by E. Zieris in 189 private company dormitories (which were supervised by the official Work Departments) including altogether 2067 bedrooms in which some 98,500 foreign workers were living (i.e. 15,7% of all foreign workers in North Rhine-Westfalia, the survey's region), it was found out that there were not enough kitchens, cooking places, washing facilities existing. In some dormitories, one could detect structural deficiencies like the lack of emergency doors, of fire-extinction services, and the like. One-fourth of those collective facilities were classified as "barracks"; and one-third of them were old-buildings (i.e. constructed before 1948). 52% of them were located on the actual companies' lands. Apart from these, the administrators of those facilities were behaving to the customers (guestworkers) in a very rough manner one is not used to; they were behaving as if they were in a military garrison! (Ex-Nazis?!) (For instance, all workers had to stand up on workdays at 6:00 o'clock, whether they were free on that day or not?! It was also forbidden to accept one's female guest!) And, the living conditions of the guestworkers who were staying in private dormitories (not owned by companies) were much more worser!(96) It is maybe therefore that Gür

describes this first housing periode of the Turks as "barracks' periode" and states that the Turks "as being foreigner and being unable to pay the high rents wanted (from them by the landlords)" were being left without any other housing alternative than "barracks, storehouses, garages".(97)

Gür further gives some descriptions of the collective shelters as they were written in Zieris' book) dated December 1972 as follows:

> "One-fourth of the company dormitories in the North Rhine-Westphalia Land is consisting of barracks, and (the rest of) three-fourth of massive stone houses.Although the barracks were prepared formigrant workers, the stone dormitory houses have been converted from old housing buildings to an extent of 30% ; from government buildings (25%) and from hangars (20%).(..)There are no eyeglasses in the roo ms to an extent of 13%; no wall-plugs (33%);(..) no washbasin (55%)(..) the kitchens are not in proper standards (14%)."(98)

Some companies were providing "lodgements" for their workers in such high-rise buildings which were newly built with new technologies in and around the German big cities during the 1950s and 1960s (the "satellite cities" ("Trabantenstaedte")). And some others were renting for their "guest(worker)s" inexpensive lodgements in old buildings located in urban renewal areas and which were awaiting modernization and/or demolishment.(99)

There were at first subpopulation movements between those two types of housing districts in German big cities which may be considered as a form of "invasion-succession" processes: The old-housing landlords who were wanting to benefit from the urban renewal undertakings started in the early 1960s, were not repairing their houses at all and were letting, so to say, decay the buildings which were located mostly in near-CBD districts.

The tenant inhabitants of those old buildings who were annoyed by this decaying process of their districts into "**slum**" areas with their all negative social attributes, and also being made uneasy by the increasing guestworker waves "invading" their living areas, had started to move to those newly built and prestigous "Trabantenstaedte".(100) (The fact that those newly built housing stocks in "satellite" cities were far from being "technologically safe and sound"(!), and were thus necessitating huge repair costs(101), is another tragic story.)

And within the old-buildings' districts they had left, the rent levels of the housing units have never fallen down as one would expect. Because the landlords have easily been able to let their decaying houses to the most disadvantageous customer group, namely to the Turkish guestworkers for rather astronomic prices!(102) The "invasion-succession" processes causing changes in the social and ethnic composition of the tenants living in those regions(103), have made the rent levels (in esp. big cities) increase strikingly. Generally having to live with their families consisting of many children in small housing units(104), the Turkish guestworkers have only been able to find old working class housing units which are mostly in form of a "one-room-kitchen-unit" located in dilapidated turn-of-the-century-buildings taking place in urban renewal areas and/or in areas where there are serious environmental hazards existing, i.e. in the worst-conditioned submarkets of German big cities' housing markets.(105)

Although there are in Germany also "**public housing** schemes" produced with public resources and to be allocated to the needy persons ,

as we've seen in the foregoing section, and although the foreign workers and especially the Turks who are mostly discriminated against by the landlords/houseowners in the housing (sub)markets, are in need of those public housing units, the situation is rather a "**scandal**"! These publicly produced and socially to be distributed housing units are allocated to the persons on the "**waiting lists**" of the "(State/Municipal) Housing Departments" ("SHD"s) (which do "give" to needy persons "**housing (right's) coupon**" ("**Wohnberechtigungsschein**") for a year), according to a system which has two components. The first system is called as the "**private model**" ("Privates Modell"), in which the owner (of the public house) selects his/her tenant from among the candidates determined by the SHD according to some fixed conditions. The second system is called as the "**mixed system**" ("gemischtes Modell"), in which the SHD selects three candidates according to its conditions; and thereafter the landlord makes his/her own selection. In the "private model", it has been found out that the housing (production) companies/firms do start from some thoughts by actual allocation of housing units, such as "trust" for rents' payments to be made orderly; and also "saving" their housing districts from "falling down/being invaded" by the "foreigners"! In order to hinder the last possibility, some(?) of them do "limit" the foreigners' share within their districts/complexes with "30 percent".. Apart from this, one has also increased the "(total household) income threshold" used for the determination of the "needy" persons : It has been "enlarged" to include **nearly 75 percent of all German households** according to the 25th article of the "Wohnungsbaugesetz"!(106) In other words, one has arranged

it so, that one **should not be obliged to select foreigners**! As a result, the foreigners/Turks who compete for scarce public housing units with Germans (on a racial ground), can not get those units, practically, anymore! In Berlin, for instance, the figures of the foreigners having "got" the public housing were only 90 in 1973 (i.e. 10% of the foreign applicants in that year only!); and (due to a new, pro- foreigner arrangement made) 1039 and 1298 in 1976 and 1977, respectively!(107)

As with regard to the technical standards of the by foreigner workers' occupied housing units, we do not think that anyone could have big expectations. It is really so. Just to mention some research findings, one cen give the following figures: Again, Zieris states in his empirical research conducted in North Rhine-Westfalia that "the area of the houses of the foreign worker families are definitely below the average (German) standards" and that "it is around 38,5 sqm (2,5 rooms) per housing unit" whereas "the average rental housing unit's area in North Rhine-Westfalia is around 60,1 sqm".(108) He has also found out that only 32% of the foreigner families had "**WC**" in the house; and only 16% had "**bathroom**". 58% of these families had to make use of a "**common (communal) toilette**"; and only 17% had "**central heating**".(109) According to Zieris, and although the housing units occupied by the foreigners were thus far below the average standards, the foreigners were paying 31% more than the average rent levels prevailing!(110) Again, Ulbrich states that the foreigners in Germany do have the "most problematic housing conditions" and that they occupy rental housing units to an extent of 95% (of which 10% are subtenants). 32% of

them have 1-, 2-room-housing units. And only 40% of the rental units occupied by them have a bathroom and central heating. One-fourth of them have had a toilette out of the unit. (One should think here that 58% of the foreigners are living in old-buildings..)(111)

Under these rather socially "racial"-, physically and economically "restrictionist" housing conditions, it is more than normal, then, to see the Turks having immense housing problems do run from one point on the space to the other; from one official instance to the other; and do create their "**ghettos**" (because they are made to create it) around themselves!(112) And the ghettos they create will **not** be of a duration for only(!) **three generations**, as some experts suggest(113), since their existence conditions are similar to those of an **underclass** like the one consisting of the blacks and Hispanics in the United States.

A last point should be made with regard to the legal restrictions introduced by the German authorities in order to hinder/prevent of the birth and/or growth of those Turkish ghettos: Since all foreigners not having permanent residence permits have to get the temporary permit be periodically renewed, anyone who seeks to have a permit be renewed gets into his passport a list of those cities stamped in which one may not settle in! This "**ban on admission to residence in certain urban areas of the country**" started on 01.04.1975 has been instigated due to the supposingly too high concentration of the foreigners (causing "a heavy strain on the social infrastructure"!) in "congested areas" where sometimes "every fourth worker is a foreign national". When in a city **the foreign population**

exceeds 6 percent of the total population, then the city can apply to the state government for the "**designation of overburdened settlement area**". If this application is accepted, then the same city may declare an end to all further immigration (of foreigners).. And if **the city's foreign population share goes above the threshold of 12%**, then the city can automatically declare itself "**overburdened settlement**" and may end all further immigration. As of January 1977, five of the largest German cities such as Cologne (with a foreign population share of 11,3%), Frankfurt (17,1%), Hannover (8,4%), Munich (15,4%) and W.Berlin (9,4) had received the mentioned designation and tried to ban further settlement.(114) As it is possible to stop the "interregional" movements of especially "the recent arrivals, those who are less assimilated into German society, and those from the non-EEC countries" with this legislation, it is also possible with it to stop the "intraregional"movements, as well. "For example, not only has the city of Berlin declared itself oversettled vis-a- vis the rest of the country, but it has also declared three of its own districts oversettled and thus halted any further movements by foreign workers into these areas from other sectors of the city".(115)

However, those bans have not been very effective: After 15 years of implementation of the mentioned "ban" practices all over Germany, one as got the following picture(116):

Frankfurt am Main	24,6%	(foreigner share)
Offenbach.....	22,7%	(")
Stuttgart.....	19,7%	(")
Munich.....	18,3%	(")
Düsseldorf.....	17,0%	(")
W.Berlin.....	13,6%	(")

And those designated three districts in Berlin which were Kreuzberg, Tiergarten and Wedding have displayed a demographical evolution as follows(117):

	Tiergarten		Wedding		Kreuzberg	
	Foreign(%)	Turks(%)	F	T	F	T
1972	13,6	44,4	15,5	62,7	21,2	62,6
1973	16,0	47,8	17,6	65,3	24,5	66,7
1990	-	-	21,0	-	28,0	-

Therefore, the intraregional ban practice in Berlin has been cancelled out in1990.(118) The interregional one hasn't been very effective, either, as the figures show.

7.6 CONCLUSION

The "**new**" housing problem of Germany which has been developing in its cities rather in accordance to the very industrialization process started in the second half of the 19th century, is rather the continuation of the "**old**" one which had made itself apparent with the "Mietskasernen" specifically constructed for the urban poors between the last quarter of the 19th-, and the first one of the 20th centuries.

Those "Mietskasernen" are still among the housing facilities of the urban poors of the 1990s. **And the urban poors of the German cities are now the Turkish underclass members**. They are struggling with those federal and local spatial policies formulated as against themselves and their ghettos. However, life, be it even in ghettos, seems to be winning..

Let's move on to Berlin, i.e. to **"the Turkish city out of the Turkish national borders"**!

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. John Naisbitt clarifies both terms as follows: "The information society had its beginnings in 1956 and 1957(..). In 1956, for the first time in American history, white-collar workers(..) outnumbered blue-collar workers. Industrial America was giving way to a new society(..). The following year-1957-marked the beginning of the globalization of the information revolution: The Russians launched Sputnik, the missing technological catalyst in a growing information society." See: John Naisbitt, Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives, New York: Warner Books, 1982, pp.11-12.

2. Jochen Blaschke, Kurt Greussing (Eds.), "Dritte Welt" in Europa - Probleme der Arbeitsimmigration, Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1980. H. Brand states the following with regard to the U.S.: "At its core, American immigration policy is a cheap-labor policy." ("Inequality and Immigration", Dissent, Summer 1994, (pp.404-406)p.405. Richard Rothstein has recently (in Dissent, Fall 1993) said the following which has started a scholarly debate: "American upper-middle-class life is dependent on immigrant workers performing tasks at wages no established resident would consider(...) Immigrant wages for housecleaning, lawn moving, child care, and even carwashing make work outside the home feasible for people who could otherwise not afford it." (See: Joanne Barkan's explanations in Dissent, Summer 1994, (pp.406-410)p.406.) See for Yuppies and Dinks (also) in Germany: Cihan Arìn, "Metropole und Rassismus", Prowo, No:7, 26.10.1990, pp.1, 5.

3. Renate Petzinger, Marlo Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot: Das Wohnungswunder Bundesrepublik, Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1981; Christian Ude (Ed.), Wege aus der Wohnungsnot, München, Zürich: Serie Piper Band 1277, September 1990.

4. Jürgen Friedrichs, "A Theory of Urban Decline: Economy, Demography and Political Elites", Urban Studies, Vol.30 No:6, 1993, (pp.907-917)p.907.

5. Saskia Sassen, "The Urban Complex in A World Economy", International Social Science Journal, No:139, February 1994, (pp.43-62)p.43.

6. (President's Commission 1980) President's Commission For A National Agenda For the Eighties (Ed.), Urban America in the Eighties, Washington, D.C.: U.S.Government Printing Office, 1980, p.4.

7. Jürgen Friedrichs, "Die Zukunft der Staedte in der Bundesrepublik", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren: Demographische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1985, (pp.2-22)pp.2-3. (Of course, this warning

and/or signal doesarise only due to the very existence of a specific "time lag" between American and German cities. The northeastern U.S. cities are relatively "backward" as compared to the southern (and southwestern) U.S. cities in structural/technological senses.)

8. Center For Turkish Studies (Ed.), Migration Movements From Turkey to the European Community, Brussels, January 1993, pp.28-29 (Table 12).

9. Hartmut Esser, "Auslaendische Bevölkerung und grossstaedtische Entwicklungen", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), (pp.117-146)p.123.

10. Ibid., pp.128-129.

11. Ibid., pp.130-131 (Table 6). See for detailed information about the regions: Susan Stern (Ed.), Meet United Germany: Handbook 1992/93, Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH Information Services/Atlantik-Brücke e.V., 1992, pp.28-29, 32-33, 45-46.

12. Esser, "Auslaendische(..)" op.cit., p.135; and see also: Cihan Arìn, Sigmar Gude, Hermann Wurtinger, Auf der Schattenseite des Wohnungsmarkts: Kinderreiche Immigrantenfamilien, Basel.Boston.Stuttgart: Birkhaeuser Verlag, 1985.

13. Arìn et.al., Auf der Schattenseite(..), pp.13-15.

14. Ibid., p.15.

15. Ibid., p.26.

16. Susan Stern, "A Tale of Two Countries: A History of the Postwar Germanies", (in)Meet United Germany: Perspectives 1992/93 (Ed.: Susan Stern), Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH Information Services/Atlantik-Brücke e.V., 1992, (pp.24-37)p.26.

17. In this section, if otherwise not mentioned, I'll embark upon one of my earlier works: Özer Bostanoğlu, "Federal Almanya'da Halk Katılımı ve Türkler" ("Public Participation in Federal Germany and the Turks"), Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.22, No:2, June 1989, pp.41-52.

18. Schöller, (with) H.H. Blotevogel, H.J. Buchholz, M. Hommel, and I. Schilling-Kaletsch, "The Settlement System of the Federal Republic of Germany", (in) Urbanization and Settlement Systems: International Perspectives (Eds.: L.S. Bourne, R. Sinclair, K. Dziewonski), New York: Oxford University Press, 1984, (pp.178-199)p.178.

19. Ibid.

20. Franz-Ludwig Knemeyer, "Local Government in Germany", International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol.49, No:2, 1983, (pp.175-182)p.175.

21. Ibid.

22. Mack Walker, German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate 1648-1871, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1971, pp.27-30.

23. Hıfzı Veldet Velidedeoğlu, Devirden Devire - 2 ("From Epoch to Epoch-2"), Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975, p.336.

24. Braudel states that "(b)efore 1789 in France, the nobility probably controlled 20% of the landed property in the kingdom"; see: Fernand Braudel, The Wheels of Commerce: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century Volume II (Trans.by: Sian Reynolds), New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1986, p.261.

25. Velidedeo/lu, loc.cit.

26. Walker, German Home Towns(..) op.cit., p.28.

27. In the later eighteenth century, about three-quarters of the imperial towns with populations over 15 thousand had legally recognized governing patriciates, while three-quarters of those under 15 thousand did not. (See: Walker, German Home Towns(..) op.cit., p.28.)

28. Ibid., p.29.

29. Knemeyer, "Local Government(..)"op.cit., p.175; Rolf Krumsiek, "The Self-Administration of Communes in the Federal Republic of Germany", International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol.47, No:3, 1981, (pp.264-270)p.264.

30. Schöller et.al., "The Settlement System(..)"op.cit., pp.178-179.

31. Walker, German Home Towns(..) op.cit., pp.44-46.

32. Ibid., pp.47-48.

33. Ibid., pp.137-140.

34. Knemeyer, "Local Government(..)"op.cit., pp.175-176.

35. AJ Hooper, "Federal Republic of Germany", (in)Planning Control in Western Europe (Eds.: HWE Davies, D. Edwards, AJ Hooper, JV Punter), London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, December 1987,

(pp.253-335)pp.264, 266; H. Uppendahl, "Intergovernmental Relations in the Federal Republic of Germany: An Overview", (in)Local Government in Britain and Germany (Ed.: A. Norton), Birmingham: Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society/Joint Centre for Regional Urban and Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham, 1985, pp.23-24; and: Knemeyer, "Local Government(..)"op.cit., p.176. (The number of county boroughs has been reduced from 135 to 91, of counties from 425 to 237, and of local authorities ("Gemeinden") within counties by a ratio of two-thirds from 24,282 to 8,409.)

36. Özer Bostanoğlu, "(Federal) Alman Kentleşmesinde Konut ve Türk Sorunu" ("Housing and Turks' Problem in (Federal) German Urbanization"), Toplum ve Bilim, Vol.43/44, Fall 1988-Winter 1989, (pp.141-156)p.142. (If otherwise not mentioned, in this section, I'll make use of this article to a great extent.)

37. Giorgio Piccinato, Staedtebau in Deutschland 1871-1914: Genese einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin (Trans.by: M. Peterek), Braunschweig/ Wiesbaden: Vieweg-Bauwelt Fundamente 62, 1983, p.22.

38. Ibid., p.26.

39. Jürgen Reulecke, Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1985, p.68.

40. Ibid., pp.71-73.

41. Anthony Sutcliffe, Towards the Planned City, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981, p.1.

42. Ibid., pp.11-12; see also: Krumsiek, "The Self- Administration(..)"op.cit., p.264.

43. In England, starting from 1830s onwards, a lot of researchs, survey reports have been published with regard to very bad living and housing conditions in industrial towns. Among them, one may cite the following: James Ph. Kay, The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester (2nd Ed.), 1832 (of which Engels had also made use of); Report of the Factory Inquiry Commissioners, 1833; Reports of the Inspector of Factories; Reports of the Children's Employment Commission 1863-1867; Public Health Reports of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council (1840-1870); W.P. Alison, Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland and Its Effects on the Health of Great Towns, Edinburgh, 1840; Edmund Chadwick, Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring People, 1842; First Report of the Commissioners For Inquiring Into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, 1844; and Second Report(..), 1845. (The last three reports do provide for a ground for the first urban planning

act, i.e. "Public Health Act of 1848"!) (See: Piccinato, Staedtebau in Deutschland(..)op.cit., p.139 (Ref.(39)); and Friedrich Engels, Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England (3rd Edi.), München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1980 (1845), p.69.)

44. Piccinato, Staedtebau in Deutschland(..)op.cit.,pp.30-32.

45. Sutcliffe, Towards the Planned City(..)op.cit., pp.13-15.

46. Ibid., p.15; see also Özer Bostanoğlu, "Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya Yönelen Dışgöç Hareketi ve Yarattığı Mekansal Oluşumlar", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.20, No:4, December 1987, (pp.89-106)p.102. (See for more information on it, Ch.8. of the Thesis.)

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49. Dirk Schubert, "Wohnungsreform und Bodenspekülation", (in) Lesebuch zur Wohnungsfrage (Eds.: Hartmut Frank, Dirk Schubert), Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, 1983, (pp.43-68)p.44.

50. Sutcliffe, Towards the Planned City(..)op.cit., p.17; Schubert, "Wohnungsreform(..)"op.cit., p.46; H. Preuss, Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Staedtewesens (Vol.1), Leipzig, 1906; and Wolfgang W. Mickel (Ed.), Arbeitsbuch: Politik 2, Düsseldorf: August Bagel Verlag, 1978, p.100.

51. Reulecke,Geschichte der Urbanisierung(..)op.cit.,pp.78-84.

52. Ibid., pp.87-88; Sutcliffe, Towards the Planned City(..)op.cit., pp.18- 21.

53. Sutcliffe,Towards the Planned City(..)op.cit.,pp.28-32.

54. Ibid., pp.33-34.

55. Boese, Geschichte des Vereins für Sozialpolitik 1872-1932, Berlin,1939, p.52.

56. Dirk Schubert, "Innere Kolonisation und Eigenheim", (in) Lesebuch zur Wohnungsfrage(..)op.cit. (Eds.: Hartmut Frank, Dirk Schubert), p.72.

57. Their number which was 28 in 1888, had risen to 385 in 1900, to 1402 in 1914 and to 4095 in 1928! (See: Janos Zimmermann, "Eine historische Betrachtung staedtischer Wohnumweltsituationen", (in) Lernbereich Wohnen - 2 (Eds.: Michael Andritzky, Gert Selle), Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, March 1983 (1979), (pp.224-248)pp.235-236.)

58. Helmut W. Jenkis, Alman Konut Sistemi ve Konut Siyasalarì ("The German Housing System and Housing Policies") (Trans.by: Erol Sayìn), Ankara: Kent- Koop Yayìnì No:36, 1984, p.8.

59. Hartmut Frank, "Sozialisierung und Gemeinwirtschaft", (in)Lesebuch zur Wohnungsfrage(..)op.cit. (Eds.: Hartmut Frank, Dirk Schubert), (pp.90-113)p.92; and Ernst Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention und freiem Spiel: Entwicklung der Wohnungsbau- und Mietrechtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.13-54)p.14.

60. Ulfert Herlyn, Adelheid von Saldern, Wulf Tessin (Eds.), Neubausiedlungen der 20er und 60er Jahre: Ein historisch-soziologischer Vergleich, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1987; Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, 100 Berliner Bauten der Weimarer Republik, 2nd Ed., Berlin, 1981; Dw Dreysse, May-Siedlungen, Frankfurt am Main: Fricke Verlag, 1987.

61. Herlyn et al., Neubausiedlungen(..)op.cit., p.44.

62. Frank, "Sozialisierung und(..)"op.cit., p.104.

63. Jenkis, Alman Konut Sistemi(..), p.2.

64. Ibid., pp.2-6. It is maybe convenient here to give some figures related with the evolution of the mentioned "solution" to the housing problem: In 1950: There were 15,3 million households (altogether 47 million persons) living in only 9,5 million housing units, i.e. a deficit of 6 million units(!); In the 1960s: There were 19 million households as opposed to 16,3 million dwellings (i.e. a deficit of 3,5 million units); In 1968: There were 21,6 million households as opposed to 19,6 million dwellings (i.e. a deficit of 2,5 million units); (also as a result of the economic "boom" of 1968 making itself evident in 1973 with a "super" production of 714,000 units:) In 1978: There were 24,1 million households as opposed to 23,8 million dwellings.. (See: Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., pp.38-42.)

65. Franz Thoma, "Die grosse Stille auf dem Bau", Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5/6.01.1974; cited in: H.Brede, B. Kohaupt, H.J. Kujath, Ökonomische und Politische Determinanten der Wohnungsversorgung, Frankfurt am main: Suhrkamp Verlag No:745, 1975, p.12.

66. Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., pp.7, 9; Hardt Waltherr Haemer, "Vorwort", (in)Schluss mit der Zerstörung? Stadterneuerung und staedtische Opposition in West-Berlin, Amsterdam und London (Eds.: Harald Bodenschatz, Volker Heise, Jochen

Korfmacher), Giessen: Anabas Verlag (Reihe Werkbund-Archiv Band 11), 1983, (pp.9-10)p.9.

67. Petzinger and Riege,Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit.,p.11.

68. Ibid.; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 02.01.1981.

69. Petzinger and Riege,Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit.,p.37.

70. Gisela Schuler, "Wohnen in Obdachlosenunterkünften", (in)Lernbereich Wohnen - 2 (Eds.: Michael Andritzky, Gert Selle), (pp.200-221)p.203; Peter

71. Höhmann, "Probleme soziologisch angeleiteter Praxis. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Obdachlosigkeit", (in) Soziologie (Eds.: Günter Albrecht, Hansjürgen Daheim, Fritz Sack), Opladen, 1973, p.804 (cited in: Brede et al., Ökonomische und(..)op.cit., p.13.) Zöllner, Obdachlos durch Wohnungsnot, Reinbek: (rororo aktuell), 1973; cited in: Schuler, "Wohnen in Obdachlosenunterkünften"op.cit., p.203. Knauer says that, as for today, "everyone in a big city whose dwelling is divided to owner-occupied (sub)units and who is unable to find an alternative immediately in the rather too expensive market" can be "homeless"! And "the main reason for rising homelessness is the steady reducement of cheap housing" through ending of controls in public housing; use of housing units as working places ("Zweckentfremdung"); demolition of old-buildings; immoderately modernisation (of e.g. the buildings of 1950s); and transformation of rental dwellings to owner-occupied ones! (See: Maria Knauer, "Karrieren nach unten: Die Obdachlosen und die Gemeinden", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.185-195)pp.185, 187, 193-194.) (See also the contribution by: Peter Derleder, "Wohnungslosigkeit im Sozialstaat", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.196-225) esp.pp.196-199.)

72. Petzinger and Riege,Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit.,pp.52-55.

73. Erol Sayìn, New Settlement Projects with Special Emphasis on Turkey, Ankara: Kent-Koop Yayìnì No:37, 1984, pp.210-216.

74. Petzinger and Riege,Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit.,pp.78-80.

75. Ibid., pp.83-87.

76. Jenkis, Alman Konut Sistemi(..), p.9; Der Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau, Baugesetzbuch-Informationen zum Gesetzentwurf der Bundesregierung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1985, p.23.

77. Frank, "Sozialisierung und(..)"op.cit., p.106. Novy states this fact so: "The history of the F.German housing policy is the history of a preprogrammed deregulation in favor of free market forces and ownership creation." (See: Klaus Novy, "Die neue Wohnungsnot war programmiert", Sozialismus, Heft 4, 1989, pp.15-21.)

78. Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., pp.92-93; and Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention(..)"op.cit., pp.24-35.

79. For instance, average urban land market price increases (as DM/sqm) in Berlin and Essen in the years 1971, 1978, and 1979 have been as follows: Berlin: 85; 260; 325; (in (%): 205,9; 25,0; 282,4 (i.e.between 1971-1979)) Essen : 70; 220; 350; ((%) : 214,3; 59,1; 400,0 (i.e.between 1971-1979)).)) It is generally said that the urban land prices have increased 10% annually since the beginning of 1970s. (See: Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., pp.16-17 (Table).)

80. Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention(..)"op.cit., pp.39, 51; Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., p.15.

81. Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., pp.58-59; and Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention(..)"op.cit., p.51.

82. Petzinger and Riege,Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit.,p.59.

83. Ibid., p.106; and Jenkis, Alman Konut Sistemi(..), pp.24-27; Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Ratgeber für Mieter bei öffentlich geförderter Sanierung und Modernisierung, Berlin: October 1986, p.16; and Edith von Welser-Ude and Christian Ude, "Aktuelles Lexikon zu Wohnungspolitik und Mietrecht", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.257-292)pp.285-287.

84. Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention(..)"op.cit., pp.40-42.

85. Ibid., pp.43-44; Petzinger and Riege, Die Neue Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit., p.103. If one adds also 2 million (out of a total of 3 million) public housing units which will be "deregulated" until 1995, the tragic conditions awaiting the low-income tenants will be more underlined! See: Christian Ude, "Retten, was zu retten ist": Zur Sicherung des preiswerten Wohnungsbestands", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.55-62)p.55.

86. James G. Neuger, "Germany's Major Industries in 1991/92", (in)Meet United Germany: Handbook 1992/93(..)op.cit., (pp.107-117)p.109.

87. Cited in: Wolfgang Glatzer, Wohnungsversorgung im Wohlfahrtsstaat: Objektive und subjektive Indikatoren zur Wohlfahrtsentwicklung in der

Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1980, p.37.

88. Gerhard Jahn, "Von der Unersetzlichkeit des sozialen Wohnungsbaus", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.71-89) p.79.

89. Jürgen Friedrichs and Hannes Alpheis, "Housing Segregation of Immigrants in West Germany", (in)Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States (Eds.: Elizabeth D.Huttmann, Wim Blauw, Juliet Saltman), Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991, (pp.116-144)pp.125-126.

90. Jürgen Friedrichs, Stadtanalyse: Soziale und raeumliche Organisation der Gesellschaft - 3rd Edi., Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag (WV Studium, Band 104), 1983 (1977), pp.216-217.

91. Ibid., pp.273-277.

92. Ibid., p.280.

93. Ray C. Rist, Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978, p.151; and Metin Gür, Otuz Yìlìn ÿçinden ("From Within Thirty Years"), Hückelhoven: Verlag Anadolu, 1993, p.59.

94. Nermin Abadan, Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları ("Turkish Guestworkers in F.Germany and Their Problems"), Ankara: D.P.T. Yayìnì, November 1964, pp.102-110. After nearly a decade, the rate of the foreigners (in general) living in mass shelters has decreased to 34%; and 65% of them have gone onto the private market! (See: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Repraesentativ-Untersuchung '72, Beschaeftigung auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer, Nürnberg, 1973, p.104.)

95. Abadan,Batı Almanya'daki Türk(..)op.cit., pp.104-105.

96. Ernst Zieris, Betriebsunterkünfte für auslaendische Mitbürger in Nordrhein-Westfalen- 2nd Edi., Opladen: Leske Verlag, 1974 (1972); see for a summary of the book: Ursula Boos-Nünning (Ed.), Die Türkische Migration in deutschsprachigen Büchern 1961-1984: Eine annotierte Bibliographie, Opladen: Leske+Budrich (Schriftenreihe des Zentrums für Türkeistudien Band II), 1990, p.189. Arın makes also great use of this book in his PhD work; see: Cihan Arın, Analyse der Wohnverhaeltnisse auslaendischer Arbeiter in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - Mit einer Fallstudie über türkische Arbeiterhaushalte in Berlin-Kreuzberg (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Berlin: Technische Universitaet, 1979, esp.pp.139-145.

97. Gür, Otuz Yılın içinden(..)op.cit., p.22.

98. Ibid., p.23.

99. Abadan, Batı Almanya'daki Türk(..)op.cit., p.103. Rist states that in accordance to the policy of the German governments in the 1970s which were trying to "consolidate" the existing foreign worker groups in the country, the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs had started to "punish" German employers hiring foreign (i.e. non-EEC) labor by taxing them more than three-fold (1000 instead of 300 DM; by criminal sanctions for illegal recruitment and/or employment of them; and last but not least, by putting in force new regulations instituted to strengthen housing regulations and codes applicable to those companies housing their foreign workers. (There were two major sets of regulations that guide the provision of living quarters for the migrant workers: a)"Regulations for the Living Quarters of Foreign Workers in the FRG" ("Richtlinien für die Unterkünfte auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland") dated 01.04.1971, and consisting of 31 specifications like: "For every dweller a sleeping place must be provided; each dweller must be provided with a locked cupboard (for) personal food items; for each two dwellers a cooking place..; one wash place for each five dwellers.., etc.; and b)"Regulations for the Minimal Conditions of Living Quarters for Foreign Workers" ("Gesetze über die Mindestanforderungen von Unterkünften für auslaendische Arbeitnehmer") dated June 1973 and outlining sanitary conditions and cooking facilities, etc. in a more detailed manner.) However, "(t)hese rules were implemented to further increase the cost to the employer of seeking out foreign labor", in other words, **those housing regulations were not intended to benefit foreign workers, at all**! Here one sees clearly how German governments do "play" with the housing conditions of the foreigners just for their own policies' sake, even if they had issued before such (seemingly "pro-guestworker") regulations as "Regulations for the Guarantee of Loans for the Promotion of Apartment Buildings for Foreign Workers" ("Grundsaetze für die Gewaehrung von Darlehen zur Förderung des Wohnungsbaues für auslaendische Arbeitnehmer") dated June 1967; and "Regulations by the Board of the Federal Labor Office for the Promotion of Construction of Living Quarters for Foreign Workers" ("Grundsaetze des Vorstandes der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit über die Förderung der Errichtung von Unterkünften für auslaendische Arbeitnehmer"), dated 1971! (See: Rist, Guestworkers in Germany(..)op.cit., pp.113, 151-153.)

100. Bodenschatz, Heise, Korfmacher, Schluss mit der Zerstörung?(..)op.cit., p.35.

101. It is reported that one necessitates in the "Maerkishe Viertel" (Berlin) financial resources for (repairment) investments of a scale 9000 DM/head for the coming decade; see: Wulf Tessin, "Die Neubausiedlungen der Sechziger/Siebziger Jahre",

(in)Neubausiedlungen(..)op.cit. (Ulfert Herlyn, Adelheid von Saldern, Wulf Tessin (Eds.), (pp.75-101)esp.pp.96-97.

102.Arın et.al., Auf der Schattenseite(..), p.14; see also: Hartwig Dieser, Die "behutsame" Stadterneuerung zwischen Kapitalverwertung und Mieterinteressen, Frankfurt (Main): R.G. Fischer Verlag, 1983, pp.114-117.

103.Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977, esp.pp.41-44, 151-153.

104.Ibid., p.153.

105.Arın et.al., Auf der Schattenseite(..), pp.14, 115.

106.Volker Kreibich, "Wohnversorgung und Wohnstandortverhalten", (in) Die Staedte in den 80er Jahren(..)op.cit. (Ed.: Jürgen Friedrichs), (pp.181-195)pp.188-190. The income limits set for getting "Wohnberechtigungsschein" (WBS) are as follows:

1-Person Households (HHs) ..... 21,600 DM
2-Persons HHs ..... 31,800 DM
3-Persons HHs ..... 39,800 DM
4-Persons HHs ..... 47,800 DM
(+) each new person ..... 8,000 DM

The size of the housing units (to be got with WBS) should be (as with slight changes in different "Laender") mostly as follows:

1-Person Households (HHs) ..... 45 sqm
2-Persons HHs ..... 60 sqm or two rooms
3-Persons HHs ..... 75 sqm or three rooms
4-Persons HHs ..... 90 sqm or four rooms
(+) each new person ....15 sqm or one room.

(See: von Welser- Ude & Ude,"AktuellesLexikon(..)"op.cit., pp.282-283.)

107.Arın,Analyse der Wohnverhaeltnisse(..)op.cit., pp.113-115.

108.Ernst Zieris, So wohnen unsere auslaendischen Mitbürger, Bericht zur Wohnsituation auslaendischer Arbeiterfamilien in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf: (Ed.by) Der Minister für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1971, p.10. If one remembers the fact that for a foreigner to have its temporary work permit be extended and for not being expelled out, and moreover to take his family members to Germany, a necessary floor area/head should be existing. The necessary floor area, for instance, in Berlin was 9 sqm per grown-ups and 6 sqm per child (up to 6 years). (See: Arın et.al., Auf der Schattenseite(..), p.19.)

109.Ibid., p.11; see also: Arın, Analyse der Wohnverhaeltnisse(..)op.cit., pp.124-126.

110.Zieris, So wohnen(..)op.cit., p.11.

111.Rudi Ulbrich, "Die Wohnungsversorgung im Spiegel der Statistik", (in)Wohnen zur Miete: Wohnungsversorgung und Wohnungspolitik in der Bundesrepublik (Ed.: Joachim Brech), Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1981, (pp.16-31)p.21.

112.Ali S. Gitmez, Yurtdışına İşçi Göçü ve Geri Dönüşler: "Beklentiler...Gerçekleşenler" ("Worker Migration Abroad and Returning Back: "Expectations...Realities""), İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık No:11/4, October 1983, pp.125-127; see also: Cihan Arın, "Einleitung-Immigranten in der Deutschen Gesellschaft", (in)Auslaender im Wohnbereich (Ed.: Cihan Arın), Berlin: EXpress Edition, 1983, pp.11-20; Karolus Heil, "Auslaender im Wohnbereich-Versuch eines Resümees", (in)Auslaender im Wohnbereich(..)op.cit. (Ed.: C. Arın), pp.21-30; Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Ghettosituation und kulturelle Widersprüche", (in)Auslaender im Wohnbereich(..)op.cit. (Ed.: C.Arın) pp.103-116; Özer Bostanoğlu, "Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya Yönelen Dışgöç Hareketi ve Yarattığı Mekansal Oluşumlar", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.20, No:4, December 1987, pp.89-106.

113.Heil, "Auslaender im(..)"op.cit., p.27; Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Ghettosituation(..)"op.cit., p.109.

114.Rist, Guestworkers in Germany(..)op.cit., pp.78-79.
115.Ibid., pp.79-80.

116.Jan Werner, Die Invasion der Armen: Asylanten und illegale Einwanderer, Mainz-München: v. Hase & Koehler, 1991, p.80.

117.See for the 1972/1973 data: Arin, Analyse der Wohnverhaeltnisse(..)op.cit., p.150 (Table 29); and for 1990 data: Werner, Die Invasion(..)op.cit., p.80.

118.Werner, Die Invasion(..)op.cit., p.80.

CHAPTER 8

(WEST) BERLIN AS THE GERMAN WORLD-CITY AND A FIELD SURVEY THERE ON TURKISH GUESTWORKERS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, after a thoroughly elaboration of Berlin as a world city of Germany inhabiting nearly 160-180,000 Turks as well, we'll be concluding with a field survey realized in W.Berlin in order to find out some up-to-date data (also) for testing of the assumptions of this Thesis work set before and mentioned specifically in Ch.6 above.

The (actual field) survey has been conducted (after a preparatory week) between the dates of 10-27/07/1991 at the Turkish Consulate General of W.Berlin, i.e. **after the unification of two Germanies and two Berlins**. This point is important to be raised because of two reasons: Firstly, the unification of two Germanies (on 03.10.1990), on one side, has increased the already existing **racial hate against the Turks** due to the evergrowing numbers of unemployed persons eager and thus competing for having available jobs with the Turks. And, secondly, the falling down of the Berlin Wall (on 09.11.1989) and the unification of two Berlins thereafter (a process which was lived through by observing these succeeding events: The "Brandenburg Gate" between the two is open since 22.12.1989; moreover,

the symbol for the "four-power-status" of Berlin (i.e. the division of the city region and its administration to four foreign (winner of the 2nd WW) states (being the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France)), the "Allied Checkpoint Charlie" had been removed on 22.06.1990,; and lastly, the official trip of Federal Chancellor Kohl to Moscow between the dates 14-16.07.1990 had been successful in getting Russia's approval of the termination of the Berlin's dependency status), on the other side, has clearly demarcated the actual settlement districts of the Turks in (Great) Berlin: They are the "**inner city areas**" and/or the old "**working class neighborhoods**" located near the CBD and stemming mostly from the end of the 19th century. They are now evolved into the "**Turks' ghettos**" which do provide for the main housing areas ("niches") for the Turkish underclass members in Berlin.

Let's dwell a little bit upon Berlin, the "oldest" (and paradoxically enough, "newest") world-city of Germany.

8.2 BERLIN: A WORLD CITY

Berlin is once again the "capital" (since 03.10.1990) and by far the largest city of the united Germany. What was lived between Berlin and Bonn (which has been the seat of the federal government since 1949 (the so-called "federal village") and the temporary capital until Germany was united) until June 1991 was not to decide which of the two should be the capital, but to take a decision whether Berlin should get the seat of government, as well! According to the Federal Parliament's decision of 20.06.1991, Berlin will

perform both roles. However, the moving of the government to Berlin will be realized in due time (maybe until 1998). And Bonn with its meagre population of 310,000 will be trying to remain (with some eight ministeries not moving to Berlin) as the "second most important political centre in Germany" and/or the "mini-capital on the Rhine".. As one of the three independent city-states of Germany (the others are Hamburg and Bremen), Berlin covers an area of 883 square kilometres and has a population of 3,4 million inhabitants(1), of which 14 percent(2) (i.e. nearly 476,000 people) are foreigners. The share of the Turks in that figure is not exactly known. However, since Berlin was counting 117,000 Turks in 1984 when it was having a total figure of foreigners amounting to 245,000(3) (i.e. nearly 48% of the foreigners), and taking also into account the fact that the Turks' total figure in Germany which was 1,425,800 in 1984 has risen to 1,918,000 in 1993(4), the Turkish population in Berlin in the middle of the 1990s could be projected roughly as being (a little bit more than some Turkish newspaper estimations of 135-140,000) around 160-180,000 (including the undocumented ones).

8.2.1 Historical Development

Berlin was located before its actual division into two parts at the end of the Second WW, both right at the center of Europe and of the German Empire (after 1871) as well. Being this the case and providing for an important traffic junction point on intersecting international and national

routes extending from East to West and North to South, Berlin had become a "**world city**" since early times onwards..(5)

8.2.1.1 The Residence City On the Way to the World City

If one looks at the historical development of the city, one finds that Berlin has been borne at the end of an unification process of two commercially-oriented small towns established in the last triplet of the 12th century on and along the river Spree, namely "Cölln" (on an island of the Spree which is now the "Mitte" district in (Ost) Berlin) and "Berlin" settlements (situated on sand and swampland along the river). Both settlements were located between two older Slavic settlements namely Spandau and Köpenick (which are now two districts of Great Berlin with a population 192,186 and 123,725 in 1983, respectively) and were founded by the migrants coming from Lower Rhine, Westfalia, Harzvorland and Thuringia. The word "Berlin" is of Slavic origin and means "marshy land". The 750th anniversary of Berlin celebrated in 1987 was organized by taking as a base an offical document dated 1237 on which the name of "Cölln" was written for the first time. "Berlin" was written down first in 1244 in a document; as a "town", it was mentioned in 1251, although one had given to both settlements the "town rights" in 1230. Berlin which was from the very beginnings onwards the more bigger and more influential part of the "double-town" (standing in a ratio of 2:1), had formed with Cölln a "union" in 1307 which had been ended with nearly a complete "melting" situation in 1432.(6)

Berlin has had always been a town with the "Jews". They were making commerce in and around Berlin as early as the 12th century. (The oldest Jewish gravestone in Spandau is dated 1244.) Maybe with their contributions, too, Berlin-Cölln was developing into an international commerce center especially on the West-Ost road extending from Magdeburg via Berlin to Posen. Much more important than this was, however, the "water roads" via Spree and Havel to the Elbe and with a short land connection to the Oder. The "double-town" had been a part of the "Hanseatic League" between the 14th and the early 16th centuries, as well. But starting with the intervention of the "Elector" ("Kurfürst") Friedrich II into the government system of the double-town in 1442 by cancelling out the "melting situation" of 1432, Berlin-Cölln had been made to leave the independent way leading to a "free commercial city"; and instead, it had been "forced", so to say, to accept the way of evolving into a (governmental and/or royal) "**residence city**" of the "Hohenzollern" princes for nearly 500 years. And under the reign of those princes, especially under the government of Frederick II, better known as Frederick the Great (1740-1786), the King of Prussia, Berlin had become "a city of religious tolerance", and "a center of enlightenment" ("ein Zentrum der Aufklaerung") (as Frederick II had laid down: "Here, every man can become blessed according to his own beliefs") inhabiting "Dutchmen, French Huguenots, Viennese Jews, protestants from Salzburg, Irishmen, Poles, runaway serfs and defeated rebels - in short, a selection of the most awkward characters in Europe".(7) Thus, a "world city" on today's German soil was born with all kinds of conflicts, paradoxes,

surprises, and problems. As Gustav Heinemann had said once fittingly that "there are difficult fatherlands", there are also "difficult cities" to understand and deal with, where one can not bring the past and present experiences immediately to common and simple formulas, as it has been also the case in Berlin.(8)

However and although the Jews were of great importance to Berlin, they were kept under steady control, be it even sometimes bloody! In 1342, there had been a lot of Berliner Jews killed; in 1510, 38 Jews had been "burned" in front of the city gates; and in 1573, as parallel to the murder of a prominent Jew, all Jews had been expelled out of the region for a nearly full hundred years! After the introduction of the "**Reformation**" in 1539, Berlin had begun to lead the German "Protestantism" as a "Protestant city". As parallel to the "Reformation process", education/training facilities were opened up. For instance, the first gymnasium in Berlin with 600 students from everywhere in the region had been founded in 1574! It had also been the case for Berlin-Cölln that the high-ranking officials who had joined the governmental cadres, had been effective in pulling many artisans, tradesmen after themselves to the city. 23 new guilds had been opened in the 16th century. The city population which was 6,000 in 1450 had risen to 12,000 in and around 1600 although many Berlin citizens had very often been victims of the plague epidemics.(9)

The first episode of Berlin as a "residence city" had ended with the "Thirty Years' War" (1618-1648). It firstly had felt the harshness of the war in 1627 when the imperial army had seized the city. Its population had

decreased from around 12,000 to 6,000, i.e. by nearly 50%; and more than one third of its housing stock (450 of total 1209 dwellings) had been left vacant due to the war. The "city (inner) walls" ("Befestigungsanlagen") which were 8 m high and having altogether 6 gates were built between 1658-1683 (according to the plans prepared by Gregor Memhardt). Later on and when one had detected that the spatial, traffic, and commercial connections of Berlin (which had been united with Cölln on 01.01.1710 (once again) to a single city) to the outerlying suburbian districts (such as Friedrichswerder, Dorotheenstadt (being developed since 1674), Friedrichstadt (being developed since 1688)) were rather hindered by the very existence of these inner city walls, they were gradually removed starting in 1734 and were replaced with "outer city (customs) walls" ("Zollmauer"). The outer walls were of 17 km length, of 4 m height and were having 14 gates of which only the famous "Brandenburger Tor" (built between 1788-1791) has remained.(10)

Friedrich Wilhelm, the Elector of Brandenburg, had sought to encourage immigration from other parts of Germany and from abroad, as well. Fifty Jewish families who had been driven out of Vienna had been welcomed in 1671 in Berlin when, after a century had passed, the expelling decision of the Jews out of Berlin was annulled. An edict published in 1685 had guaranteed refuge to 6,000 Protestant emigrants from France. (By 1688, every fifth Berliner was of French extraction!) The "French colony" thus borne, and the Jewish culture have had great influence upon Berlin's cultural life. Berlin has started to become more "civilized", more "capital-city" than before. Its population had risen from 9,800 in 1680 to 29,000 in 1700;

to 30,000 in 1701 (when the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich III, crowned himself as Friedrich I "King of Prussia"); to 61,000 in 1712; to 172,000 in 1800; and to 428,000 in 1850.(11)

8.2.1.2 Berlin As An Imperial Industrial Center With "Mietskasernen"

The economic policy followed by the Prussian kings had transformed the residency into an important center of (silk and wool weaving) trade and commerce. Berlin had become because of its textile manufacturing (also) a "**worker city**" in the 18th century supplying also the military uniforms of the Prussian army. Thus, Berlin was performing two roles simultaneously; the role of **(royal and military) "residence city"**, on the one hand, and the role of **(manufacturing and serving) "worker city"**, on the other! That was necessary and more than enough for it to be described as a "**world-city**" of the 18th century. In the year around 1800, there were in Berlin 25,000 workers active in the field of textile manufacturing: At least 4,000 workers were producing for the "Königliches Lagerhaus" ("royal warehouse") which was once the biggest European towel manufacturing plant, and 15,000 others were active in the wool-, and more than 5,000 workers were found in silk-production. Starting with the setting up of the first steam-machine in 1795 and the establishment of the royal iron-foundry in 1804, the industrialization process has begun. It has been accelerated since 1815 onwards and gained more momentum after the 1830s due to the establishment of many machine-production plants (such as the pioneer

plants of Freund, Cockerill and Egells Brothers, Borsig (since 1837/38), Pflug, Wöhlert, Hoppe, and Schwartzkopff, etc.) and also due to the introduction of the railways (the first line of which was installed between Berlin and Potsdam in 1838). Borsig could export his locomotives from 1856 onwards even to England where the industrialization revolution had first started! After the establishment of (Werner Siemens') "Siemens-Werke" (firstly in 1847) and (Emil Rathenau's) "AEG-Werke" (in 1883), Berlin had evolved into the so- called "**Elektropolis**". And in 1871, two-thirds of the total labor force of Berlin were working in manufacturing and in industry, albeit the greater part in manufacturing.(12)

The thus widening capitalist industrialization process in Berlin (which had lived its peak between the years 1850-1870 when there were established some 1000 fabrics) had started to increase the social tension between the haves and the have-nots of the society immensely. After passing through such events as the first election of city representatives' assembly by the Berliners themselves (1809) (after the local reform act of Freiherr von Stern dated 1808); the founding of the "Berlin University" in 1810 (and thus Berlin's evolving also into a "**science/university city**"); the suppressing(!) of the hopes of greater political freedom awakened during the "Wars of Liberation" of (1813-1815) with economic progress making itself apparent in numerous public buildings designed according to the prominent Prussian royal architect Karl Friedrich **Schinkel**'s (1781-1841) neoclassical architecture changing the city image decisively (so that one differentiates an impressive "**Berliner ("bourgeois") style**"), in 1846, Friedrich Sass was

stating that "Berlin has become too large for the kingdom and bureaucracy to administer"! It was found out that whereas each tenth Berliner was designated to be so in 1788, in the "crisis-year" of 1847, 40% of all households living in Berlin had to get (officially set) "poors' material help".(13) March 1848 saw a popular (but unsuccessfull) uprising (right after the February 1848 uprising in France) in favor of "greater freedom and German unity" in Berlin.(14) The appointment of Otto von Bismarck by the king Wilhelm I as the prime minister of Prussia in 1862 has paved the road for Berlin to evolve into an "imperial residency city". Bismarck who had recognized that the movement for German unity could not be halted, strove for unity under Prussian leadership and realized it after defeating Austria in the struggle for supremacy in Germany in 1866 and after winning Franco-Prussian (German) war in 1870. Thus, Wilhelm I, the King of Prussia had been proclaimed as "Emperor of Germany" ("Deutscher Kaiser") in Versailles/(occupied) France in 1871. And Berlin was announced as the "**residency city of German Emperor**" and as the "**capital of the German Empire**". (15)

Berlin has had developed very rapidly after being the imperial residency city. Added to its being a center of science, industry, education, entertainment, culture, also its growing reputation as a newspaper publishing center (60 daily newspapers were published in 1895), its population has soon swelled from 800,000 (in 1871) to 2,000,000 by the turn of the century.(16) Meanwhile, the capitalist housing production had started and was looking for "more profit" as always. Berlin's spatial development which

had been tried to be ordered by numerous laws and regulations put into force by the residency rulers (e.g. in 1853, 1862, 1887, 1903, and so on) and according to their "Prussian/Hohenzollernian representativeness' senses" (which had been translated onto the urban space as wide streets, representative center and streetwall designs, axes and perspectives as it was also the case in Veena, Paris and in other European capitals) was thus under strict control. The "Beautification and Bordering Plan for Berlin and Its Environment" ("Schmuck-, und Grenzzüge von Berlin mit naechster Umgebung") which was prepared by the royal "garden construction director" Peter Joseph Lenné (1789-1866) (upon the request of Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1840-1861)) in 1840; the ("romantic") "Binding Land Use Plan ("Bebauungsplan") of Luisenstadt" prepared also by Lenné in 1843; the "Communal Regulation" ("Kommunalverfassung") of 1851 which was introducing as besides the "Three-Classes-Election-System" (mentioned in section 7.3 above) also the "houseowners' privilege", i.e. the regulation ordering that 51% of the city officials ("Stadtverordneten") should be "house-, and landowners"; the "Building Police Regulation" ("Baupolizeiverordnung") of 25.04.1853 which was (as supported by the conditions created by the "houseowners' privilege") ordering the minimum building requirements with regard to the fire safety by necessitating a minimum "inner courtyard" of (only) 28 sqm(!) (it could be increased to 60 sqm as early as 1887); and lastly the "Binding Land Use Plans for Berlin and Charlottenburg" ("Bebauungsplans für Berlin und Charlottenburg) prepared by the city building department's head and founder of the citywide drainage system

James Hobrecht (1825-1902) between 1858-1862 in order to cover the inner city and outer districts of Berlin under a common plan by taking the baroque enlargement district of Berlin, namely "Friedrichstadt" as a "model", and which were creating city (development) blocks with dimensions of (200 x 400 m) length and of (150 x 200 m) depth and to be "fulfilled" in details, afterwards; these all were milestones on the way to the creation of the famous "**Berliner Mietskasernen**"!(17)

Whereas in the 1890s, in average, eight persons were living in one house in London, and twenty persons in a house in New York, 76 persons were living in **Berlin which is being known as "the greatest city of the "Mietskasernen" in the world"**!(18) And as opposed to the distinction of "working class housing areas" and "better districts" on the horizontal city surface, there is also a distinction which should be made on the vertical usage field of the buildings according to the service provision level and room height: Whereas the dwellings at the first floor had a height of maximum 3,90 m, the housing units at the fourth or fifth floors were very often lower than 3 m!(19) The rents were also differing according to the ranking of floors as it is also the case by upper class (high bourgeois) representative (rental) housing buildings (e.g. "Zins(Miet)palais" ("rental palaces") as exemplified in cases from Veena which were identical with the ones in Berlin): The first floor (the so-called "Beletage") which was the most serviced, healthiest, largest and decorated floor of a high-rise apartment building, was generally used by the landlord/owner himself and by rentable bureaux, businesses; the second floor was rented out for (say) 500-600

Taler; the third one for 300-400 Taler; the fourth one for 150-200 Taler; the fifth one 80-120 Taler; and the cellar (basement floor) dwellings, i.e. the most disadvantageous, unhealthiest ones in terms of "air, light and sun" ("Luft, Licht und Sonne") for 40-50 Taler.(20)

An average working class family in Berlin in the last quarter of the 19th century and/or around the turn-of-the-century was using a rental apartment dwelling unit consisting of "one kitchen-one (sometimes two) room(s)" which could be even shared with "sleep boys" ("Schlafburschen") on an "subtenancy" basis! According to the population census results realized in 1861, there were 48,326 persons, i.e. one-tenth of the Berlin population then, living in cellar-dwellings! Only 51,909 rooms out of a total of 105,811 rooms were "heated"! More than one-fifth of the Berliner population was sharing a heated room with at least 5 persons:

-27,629 persons were living as 7 persons in one heated room;

-18,376 persons were living as 8 persons in one heated room;

-10,728 persons were living as 9 persons in one heated room;

-5640 persons were living as 10 persons in one heated room;

-2904 persons were living as 11 persons in one heated room.(21)

The "Mietskasernen" were mainly located in inner city areas and/or districts close to the CBD. For instance, the subdistrict called as "**Kreuzberg South-East/ SO 36**" was one of the pioneering "Mietskasernen"- areas of Berlin (now more than 100 years old). Lying adjacent to the eastern part of the "Luisenstadt" and covering 50 blocks with nearly 36,000 people (in 1987), it was making room for 23,000 dwellings

taking place on 1000 plots; and for workplaces occupying a half million sqm of floor area in high-rise buildings where some 15,000 persons were employed (a situation called as the "**Kreuzberger Mischung**" ("Kreuzberger Mixture" of housing, working places (consisting of coth crafts and industries), commerce, and culture)). There are rather huge deficiencies in terms of green areas and social infrastructural facilities. It was developed in accordance to the Hobrecht's plan of 1862 (which was a rather insufficient continuation of the "Luisenstadt plan"), i.e. it was foreseen to be developed in concentric rings and financially in an inexpensive manner in terms of the technical infrastructural (i.e. drainage) system layouts and installments. For this aim to be achieved, the city blocks had been "fulfilled" with big buildings (mostly 5-stories high, i.e. nearly 22 m) closely erected side by side (i.e. tenements were built on each side of the blocks (called as "Vorderhaus" and "Seitenflügel"; mostly "Quergebaeudes" lying parallel to the frontal ones and within the block were added) giving room only to passages going into the courtyards connected to eachother (up to an amount of seven courts) with a necessary minimum surface of (5,3 x 5,3 m))!(22)

As with regard to the city development of Berlin, one can state that whereas there were 36 horse-omnibus lines in 1865, the construction of the "S-Bahn-Ring" ("tramway ring") had started in 1867 (upon the theoretical ground prepared by the architect/planner August Orth (1828-1901) who is now known as the "theoretical father of the S-Bahn"(23)). With municipal annexations of such districts as Wedding, Gesundbrunnen, Moabit, etc., the city surface was growing from 35 to 59 sqkm in 1861. Under the

"Wilhelminian time period", some important technical infrastructural services were rendered: Water supply and drainage since 1873; telephone and electrical tramway since 1881; S-Bahn since 1882; electrical power plant since 1885; first metro ("U-Bahn-Linie") since 1902; motorization since 1905.. Under the reign of Wilhelm II, one was trying to create an architectural style which was "too much loaded" (some call it as "imperial style" ("Reichsrenommierstil"), some examples of which are "Dom, Reichstag, Gedaechtniskirche, Siegesallee", etc.). The "stone Berlin" ("das Steinerne Berlin") which was including the working class districts such as Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg, Kreuzberg and Wedding (all of which are today the city districts lying closely to the "inner city" with 1983 populations of 126,177; 186,941; 128,790; and 135,011, respectively), was growing with "Mietskasernen" in the last quarter of the 19th century and around the turn-of-the-century at an unprecedented rate. As opposed to this development, Berlin was being enlarged to the west with the aim to create new housing areas for the middle-, and upper classes (like luxury houses in Kurfürstendamm and/or "Bayerisches Viertel" in Schöneberg district), i.e. "bourgeois" housing was developed as against the "proletarian Mietskasernen".(24) The "world-city" was thus still growing..

One of the first technical measures designed and taken to combat "Mietskasernen" misery has been an architectural competition ("Wettbewerb zum neuen Grundplan für die Bebauung von Gross-Berlin") organized by the "Union of Berliner Architects" ("Vereinigung Berliner Architekten") in February 1907 which was aiming at a "unified physical development plan prepared for

the total city surface in order to pave the way to the binding land use plan of Great-Berlin" which had reached a population of 3,500,000! This competition would prepare the ground for the land use plan by making use of such aspects as "traffic needs", "beauty", "public health" and "economical feasibility". All aspects had a relationship to the "Mietskasernen" to a certain expect. However, the aspect with regard to the "public health" issue was directly related with it. By this (however "international", practically "national") competition finished in the end of 1909, the architect (and editor of the "Baumeister") Hermann Jansen from Berlin had won the first prize (be it in a "shared" manner with "die Hochbahngesellschaft" with Brix/Genzmer) among 27 plans nearly all prepared by "Great-Berliners". These 27 design works had been taking place in an exhibition called as the "**General Urbanism-Exhibition 1910 in Berlin**" (die "Allgemeine Staedtebau-Ausstellung 1910 in Berlin"), an activity to be met also as a tradition later on.(25) **Jansen's planning answer to the "Mietskasernen" had been "a wide-scaled redevelopment ("Sanierung")** of the existing, untimely, traffic-hindering streets in the inner city"(26) and a design layout in especially outer city regions and/or suburbia where the rational city block would be built without side-, and rear buildings. Another answer given by the team composed of Rudolf Eberstadt/Möhring/Petersen (Eberstadt (1856-1922; housing economist of the Berliner University; famous with his master work: "Handbook of Housing and Housing Problem" ("Handbuch des Wohnungswesens und der Wohnungsfrage") (1909)) was as follows: One should build the side-buildings high and the inner parts more lower..(27)

8.2.1.3 Berlin Through the Eras of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich

The loss of the First WW on the side of Germany in 1918 had caused the Prussian-German Empire to be fallen. A ("Weimar") Republic (1919-1933) was proclaimed in Berlin. Berlin has remained the "capital city of Germany" during this Republic, as well. However, the city was being involved within hot political debates between the social-democrates (SPD), socialists ("Spartakusbund") and the national-socialists. Its boundaries were extended with a law (after a parliamentarian aggreement of 27.04.1920) (das "Gesetz ber die Bildung einer neuen Stadtgemeinde Berlin" to be put in force on 01.10.1920) to include a further 93 neighbouring communities (such towns as Charlottenburg, Köpenick, Lichtenberg, Neukölln, Pankow, Schöneberg, Spandau und Wilmersdorf and some other smaller districts, as well). Thus, the so-called "**Greater Berlin**" was formed (which was after New York and London **the third greatest city in the world**) and which hadn't been realized by the Prussian rulers just because of Berlin's being "social-democrate" and liberal, to a great extent. Its surface area was around 878 sqkm and was inhabiting nearly 3,858,000 people (4,299,000 in 1929).(28) One has had introduced within the metropolitan borders of Berlin a new "building regulation" ("Berliner Bauordnung") of 03.11.1925 and a "building zone plan" ("Bauzonenplan") of 01.12.1925 which were aiming at removing the "Mietskasernen" and/or the housing misery by classifying of the

building types, by sorting out different land uses, by promoting group- and row houses (of one, two and (as the main type in big cities) three stories' height), by preventing of the side- and rear tenements and of cellar- and penthouse dwelling units.(29)

The "German hyper-inflation period" of 1920/1923 and the "world economic crisis of 1929" had hit both Germany and its industrial capital Berlin very hard, indeed. Rising political radicalism also encouraged by rapidly increasing unemployment rates, has made the fascist NSDAP party become the strongest party in the Reichstag by 1932. Also helped by rather high reparations payments and other consequences of the lost war, Hitler has succeeded to take the political power into his hands by benefitting from the material poverty of the masses. And on 30.01.1933 the National Socialists had started to rule in Germany. After a couple of months they had abolished the parliamentary party system. (Especially right after the Reichstag fire on 27.02.1933, the basic human rights (for the Jews) were practically removed. The Jewish Germans who had had an immense role in shaping Germany's fate as a "world power", and Berlin's as a "world city", have been discriminated against vehemently, persecuted, forced to leave by destruction of the very basis of their livelihood systematically. Berlin which had hitherto been a "**city of intellectual cosmopolitanism**" had become a "**center of oppression**" (mainly for the Jews). They have started to flee away from Germany and/or Berlin (even to **Turkey** as mentioned before). The Jewish community in Berlin which had counted 36,000 in the year around 1871, had risen to 175,000 in the 1920s (not crossing, however, the

percentage rate of 4-5% within the total population figure). "Berlin was the place where one was inclined to think whenever one was speaking from a "German-Jewish symbiosis"".(30)

As to the Berlin's city development process in the 1920s and 1930s, one can point out to the fact that **whenever the "imperial city of Berlin" was famous with its "Mietskasernen", the "republican city" was famous with its (city) architects** (like Walter Gropius, Hugo Haering, Hans Scharoun, Bruno Taut) who were **fond of the "modern (functional) architecture"** and who had designed the "new and great-settlements" of the 1920s, i.e. of the "Weimarer era", such as "Hufeisensiedlung - Britz", "Waldsiedlung - Zehlendorf", "Onkel Toms Hütte", "Grossiedlung Siemensstadt", and "Weisse Stadt - Reinickendorf". Those settlements were built with public housing construction firms for "**middle classes**" like public officials and qualified labor according to the principles of "**light, air and sun**".(31) There had been built altogether 135,000 housing units during that period.(32)

However, Berlin, the **"administrative center" of the racist and imperialist "Third Reich"** which was estimated to last for sheer "thousand years", was not so much developed as Hitler was wanting for himself?! He was saying to his chief architect Albert Speer the following: "Berlin is a big city, but not a real metropolis. Look at Paris, the most beautiful city in the world. Or even Vienna. Those are cities with grand style. Berlin is nothing but an unregulated accumulation of buildings. We must surpass Paris and Vienna."(33) He had monumental plans for Berlin in his head which he did

not explain even to Speer. Until the summer of 1936, Hitler had waited that the municipal government of Berlin deals with his plans. In 1937, he had given the "Berlin city redevelopment mission" solely to the newly appointed "general building inspector for the imperial capital" ("Generalbauinspektor für die Reichshauptstadt") Speer (and to himself(!), of course). He was wanting to surpass Paris and its city planner Haussmann whom he did regard as "the greatest city planner in history". Hitler's conception for the redevelopment plan of Berlin (in June 1938) (which was inspired by the "Champs Elysées with its "Arc de Triomphe" in Paris) was including mainly a new and enormously wide avenue to be opened as starting from the "Siegesallee" and extending three miles long and as lined with impressive government buildings. It would entail two monumental works at each ends: A huge meeting hall over the Spree river designed for 150,000 people (near Reichstag) covered with a great dome (290 m high) and an arc of triumph!(34) Berlin would thus be in the long run the most monumental **"world capital-city" of the fascist (world-hegemonic power) "Germania"**, a gigantic plan which could only be realized with huge-scaled destructions on the historical city's built-up stock! A rather tragic- comic anecdote with regard to this is as follows: After a heavy bombardment of Berlin, Hitler had told to Speer (in November 1944) that "he (Speer) would had to demolish only for their Berliner binding land use plan 80,000 houses (anyway), whereas the Englishmen had made a start, though not according to his plans prepared!"(35)

The Second WW had begun with Hitler's attack on Poland on 01.09.1939 which was opposed by Great Britain and France. After especially February 1943 when the national socialists had declared "a total war", the allied forces had started to bomb Berlin. Complete districts mainly in the center and western parts of the city were severely hit. The **Jewish Berliners** had been restricted during the war to a greater extent by such items including the obligatory display of the yellow star, **forced labor**, and finally (since fall 1941) **deportation to labor camps and extermination camps** (whereby around 60,000 Jews were killed in Theresienstadt)! Whereas there were 160,000 Jews in June 1933 in Berlin, their figure had (been) decreased to 85,000 in 1939 and to only 7247 in 1946! In this way, Berlin was destroying its reputation of being a "(cosmopolitan) culture city" and moreover its being a true "world city", at all! At the end of the war, and after being conquered by the Soviet Red Army, Berlin had capitulated on 02.05.1945 (i.e. six days before Germany). By that time the city had become **"Germany's greatest rubble heap"** with its 80,000 dead bodies, 75 million m3 of rubble, and 50,000 "rubble women" carrying out heavy manual work amongst the ruined houses. Out of a total 245,000 buildings just before the war, 50,000 were completely destroyed, i.e. not repairable. The number of the destroyed housing units out of (totally) 1,6 million housing units was around 500,000. Out of a total 4,3 million of city population before the war, only 2,8 million had remained still living in Berlin.(36)

8.2.1.4 Berlin After the Second WW: A Politically, Socially and Racially Divided/Segregated World-City Subject to Urban Renewal With (("Non-Citizen") Participation and Sacrification Of) Turkish (Guest) Labor

The borders of the 20 future boroughs of Berlin had been drawn up in the "Londoner Protocoll" by the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and the Great Britain as early as 12.09.1944. (The Protocoll was "completed" on 26.07.1945 also with participation of France. Thereafter, the whole Germany and the "Greater Berlin", as well, were subdivided into four zones to be supervised and administered by the Allied Forces and the U.S.S.R..) After the Allied victory, American, British, and French units arrived in Berlin in July 1945 and thus joined the Soviets who had taken the city. Berlin was spending the first four years after the war (1945-1949) still as a unique city under "**four powers' aegis**". It was administered jointly by three governors sent by the Western powers and the Soviet city commandant. The Soviets had remained in the eastern part of the city whereas the three Western powers had taken control of Berlin's western parts. A municipal council ("Magistrat") was set up under the supervision of the "Red Army". Hans Scharoun was being appointed as the head for the "Building- and Housing Department". And one had tried to replace the fascist architectural concepts and practices with the ones of the 1920s. Except the "new plan of Berlin" by Karl Bonatz (the follower of

Scharoun) and Richard Ermisch in 1947, all plans prepared for post-war Berlin, i.e. the "collective plan" (basing upon the key-word "city outlook" ("Stadtlandschaft")) by Scharoun et.al. in 1946, the "Zehlendorfer plan" (basically a "traffic" plan) by W.Görgen and W.Moest, and also the plans (for combatting against the "Mietskasernen") by Max Taut and the social reformer Georg Heyer, were all propagating "new construction" instead of the "renewal of the existing city".(37)

The Soviet authorities did refuse to recognise Ernst Reuter (who did return from the exile in Turkey) as mayor although he had been elected in Berlin as a whole. When in 1948 Reuter had been re-elected, he was able to take office only in the Western sector. The "**Cold War**" had escalated in 1948 around the "**Berlin Problem**". The Soviets have used the introduction of monetary measures in West Germany as a pretext to block communications with West Berlin. They closed the roads, motorways and railways leading from the West to Berlin through the Soviet zone of occupation. As a result, the city had been for more than ten months cut off from the outside world. Therefore it was supplied by the allies from the air. The total sum of the cargo carried in air with 213,000 flights between July 1948 and May 1949 were altogether 1,7 million tons!(38) Although prevented, this "blockade action" (as combined with the "Londoner Conference of 1947" and the "money reform" of 1948) has had greatly contributed to the political division of Berlin into "Ost-and West Berlin".

The Federal Government's "**social housing programme**" adopted by Berlin in 1952 has brought an immense stimulation of the economy. 80%

of the "new" housing units constructed in the 1950s were supported by this programme. The total figure of the newly produced housing units between 1949-1963 were nearly 230,000.(39) The Senat of Berlin had tried to solve the reconstruction problem of the completely devastated "Hansaviertel" in the inner city district of Tiergarten via an open competition. There were many prominent architects taking part in the competition such as Alvar Aalto, Walter Gropius, Sten Samuelsen, Oscar Niemeyer, and Pierre Vago. The "preparatory land use plan ("Flaechennutzungsplan") of 1950 (which was the more refined form of the "Zehlendorfer plan" and of the "Plan 48" (prepared by Bonatz)); the "speedy streets' ("Schnellstrassen-") concept of 1954- 1956" and the following "preparatory land use plan of 1958" were determining the spatial development of the whole city. The "**international building exhibition ("Internationale Bauausstellung") of 1957**" was aiming at displaying the reality and the power of the "**front-city Berlin**" supported by the "**free (western) world**".(40) Berlin with its big "**reconstruction projects**" in the inner city like the "Hansaviertel project" (with 103 hectares of site, and 1,300 dwelling units); the "Bayerisches Viertel project" (1952-1960) (consisting of 221 plots, 141 totally-, 25 heavily destroyed buildings); and "**new and great housing projects**" having been realized mostly in the urban periphery areas such as "Lankwitz settlement project" (1952/53) (with 2,500 housing units), "Spandau-West-", "Tegel-", "Wedding-", "Britz-Süd-", and "Charlottenburg- Nord projects" (each with 1,150-1,800 dwelling units and realized until 1957 with the principles of "loosely built-up, and providing air, light and sun") had been a real "construction place" in those years. A

third dimension of the urban construction activities undertaken in the 1950s was the efforts spent for realization of the principle of an "**(auto)mobilized city**". One was trying to create a city with motorways, speedy streets, tangential roads and crossings in order to make the city built-up surface more looser and more fitting to the principle of the complete segregation of differing land uses.(41) Other factors for "Berlin as the motorized city" concept were: i)The future plan for Berlin as the **capital city of a unified Germany** located in the Central Europe, according to which the city would be a crossing point for the international traffic; ii)Ideological influences stemming from the "**American way of life**" (according to the "Berliner Illustrierte"'s special "Berlin" issue of 1976 (p.5), **W.Berlin was the most "Americanized" city out of the borders of the U.S.**); and iii)A "**study-tour**" of the Berliner Building Senator realized to the U.S. "in order to know the great and worthy experiences gained since 15 years (there)" (which had also influenced the so-called "First Renewal Program of 1963" (of Berlin) to be mentioned later on)!(42)

What was lacking in the whole table drawn above was the concept of the **"tabula rasa type of urban renewal" ("Kahlschlagsanierung")** of especially "Mietskasernen" districts not destroyed in the war. The first and famous example for this type of urban renewal has been given in (once politically "red") Wedding district of Berlin. Following the field studies of Balg and Ottersky(43), the Federal Housing Building Ministry had offered a project proposal to Prof. Johannes Göderitz ("Pope of urban renewal" ("Sanierungspapst") in FRG) from Braunschweiger

Technical High-School for developing a project concept for urban renewal to be undertaken in Wedding. He has suggested in his project dated 1957 a three-staged renewal model according to which firstly the buildings with most technical and health risks; and, secondly, the side-, and rear buildings should be removed (in order to make room for new construction).(44) Meanwhile, the Weddinger district (Bezirk) had defined nine renewal areas (consisting of 5,545 dwelling units) and had pulled down 235 housing units as before the actual putting out of the "urban renewal principals" ("Sanierungsrichtlinien") of 12.12.1961.(45) However, the person responsible for the "Berlin's second destruction" (after the war) was the social-democrate Building Senator Rolf Schwedler (building engineer from house) (since 1955 until 1972) who was categorized as "one-dimensional, technics-believer, pro-American" city technician.(46)

Berlin was entering into its last era as an "occupied and divided city" after the start with the construction of the famous and symbolic "**Berlin Wall**" (which was six foot high) along the border between the American and Soviet sectors at Potsdamer Platz in the night of 12th to 13th August 1961. The wall consisting of barbed wire barriers and road blocks was afterwards replaced with concrete and bricks. In this way, the eastern Soviet sector of Berlin and the German Democratic Republic ("GDR") were strongly "closed off" to the westernized, American-type socio-economic life model(s) witnessed in West-Berlin!

And what happened in West Berlin after the erection of the Wall? According to Pfeiffer who has compared the situation of Berlin of the 1950s

with that of the 1980s, the city being half of a "divided city" was displaying some thirty years ago the characteristics below:

-Its political status was uncertain and precarious;

-Its war damage had not been rectified;

-Its economy had only just begun to move with difficulty after the blockade and the city's loss of its status as a capital;

-It had only 700,000 dwellings for 2,1 million inhabitants, and 800,000 jobs of which 150,000 were industrial ones for a working population of 1,1 million;

-It had a GNP of about 6,000 million DM

-It had a production per inhabitant almost 25% lower than in West Germany.(47)

Pfeiffer goes forth by summarizing the characteristics of Berlin in the 1980s as follows after mentioning the "Four-Power-Agreement" of 1971 which had settled practical questions of access to West Berlin:

-It has an all-in-all secure political status;

-There are 2 million inhabitants, for whom there exist nearly 1,1 milliom dwellings;

-835,000 jobs exist for 880,000 working people;

-Its economic performance per inhabitant has risen to 10% higher than it is in West Germany.

-It has gained a very heterogenous structure: It has 250,000 foreigners of whom 130,000 are Turks; and 450,000 are aged-people (i.e older than 65);

-There has appeared on the scene a so-called "new housing crisis" (in 20% of all dwellings there is no bath or toilet, only 60% have central heating, and 60% have two rooms or less);

-There is a need for rather considerable amounts of financial subsidy from the federal government of W.Germany (50% of the city budget is financed by the federal government);

-And lastly, although supported to such an extent by F.Germany, W.Berlin is loosing jobs (120,000 already lost since 1970, of which 100,000 were industrial ones) and people (200,000 were lost between 1970-1980 although it has attracted some 100,000 foreigners).(48)

It is clear from the picture given above of the three decades until the late 1980s that W.Berlin has had gone through difficult times as a controlled "island-city" within the GDR sea!(49)

And, moreover, there were "ghetto-islands" of the foreigners/Turks located just in that city-island of Berlin! As mentioned in the subsection 7.5 above, the **largest ghetto areas of the Turks in Berlin (such as Kreuzberg, Wedding and Tiergarten)** were designated as "overburdened intraregional ban practicing areas" of W.Berlin. They were at the same time the **pioneering renewal areas of the city**.

At this point of discussion, it would be convenient to open a parenthesis with regard to the concept of "ghetto". Wirth states in his classic book that the word "ghetto" applies to the Jewish quarter of a city (originally to the Italian "gietto", the cannon foundry at Venice near which the first Jewish settlement was located).(50) He then goes forth:

> "In modern times the word "ghetto" applies(..).(..) particularly to those areas where the poorest and most backward group of the Jewish population of the towns and cities resides. In our American cities the ghetto refers particularly to the area of first settlement, i.e., those sections of the cities where the immigrant finds his home shortly after his arrival in America.(..) Moreover, there seems to be a tendency to refer to immigrant quarters in general as ghettos."(51)

And a Turkish sociologist, ÿbrahim Yasa, describes the "ghetto" as follows(52):

> ""Ghetto" is the name given to some natural areas in big cities. Here does live the minority people of the city. Each minority group has its own settlement area. These areas are poverty pockets of the city which are old, torn down, unserviced, devoid of municipal services in most cases.(..) They do form the subcultures or cultural islands of the metropolis. O. Lewis has described this as "poverty culture"."

As seen from both elaborations of the ghetto that both scholars have made use of the theoretical foundation of the **"Chicago School"'s "ecological" approach to urban sociology**.(53) And they have defined the ghetto therefore more or less in the same manner. The Turkish ghettos in Germany are also located in some natural areas(54) of the German cities where the Turks have come together not only because of their **subjective** feelings to be close to each other as compatriots, but also because of some **objective** reasons. The racist discrimination against themselves on the side of the Germans in the very field of housing, and their being squeezed to minor pockets of the existing housing markets which is being structured according to the material needs of the average German family, are two examples of those objective reasons. The recent racist arson and/or burning attacks of the 1990s realized by the neo-Nazis on Turkish minority

members(' dwellings and stores) living in Germany since 35 years are another and very important objective reason for Turks to live close to each other in their ghettos! (Thus, as Harvey suggests it for general understanding of the "city", one has to refer to both "imaginations", "social" (i.e. being aware of historical and social conditions of the others, as theorized by Mills(55)) and "geographical" (i.e. being aware of the importance of the space and place in human biographies, as theorized by Harvey(56)), while handling the ghettos of the immigrants and/or Turks in Germany(/Europe)..)

Yet, it is these areas which have been put onto the "practicing" table of the German city officials. Claiming that the political changes resulting from wars, inflation, but also a lack of interest on the part of owners in the maintenance and improvement of their property caused most buildings (designated for "**renewal**" in the 1960s, 1970s) to fall into a bad state of disrepair, the officials went on by describing a typical rehabilitation area (Charlottenburg in Berlin) as follows(57):

> "The area contained some 6,880 apartments before urban renewal work was undertaken. Only 440 of these were of post-1945 construction. Most of the buildings (71%) were constructed before 1900. In only 8% of the buildings did each apartment have a bath or shower, 67% of the apartments had outside toilets, some even outside the building. In addition to the visible structural disadvantages, such as lack of sunshine, poor ventilation, buildings constructed too close together and too densely populated, damp interiors, and no toilets or baths, there are also deficiencies which are not evident at first sight: too few kindergartens, green areas, playgrounds and sportgrounds, and inconvenience caused by industry."

An investigation conducted in 1961 in order to find out the magnitude of the would-be renewal undertakings in Berlin had pointed out to the fact that there were nearly 430,000 dwelling units (out of the total of 470,000 dwellings built prior to the Ist WW) to be rehabilitated, 230,000 of which were built prior to 1900 and which were necessitating therefore an "urgent" intervention. The "**First Renewal Program of 1963**" was foreseeing to rehabilitate some 56,100 dwellings of those urgent units (i.e. 24,4%) located in six "officially declared renewal areas" ("förmlich festgelegte Sanierungsgebiete") (being Tiergarten, Wedding, Kreuzberg, Charlottenburg, Schöneberg and Neukölln) covering totally 449,2 hectares. The program which had been conceptualized at the very beginning as a "**tabula rasa type of urban renewal and/or wholesale urban redevelopment**" program ("**Kahlschlagsanierung**" **and/or** "**Flaechensanierung**") and which had been started with the official announcement dated 18.03.1963 of the mentioned six districts as "renewal areas" by the then Berlin mayor Willy Brandt, was influencing nearly 140,000 citizens and 7,600 workplaces with a total of 58,000 employees. The time period scheduled for the renewal program had been determined as 10-15 years and then extended to 20 years. This program would be realized with support to be got from the buildings of the three satellite cities (or city-districts) ("Trabantenstaedte") each with a housing stock of around 45,000 units. (These would-be satellite settlements were "Maerkisches Viertel" (since 1963, nearly 17,000 (apartment) houses), "Gropiusstadt" (located in Neukölln, since 1962 18,000 houses), and "Falkenhagener Feld"

(in Spandau, since 1963 around 10,000 houses) which had been thought as potential areas for housing the inhabitants of the renewal areas to be evacuated on a temporary and/or permanent basis.)(58)

After once the need for new dwellings had for the most part **not** been met (there were ready until 1975 only 5,800 dwelling units of a total of 26,800 potential "new" units(59)), the "**Second Renewal Program**" (including the renewal of 34,000 units) had been launched in 1974 by which one had started to pay more attention to older structures and to areas (having a poor building substance of the housing market(s)) due to mainly two reasons: 1-These buildings and areas did require fundamental modernisation and/or renewal measures as according to the "Urban Renewal and Town Development Act" ("Staedtebauförderungsgesetz" ("Gesetz über staedtebauliche Sanierungs- und Entwicklungsmassnahmen in den Gemeinden") of 1971) which foresees the removal of "city developmental defects" ("staedtebaulicher Misstand") in its 1st and 3rd Paragraphs; and moreover: 2-These buildings and areas which are located in and around the "inner city" do inhabit to a greater extent the most disadvantaged socio-economic groups of the city, i.e. marginals, unemployed people, youth subcultures and their members (such as the "punks", "skin-heads", etc.), old pensioners, immigrants, guestworkers, and last, but not least, **Turks**. The law mentioned above does also regulate that city officials do remove the "**social structure**" of those mentioned areas which means actually the very **"removal of the poor and disadvantaged groups" from those buildings, city areas, city districts, and even from those cities** at all!(60)

The "**modernisation schemes**" were incorporating such items as: 1-Construction of new balconies; 2-Window repairs,provision ofdouble glazing; 3-Repair of roofs; 4-Renovation of staircases; 5-Installation of baths and toilets in every flat; 6-Installation of new kitchens; 7- Replacement of all supply and waste facilities, installation of central heating; 8-Renovation of facades; 9-Construction of community facilities, such as parking space, playgrounds, and green spaces.(61) According to the plans made, there would be finished firstly 20,000 units from the "First Program" between 1978-1985; and secondly 34,000 units projected to be modernised and/or newly built in 27 "renewal suspect areas" ("Sanierungsverdachtsgebiete") from the "Second Program" until latest 1995.(62)) However, the investment needs developed in those areas were higher than many of the owners of the old houses could afford. The strategy used to eradicate the deficiencies of those areas, i.e. the "wholesale urban redevelopment" had involved the wholesale demolition of old buildings and the subsequent construction of whole new streets. Apart from this and in additional cost, new areas and suburbs were created on the fringes of towns (as a result of urban development's "development measures") to cater for the thus mobilized and/or removed inhabitants of the renewal areas.(63)

Since, however, the mentioned technics of urban renewal has caused a rather heavy loss of urban quality, gradually, the idea of "preservation through maintenance" has gained popular and official acceptance and support. During the last years of the 1970s, increasing consideration was given to the maintenance and/or renovation of historic,

artistic or urban development significance, an approach strengthened also by the "European Architectural Heritage Year of 1975" during which Berlin had been selected as the "sample city for the maintenance of big-city quarters stemming from the 19th century".(64)

Thus, the residential quarter comprising the dwelling, the neighborhood environment and social contacts existing between the residents of a specific area have been the targets of the urban renewal policy at the end of the 1970s. The renewal policy of "wholesale urban redevelopment" type has evolved at this second stage into a type which may be labelled as "**urban bloc renewal scheme**" by which one was removing the inner side of a city bloc (mostly located in inner city areas) in order to provide for communal facilities lacking there leaving the front building(s) as in the(ir) original form.(65)

In a third stage (between 1980-1982 and) following immediately the second stage, the urban renewal policy has evolved into the so-called "**cautius renewal ("behutsame Stadterneuerung") scheme**" by which prority is given to small-scale, cautious renewal measures.(66) The aims of urban renewal were set anew as follows:

> "Preservation of the historical city image. Restoration of inner city residential areas, with special reference to social aspects. Greatest possible respect for the wishes and requirements of the local population. Promotion of community activities. Prompt construction of all follow-up facilities (including open space and green areas). **Equal treatment for foreign families in the provision of housing**. (Stress is mine, Ö.B.)"(67)

The principal reasons for these policy changes in urban renewal schemes have been threefold:

1-First, the housing stock in general, and housing submarkets in particular, inhabiting especially the most vulnerable population/tenant groups such as the low-income urbanites and/or the immigrants and/or the **Turks** were not sufficient to cater for the rather heavy loss of dwellings demolished during radical urban renewal programmes. (If one remembers the rather high share of the immigrants (which was according to Cihan Arìn 230,000 in figure and 11.5 in percentage in the very beginning of the 1980s) within the total Berlin population, and if one also recalls that 55% of all immigrants were Turks, then the very restricted housing conditions in Berlin for Turks become more apparent.(68)) Those demolished units were mainly serving these low-income, racially segregated and discriminated against housing groups!

As a vivid case displaying this situation very strikingly, we can recall the "Wedding - Brunnenstrasse" "redevelopment" (i.e. demolition and rebuilding altogether) project which, having being started in 1963, was having the largest renewal area in West Germany (its size was of approximately 250 acres): Its population which was 38,000 in 1961 had decreased to 17,000 in 1980 (i.e. a loss of 55%); and the foreigner (mostly Turks') share within the population had decreased from 34% in 1974 to 26% in 1980. A German expert, Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch, clearly states therefore that in Wedding "the aim (of the social planning, Ö.B.) was to redevelop the area and at the same time to bring the standard of the social structure up to the Berlin average (in other words: **to do away with workers' ghettos** (stress is mine, Ö.B.))."(69) However, as Hoffmeyer-

Zlotnik brilliantly shows, the "(Turkish) workers' ghettos" which are existing for the most part in the "**zone in transition**" areas according to the "**Burgess' concentric urban model**", i.e. in those central areas of the cities adjacent to the "loop" (i.e. "city, the CBD area") of the model and filled with old "Mietskasernen" to be rented out (to urban poors and especially to immigrants) and then to be evacuated and modernised and/or torn away after the announcement of the neighborhood as "renewal area", are moving uninterruptedly on the city surface to specific locations, to smaller spatial pockets left over and reserved, so to say, for their "damned" inhabitants! In other words, they do not "vaporize" at the first instance as one has wished for so eagerly?!(70)

2-Secondly, the rather high financial costs related with especially "modernisation" projects are one of the main obstacles for city authorities dealing with urban renewal projects. In a report prepared in 1978, one mentiones that "comprehensive" modernisation projects seeking to bring housing up to contemporary standards in every respect have "to date" been carried out in (only) some 1,300 flats! It is said furthermore that: "One decisive factor in planning for the future is the fact that despite the work already carried out there are still approximately 600,000 pre-war flats in Berlin, of which 300,000 are in greater or lesser need of modernization. Public assistance will be required in some 200,000 cases. These figures do not include (..) 100,000 flats without bathroom and inside toilet since rehabilitation is neither reasonable nor economically justifiable(..). Redevelopment is usually the less expensive alternative."(71) Then the total

cost of modernisation of 200,000 pre-war flats within a time-period of 20-25 years has been estimated (in accordance to the decision of the Berliner Senat with No:2309/78 dated 04.04.1978) as follows:

Table 8.1 : Modernisation Schemes in Berlin in 1978 (with 1977 prices):

Extent of modernisation	No. of flats in need of modernisation	Modernisation costs (DM billion)	Public subsidy (DM billion)
"Small-scale" (Installa.of baths and WC's; improve.of heating & hot water facili. 20,000-25,000 DM/ flat.)	100,000	2	0,9
"Medium-scale" (60,000 DM/flat in average.)	80,000	4,8	3,6
"Full-scale" (+70,000 DM/flat.)	20,000	2,8	2,7
Total	200,000	9,6	7,2

(Source: Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin Building Review'78, Berlin (West): Thormann and Goetsch, September 1978, p.13.)

3-The third factor exerting influence for change onto the renewal schemes was the characteristical peculiarity of Berlin as a "**tenant-city**". As it will be remembered from subsection 7.4 above, the F.German housing stock in general (still) is to an extent of 64% (with 1978 values) a "**rental stock**" (although the federal government's aim is to increase the ownership proportion to more than 50 percent(72)). And so is the housing stock of

W.Berl in.. Actually, and just before the extermination of the legal "rent control" practice on 01.01.1990, the housing stock of W.Berlin was a rental stock to such an extent that only 9% of total households in the city were being classified as "owner- occupiers" as contrasted for instance with other "growth poles" as Munich and Hamburg where the same rate was more than three times!(73) Thus Berlin has been the "leader tenant city" of Germany so long! This situation was also proved by real life processes witnessed. During a popular "signature campaign" against a federal law proposal (of CDU/FDP) for lifting the rent control practice in Berlin (an attempt which was prevented 7 times since 1962) in May/June 1987, an exact total of 492,648 people have participated. (The total figure in the last campaign prior to this one in 1982 was 250,000.) Among active supporters of the campaign were foreigners living in Berlin, and especially the Turks. They have been counted as 55,000 participants (i.e. more than 70% of the ethnic cohort) and, moreover, a Turkish group (called as the "Turkish Group of West Berlin For Equal Rights" ("BTT")) has played a major role in organising the mentioned activity undertaken!(74) However, the housing situation of the guestworkers living in W.Berlin as **tenants with their families frequently having many children** (as compared to the German average standards(75)) in dilapidated inner city districts' pre-war building stock has worsened from day to day as a result of "renewal activities" undertaken just in their immediate neighborhods designated for "social/spatial improvement". The tables below will illuminate the extent of the renewal activities in Berlin and the share of potential "renewal/removal burden" of the foreigners and esp. of the Turks thereby:

Table 8.2 : Distribution of Foreigners and Turks to West-Berlin's Districts (as of 1973)

District	Foreigner in %	Turks in % (as of 31.12.1973)	% of Foreigners are Turks	% Share of Foreig. in Total Pop. (%) (as of 31.01.1973)
Tiergarten	8.2	8.7	47.8	13.0
Wedding	16.3	23.9	65.3	14.7
Kreuzberg	21.2	31.8	66.7	19.7
Charlottenburg	9.1	4.9	23.9	7.7
Spandau	5.4	4.3	35.4	4.5
Wilmersdorf	5.5	1.3	10.7	6.2
Zehlendorf	2.8	0.5	8.7	5.5
Schöneberg	9.3	8.2	39.1	9.5
Steglitz	4.1	2.0	21.8	3.5
Tempelhof	3.3	1.7	22.3	3.3
Neukölln	9.8	9.8	44.8	5.2
Reinickendorf	5.0	2.9	25.6	3.3
West-Berlin	100.0	100.0	44.5	7.5

(Source: Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977, p.75 (Table 10).)

Table 8.3 : Inner-City Renewal Areas of West-Berlin

District	Area (in ha)	Housing units affected (absolute)	Housing units affected (per 1,000 inhabitants)	Total district population (as of 27.05.1970)
Wedding	185,6	16,000	0,9	180,978
Kreuzberg	107,2	16,000	1,0	158,445
Schöneberg	67,7	8,500	0,5	169,835
Charlottenburg	49,4	7,300	0,4	201,732
Neukölln	21,0	5,600	0,2	281,470
Tiergarten	18,3	2,700	0,3	98,388

(Source: Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977, p.76 (Table 12).)

Table 8.4 : (Physical) Housing Condition in 1978

District	Buildings pre-1918	Housing units without WC	Hou.units with 1 or 2 rooms	Rooms per inhabi.
Wedding	61,6	17,7	35,6	1,19
Kreuzberg	69,4	25,4	38,6	1,14
Schöneberg	60,1	5,2	23,7	1,31
Charlottenburg	47,0	6,6	24,7	1,46
Neukölln	41,2	9,9	25,6	1,18
Tiergarten	61,3	16,4	36,5	1,33
Berlin (West)	37,9	8,4	23,8	1,29

(Source: Freie Planungsgruppe Berlin GmbH & PROGNOS AG Basel, Wohnraumversorgung von Auslaendern und Entballung überlasteter Gebiete durch staedtebauliche Massnahmen, Berlin: Der regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin - Senatskanzlei / Planungsleitstelle, November 1980, p.54 (Table 8).)

As seen from the tables above, there is a big **coincidence** between the renewal areas of W.Berlin and the inner-city districts where the foreigners and the Turks actually live. It is for sure that "social upgrading" of those districts, in other words the **removal of the immigrants** creating, so to say, **social danger** in those dilapidated housing areas for "the security of the (German, Ö.B.) people living and working there" (as the "Urban Renewal and Town Development Act" states in its Article 3/2; and an attempt which could be classified as "function-upgrading" as opposed to "substance-upgrading"(76)) has been a factor (at least) as decisive as "physical upgrading" of the areas and/or buildings mentioned. The "fear" with regard to the possible "**generation of many cities within Berlin**" (if the immigrants would not return back to their respective countries, and/or if they would not assimilate to become "Germans" living in Berlin in peace)(77) does seem

having influenced German authorities (not only in Berlin) to launch "housing renewal policies" practiced in such massive scales (though not each time of the size witnessed) in Berlin.(78)

As a result of the mentioned urban renewal strategies, the Turks have been "removed to a great extent to renewal expectation areas ("Sanierungserwartungsgebiete"), survey areas ("Untersuchungsbereiche") and officially declared renewal areas ("förmlich festgelegte Sanierungsgebiete") before the actual renewal activities".(79) Moreover, they have met rather enormous "**rent increases**" after modernisation of their "former" housing units (if they found the possibility to remain/return to them, a very rare situation at all!) as compared to before it was the case. Heidtmann-Frohme says that the greatest rent increases have been recorded for the "evacuated, and then resettled (by the renewal contractor)" ("Umgesetzte") Turks by whom the average "cold rent" (i.e. rent without heating-, and warm-water expenses) has increased four-fold and the "warm rent" two-and-a-half-fold (i.e. equal to 163%). The increase rates of the warm rents for the Turks resettled (once) temporarily ("Zwischenumgesetzte") have been 97%; and for the Turks moved freely ("Umgezogene") 129 percent!(80)

As a background information, it will be convenient to remember the overall rent increases in Germany until 1978:

Table 8.5 : Housing Rents in F.Germany (in 1965, 1972, 1978)

Housing Category	Monthly Rent per sqm of Floor Area 1965	1972	1978
Pure Rental Stock altogether	1,70	2,98	4,32
Of this:			
Old buildings	1,45	2,58	3,62
New buildings	1,95	3,24	4,70
Of these:			
Publicly subsidized	1,72	2,80	4,33
Not Publicly subsidized	2,27	3,65	5,00

(Source: Rudi Ulbrich, "Die Wohnungsversorgung im Spiegel der Statistik", (in)Wohnen zur Miete: Wohnungsversorgung und Wohnungspolitik in der Bundesrepublik (Ed.: Joachim Brech), Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1981, p.23 (Table 3).)

Welser-Ude & Ude state (benefitting from "Statistical Federal Office's sources) that whereas the living costs in the F.Germany have increased by 26% between 1980-1989, the rents have increased more and by the following rates and as differentiated as follows: By 28% in "not publicly subsidized" new buildings; by 39% in "publicly subsidized" new (social) buildings; and by 42% in old buildings!(81) To this overall increases in rent levels, one has to add in W.Berlin the potential increase which must be generated through the lifting of the "rent control" practice in the very beginning of 1990. What is already known about this event is the news got from Munich which has lifted the "rent ban" earlier than Berlin: It has been recorded in Munich that the rent increase rate after lifting of the rent control measures implemented for the old building stock has been 70% within a time period of nine years!(82)

Cihan Arın who has extensively researched the Turks' housing conditions in W.Berlin states the following(83):

> "Access for immigrants to flats is restricted almostexclusively to the worst quality of accommodation in small flats in old buildings(..).(..) In spite of the extreme shortcomings in these flats, immigrants frequently have to pay bribes - normally to interpreters in administration offices - in order to get any type of flat at all. To this must be added that they often also have to pay excessive rent due to ignorance of the legal possibilities and due to difficulties in dealings with official authorities as well as an inability to cope with conflicts, this applying in spite of the fact that rents for old buildings in Berlin are fixed by law."

After saying that although from a formal point of view foreigners and in particular Turks, have equal rights when involved in urban renewal, Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch goes forth by stating that they are restricted in their mobility within the city due to the "overpopulated areas"' ban on the one side, and due to their having "fewer chances" in the rental housing sector, on the other, even if they pay as a rule "higher rents" than Germans for poorer flats and/or in the rehabilitated housing subsectors like, for instance, Wedding where once they were used to live. He describes the "mobility scene of the foreigners" as follows(84):

> "1)Firstly, there is a heavy increase in foreign inhabitants in the housing action area, or in one that will be renewed in the near future.
> 2)In the course of renewal, because of the lack of their likelihood of obtaining rehabilitated flats, foreign inhabitants tend to concentrate in the old housing stock (in some blocks up to 80%) and
> 3)Finally, pressure builds up on bordering areas also earmarked for renewal.
> This **vicious circle disturbs both German and foreign inhabitants and offers no immediate solution, only a constant shift of the problem accompanied by selective social filtering-out processes** (stress is mine, Ö.B.)."

Here one should point out to a very effective(!) mechanism functional for "letting" the old housing stock deteriorate which is actually the "last resort" for the Turks squeezed in German (rental) housing (sub)market(s): It is the change of the ownership pattern existing in old buildings' areas. As zur Wiesch summarizes, the buildings owned by private landlords are being slowly bought up by the local authorities (which actually do want get rid of the potential Turkish ghettos within their boundaries). This process takes on an average 6 years before the original landlords sell out their properties. And after this purchasing transaction, the building can still be held around another 6 years before it is torn down, rehabilitated and/or modernised! These altogether 12 years of "remaining use" passing while awaiting actual renewal are made use of principally by renting it to (whom else?) the foreigners/Turks! Since there is a "surplus" of renewal awaiting buildings transferred from private hands to the public ones in most cases, and since delays in reinvestment of surpluses for maintenance lead to creeping decay in those buildings, the neighborhoods inhabiting those buildings do start to "fall", too. "The fluctuation of tenants creates an atmosphere of non-investment and decay, aggravates integrated living between Germans and foreigners and drives modernization costs up or legitimizes demolition even if modernization would have been possible".(85)

It must also be stated that the target of the urban renewal activities followed, i.e. to "disperse" out the foreigners/Turks from their "concentration points" in cities, a situation displaying rather a "tendency to ghetto-formation", to other(?) districts(86), has not been achieved, however.

At the end of the renewal strategies experimented with(!) in Kreuzberg/Berlin, one has witnessed rather to the rise of a "**pseudo-integration**" which has taken place right in the dilapidated housing areas ("transitional zones") where the Turks "with low job security, low wage and low occupational mobility, resulting in high labour turnover which in turn brings high inter-city but low within-city mobility and over- crowding in certain neighbourhoods(..) (open to) ghettoisation", have created a "sub-culture similar to the sub-culture created by the squatter settlements (' inhabitants) in Turkey", as stated by a Turkish/German urban sociologist (from Ankara) at an occasion in Berlin.(87)

As a last point in this subsection, we have to mention the famous "**inhabitant participation mechanism(s)**" which had to be used in order to "restore the **project democracy**" with the aim "for the inhabitant with the inhabitant". The first principle of the "12 principles of the cautious urban renewal scheme" was reading as follows: "The renewal has to be oriented according to the needs of local people and it must be planned and implemented with them". The ninth principle was foreseeing to establish some democratic mechanisms for inhabitant participation in decision-making processes with regard to renewal activities to be realised. Okey now, but what was the actual ground for "**public participation**" practices in F.Germany? In other words, were there enough historical traditions with regard to "user participation" schemes to be benefitted from or were they to be "invented" new?

One of the two principal legal devices for ordering spatial planning activities in Germany has been the **"Federal Building Law"** ("FBL") ("**Bundesbaugesetz**") (dated 1960, and changed in 1976, 1979 and then merged on 01.07.1987 with the "Urban Renewal and Town Development Act" ("URTDA") of 1971 which is the second legal tool.). According to the FBL, the preparation of the urban development plans is a process consisting of six stages also opening the doors for "public participation" as follows(88):

1-Announcement of the decision taken for letting the development plans to be prepared in local newspapers and/or via general advertisements (FBL, Art.2(1); URTDA, Art.4(3));

2-Local governments do make public the plans prepared and their potential effects in order to clarify their aims, policies and programmes (through newspapers, gatherings, meetings, etc.) (FBL, Art.2a(2));

3-Views of the public bodies about the plans are obtained (FBL, Art.2(5));

4-Plans are displayed officially to the public at large for a time period of a month and individual reactions to the plans are collected (FBL, Art.2a(6));

5-Reactions (in the form of questions, wishes, suggestions) are investigated (FBL, Art.2a(6)) and replied back officially; the "refused" reactions are being forwarded to a higher juristical instance and are also replied back personally. If there are 100 persons asking for a specific intervention, the local government has to open it to general discussion;

6-Last stage is the approval stage after which the plans do enter into force.

As seen from the functioning scheme above, the local inhabitants in German cities do enjoy a legal and (seemingly most effective) right to participate in the actual planning of their neighborhoods and/or cities, besides having their principal "**citizen rights**" emanating from the Federal German Constitution according to the Art.28(1) of which they elect via direct, general, free, fair and secret ballots their "**representatives**" at state-, district-, and commune levels and/or instances.(89) However, one important point should be made here: The "participation right" mentioned has been included into the FBL as early as 1977!(90) The law related with urban renewal had first been formulated in 1971. According to the Articles 4 and 8(2) (of the URTDA) which do arrange the participation procedures for the "landlords", "tenants" and "users" alike living in the location during the preliminary starting periods of the planning period, planning officials undertaking urban renewal works have to take into consideration the views of the inhabitants during each stage of the actual plan process. The main aim of the urban renewal schemes is to upgrade the living conditions of the inhabitants who live in areas earmarked for renewal via solving/lessening of their spatial and even social problems.(91) But now the question arises with regard to the very "inhabitants" of those renewal areas: Who are they at all for whom one has started to prepare some technical, procedural grounds for "participation"? Are they Germans (be them be members of some "marginal" youth subcultures(92) like "punks", "skin-heads", students, artists and/or

old/lonely pensioners, etc.) enjoying formally every type of citizen rights prevailing in the city/country? Or, are they the "**non- citizens**", the "**foreigners**", and/or the "**Turks**" of the German cities of the late twentieth century who are actually aimed for? Is it just because of the very interest of the law for well-being of the inhabitants that it foresees a "**social plan**" besides a "**physical plan**" ("staedtebauliche Planung") and a "**financial plan**" be prepared during the initial "preparatory period"?(93) Or, are there some other goals **not made so public**?

We can give a common answer to all these questions stating that the specific "target group" of the "participatory planning" in (especially) urban renewal areas of the German cities from the 1970s onwards have been the "non-citizen foreigners/(i.e.) Turks"! Since the foreigners/Turks have had started to form "ghettos" in inner city-, i.e. the potential/actual renewal areas, they had been "subject" to more "attention" and furthermore "distrust" and "antipathy" on the side of both federal/local politicians and German people at large! The racist politicians and planning officials who actually wanted to "get rid of the Turks" and to "make them return back to Turkey" (as we've dealt with it thoroughly in foregoing chapters) and moreover, who wanted to prevent "Turkish ghettos' formation on German soil", a process albeit witnessed, not accepted and therefore described only being as a "tendency" by some German experts(94), have developed in the "participatory urban renewal scheme(s)" an urban planning "device" for reaching two goals at the same time:

1-To "upgrade" and/or "gentrify" the deteriorating inner-city areas"tending" to evolve into "Turkish ghettos" by means of urban renewal activities to such an extent that the Turks "ultimately" would be "pushed out" of these buildings/districts by the very mechanism of "free market transactions" such as the astronomic increases in rent levels to be (as expected) recorded right after the modernisation works undertaken; and

2-To "modernise" the historical, old and dilapidated building stock heritages of big German cities (also representative of the "white, racist, and imperial European culture" to be "leaded" in not very far future by unified Germany) with the "labor help" to be obtained mostly from the Turks(95) living in those buildings under very precarious legal, socio- economic, and not the least, cultural existence conditions. They were thus very "ready" for "collaborating" and/or "participating" within renewal schemes though "dictated" (one has not done anything for the sake of "democratic participation" for Turks but publishing some limited "bilingual information brochures", i.e. also in Turkish translation and hiring some Turks for the local tenant bureaux on the spot!), also made to be "shared" by the Turks who are so eager for being "socially accepted and/or being counted as integrated" by the "high" and "host" German society!

We can easily state that both goals have been achieved to a large extent. The "participatory mechanisms" invented, so to say, to realise both goals have been manyfold as follows(96):

1-"Local municipal bureaux/shops" to be opened on the spot in order to get into contact with the inhabitants more speedy and more intimately(97);

2-Newspapers and brochures to be published and distributed by the municipalities;

3-Forums and displays in order to inform the local people about the newly (to be) prepared "renewal plan" and to get the "critical views" from them rela ted to it(98);

4-(Urban) Renewal commissions to be established on the spot with the aim to lessen the duties of the "planning commissions" of the district municipalities which can not deal with every kind of details while preparing plans and programmes. The "renewal commissions" would be composed of representatives of political parties, tenants, landlords, shop owners, associations and "citizen initiatives" (acting in and for the area to be renewed)(99);

5-Social Plan which is to be prepared after coming into contact with the actual and potential inhabitants of the renewal area just before the "official" announcement of the area (as the renewal area) and by building upon the material or financial needs and expectations of the people with regard to their actual housing conditions and their would-be transfer movements to be caused by renewal implementations(100)".

And, if the word comes to the final evaluation of the mentioned "participation within renewal" mechanisms envisaged for urban renewal areas' inhabitants and among them, the Turks, we can say with Arìn(101)

the followings: The "modernisation/renewal" schemes seemingly designed out (only) for Berlin (and therefore some other big German cities following Berlin in its city planning and architectural efforts) which are paving way to "(more than before) private renewals", "addition of floors and floorspaces", "turning of housing areas into office spaces and high-society restaurants and/or cafés" are in essence "gentrification" ("Aufwertung, Veredelung") processes as witnessed in massive scales in the U.S. and especially in New York City which actually do remove the low-income urbanites, immigrant minorities and/or foreigners, (guest)worker families (with many children) and/or the Turks from their "last" housing "niches" in German cities to "somewhere else" in the outlying urban areas(102) for letting them to establish their "poors' colonies" as opposed to the "richs' colonies" remaining within inner city areas! The mentioned participation schemes therefore are only functional in hiding this rather "multifacetal (inter)national/urban renewal project for removal of the disliked population groups like immigrant minorities and/or the Turks also by making use of their own labor" from their original/traditional living/housing areas located in the western cities of the First World!

If one takes also into account that since the collapse of the "wall" Berlin has been turned into an "international competition arena" for terrain-, building- and/or industrial (multi)national firms like IBM, Mitsubishi, Fujitsu, Unisys, Hitachi, Jones Lang Wootten, London Edinburgh Trust, Dumas West, and so on, and that it has met urban land price increases skyrocketing within a year (of 1990) nearly up to 250 percent(!)(103), the

picture for the future of the immigrants/Turks in that (and other resembling big German) city(es) becomes darker and darker, indeed! On its way, after the unification process, rather to a "nationalist industrial metropolis" again as its historical past "dictates", instead of a "cultural metropolis" reserving room also for other cultures (like the one of its guest(s, and its)workers, the Turks, i.e. being rather a "multicultural" instead of a "polycultural" one (as it is the case for today))(104), Berlin moves to an un(?)known future! Once again claiming to be the "capital" (and this time of "whole Europe"?) and still keeping its old minimum housing floor space requirements (of 9 m per person and 6 m per child under the age of six(105) for its inhabitants) even under conditions of the rise of "gentrification"-, and of the "racialization/segregation of the Turks"(106) processes both at the same time, Berlin seems to be deserving more "space" in (urban) history books for the near future than ever?!

8.3 PRESENTATION OF THE FIELD SURVEY

In this subsection of the Thesis, the field survey realised on Turkish (guest)workers in W.Berlin between the dates of 10-27/07/1991 at the Turkish Consulate General will be presented.

8.3.1 Methodology of the Survey

The field survey has been carried out by the Thesis writer by himself alone.(107) The questionnaire which had been consisting of some **65 questions** (excepting the nearby questions) **relating, firstly, to the history of immigrants' socio-economic existence particularities; secondly, to the housing conditions of them;** and, **thirdly, to the racialization processes functioning especially in the very field of housing,** was given on a **"random sampling"** basis to the Turks in the Turkish Consulate General of Berlin awaiting their turns in the "lines" for their personal problems be resolved by the officials of the Consulate General. Some of them, actually most of them, were eager and sympathetic to answer the questionnaire and have said that they were pleased to see someone around having come from Turkey to ask their problems, at all! (And some of them, again, were complaining a bit about the(ir Turkish) State which was not "dealing" with them adequately!) However, there were some who did refuse to take part in that survey, too, albeit just a few.. (Most of them were having "double citizenship".)

Total **questionnaires** given to the Turks in Berlin have amounted to **70 in number.** Since the minimum time requirement for a questionnaire to be completed was around 45-60 minutes, and since the "interview" process had sometimes to be broken off due to the "wedding ceremonies" being held in the same room where the survey was realised(!) and due to some "protest marches" of PKK-followers against the Turkish Republic in front of the Consulate General, total questionnaires given per work day have been

around 5-6 only. The writer of the Thesis had to limit himself with such a total figure, i.e. 70, because he had only limited time (of one month's duration) which was nothing else than his official leave right on an annual basis from his Ministry in Ankara. (He was using that leave period on his return way to Turkey from the U.S. where he had been a Humphrey fellow for an academic year.) Another limitation had arisen with "site selection" process of the would-be survey. Although at first he had aimed at Kreuzberg for the actual field survey area, then he had to forget that wish due to the potential visa and/or official application/approval procedures and problems to be followed and met at the German instances! Since he had been instructed and trained before about the difficulties of getting "official permission for residing (be it more than three months)", not mentioning of getting "work permission"(!) at all, in Germany (in 1987 when he was a fellow of K.Adenauer-Stiftung), he soon left that idea and decided to conduct the survey not in the "open field" of a supposingly "open society", but rather in the "closed field" of the Turkish Consulate General in Berlin!

The evaluation of the field survey has been done in Turkey after having come back (with a computer program). Now, the results of the survey will be presented below. And the tables prepared will be checked from the perspectives of the assumptions of the Thesis work set above (in subsection 6.1).

8.3.2 Survey Results

The survey has covered a total **subpopulation** of **270 Turks** living in W.Berlin. Of the total 70 persons interviewed, only 6 were women (8.6%). However, this situation is not pointing out to an imbalance in Turkish cohort's sex distribution which is actually very normal as it is seen in the table below:

Table 8.6: Sex Distribution Within the Turkish Cohort

Definition	Frequency	% Share
Male	137	50.74
Female	133	49.26
Total	270	100.0

(Source: Özer Bostanoğlu, Field Survey in W.Berlin, July 1991.)

The total households' composition is as follows:

Table 8.7: Household Sizes

Definition	Frequency	% Share
1	3	4.29
2	15	21.43
3	13	18.57
4	19	27.14
5-(+)	20	28.57
Total	70	100.00

According to the table, Turkish HHs in W.Berlin are to an extent of 55.7% families with 4-(+) members. **(The average household size is 3,86.)** Therefore they are to be described as **"families with many children".** This

situaton becomes more apparent if we discern the HH members according to their age groups:

Table 8.8 : Age Groups of the HHs' Members

Age Groups

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0-5	46	17.04
5-9	25	9.26
10-14	26	9.63
15-19	24	8.89
20-24	26	9.63
25-29	48	17.78
30-34	25	9.26
35-39	14	5.19
40-44	11	4.07
45-49	11	4.07
50-54	9	3.33
55-59	4	1.48
60-64	1	0.37
65+	0	0.00
Total	270	100.00

According to the table above, 54.45% of the total cohort is below 25 years and 72.23% below 30 years of age! This means that the cohort sample at the Turkish Consulate General was mainly consisting of **"second generation"** Turks and their families.

The education levels of the Turks included in the sample are very low indeed. Only 13 Turks have been (once) visiting German universities. The levels have been found out as follows:

Table 8.9 : Education Levels of HHs' Members

School	Education	G	L	C	LI
	(Coding: G Graduated L Left C Continues LI Literate.)				
University		4	3	5	-
Lycée		10	4	4	-
Secondary S.		20	10	19	-
Primary S.		67	9	22	-
Art&Craft S.		17	3	3	-
Others		-	-	-	1
Total		118	29	53	1
General Total			201		

The job distribution pattern among the cohort is as follows:

Table 8.10 : Distribution According to Jobs

Definition	Frequency	% Share
Children	64	23.70
Housewifes	37	13.70
Shop Owner	6	2.22
"Gesamtschule"	6	2.22
Pensioner	1	0.37
"Grundschule"	20	7.41
"Hauptschule"	10	3.70
Worker	85	31.48
Public official	3	1.11
Street vendor	3	1.11
Secondary school	2	0.74
Unemployed	17	6.30
"Realschule"	3	1.11
"Sonderschule"	2	0.74
University	5	1.85
"Gymnasium"	4	1.48
Art&Craft S.	2	0.74
Total	270	99.98

The most populous subgroup is **"workers"** with their respective share of 31.48 percent. The share of much-praised "Turkish businessmen", i.e. "shop owners" in our investigation, is only 2.22 percent!

If one looks at the "reasons for coming to Germany", then the picture seems so:

Table 8.11 : Reason for coming to Germany

Definition	Frequency	% Share
1 (Land scarcity)	0	0.00
2 (Jobs available)	9	12.86
3 (Education)	6	8.57
4 (Health)	3	4.29
5 (Relatives called)	0	0.00
6 (Parents called)	36	51.43
7 (Seeing Germany)	2	2.86
8 (Saving money)	2	2.86
9 (Family reunification)	6	8.57
10 (Other)	6	8.57
Total	70	100.01

As seen above, the majority (i.e. 51.43%) of the HH heads (HHHs) of the sample (who have been equated with the total of persons interviewed albeit there were some who had been wifes and/or sons of the real HHHs of the first generation) have come to Germany as following to the call of their parents. This situation also shows that the cohort is consisting of mainly **second generation members.**

(The HHHs were to an extent of 50.0% pupils/students prior to coming to Germany. And to an extent of 64.29%, they had come "to join their families" (as "single and unmarried" to the extent of 67.14%); the category of

"worker through the (Turkish) Work-and Worker Provision Agency" was ranking only second with a share of only 15.71 percent. The third category of having been come as "tourist" is only 10.0 percent.)

As to the origin of the HHHs (excluding only one person born in Germany as being a member of the **third generation),** they have come to an extent of 30.43% from ÿstanbul (10 people), Ankara (9), and ÿzmir (2), i.e. from "three metropolitan centers" of Turkey. 43.48% of them (30 persons) have come from **"urban"** centers (including the metropolitan ones) altogether; and the rest of 56.52% (i.e. 39 persons) have come from **"rural"** districts and/or places. A fixed sum of 22 persons (31.9 % of the total) have come directly from "villages". This finding is a hint showing that the international migration does not need to be a sequential chain process (i.e. following a sequence of: Village - small town - city -metropolitan city (of the Third World country) - and First World rural and/or urban service centers). 5 persons (7.25%) have come directly from Turkey to Berlin; whereas 64 persons (92.75%) have come from other places in Germany.

They had come according to the years as follows:

Table 8.12 : Arrival Years of the HHHs

Years	Numbers	% Share	Years	Numbers	% Share
1965	1	1.45			
1966	1	1.45	1979	7	10.14
1967	1	1.45	1980	6	8.70
1968	1	1.45	1981	0	0.00
1969	7	10.14	1982	2	2.90
1970	2	2.90	1983	1	1.45
1971	7	10.14	1984	0	0.00
1972	6	8.70	1985	1	1.45

1973	3	4.35	1986	2	2.90
1974	5	7.25	1987	4	5.80
1975	2	2.90	1988	3	4.35
1976	0	0.00	1989	2	2.90
1977	2	2.90	1990	1	1.45
1978	1	1.45	1991	1	1.45
Subtotal	39	56.53		30	43.49
Total				69	100.02

They were aiming (prior to coming) at staying in Germany for a time period of 5 and/or 10 years (11.59% each). Some of them now think to stay for another 5 and 10 years more (27.59% each); and a majority of them (i.e. 31 persons of the total 70; in other words 44.29% of them) **have not decided** yet. They know "perfect" German to an extent of 35.71%; or they "communicate easily" to the extent of 51.43 percent. Only one of them (1.43%) has **"double citizenship";** 62.86% of them do not think of getting **"German citizenship"** at all; 28.57% of them are "pro" getting it. 60.87% of the "pro"-repliers want to "benefit from resources here more"; and only 8.7% of them would have it for "not being accepted as "second class human beings"". 98.57% of them have **"residence permission".** (This result verifies the fact that the Turkish minority's presence is strictly controlled as expected.) 39 persons (55.71%) have a residence permit of "Aufenthaltsberechtigung" -type. Their **"work permits"** are to an extent of 80.0% "unlimited". If it comes to the types of jobs exercised in Germany, the following tables will give an idea with regard to the question asked in a sequential manner:

Table 8.13 : First Job Sectors of the HHHs

Definition	Frequency	%Share
1 (Agriculture)	2	2.86
2 (Industry)	28	40.00
3 (Metallurgy)	0	0.00
4 (Service)	22	31.43
5 (Commerce)	4	5.71
6 (Construction)	8	11.43
7 (Other)	6	8.57
Total	70	100.00

Table 8.14 : Second Job Sectors of the HHHs

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0	23	32.86
1	0	0.00
2	24	34.29
3	0	0.00
4	18	25.71
5	1	1.43
6	3	4.29
7	1	1.43
Total	70	100.01

Table 8.15 : Third Job Sectors of the HHHs

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0	42	60.00
1	0	0.00
2	13	18.57
3	0	0.00
4	10	14.29
5	1	1.43
6	4	5.71
Total	70	100.00

Table 8.16 : Fourth Job Sectors of the HHHs

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0	54	77.14
1	0	0.00
2	7	10.00
3	0	0.00
4	7	10.00
5	1	1.43
6	1	1.43
Total	70	100.00

Table 8.17 : Fifth Job Sectors of the HHHs

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0	59	84.29
1	0	0.00
2	2	2.86
3	0	0.00
4	4	5.71
5	2	2.86
6	2	2.86
7	1	1.43
Total	70	100.01

As seen from the tables above, the Turkish laborers are occupationally very **mobile;** they are moving frequently between thejobs of especially industrial and service sectors in such a manner that 15.71% of total HHHs are exercising already their fifth job!

And their "position at workplace" were/are mainly of "unqualified worker" status to a fixed extent of 71.43 percent (for the first job). 11 HHHs (15.71%) are "unemployed". Only 2 of them (18.18%) get "unemployment allowance".

The Turkish (guest)workers in Germany have a desire for living in metropolitan centers and/or cities after returning back (if it really happens to be!) to Turkey to a specific percentage share of 74.29! They do want to take jobs there (in Turkey) on their own, i.e. commercial business (20.0%) and production plant, atelier (45.71%). Their (mean) monthly income levels in Germany are summarized inthetable below (taking into account that there are 1.57 persons employed per HH):

Table 8.18 : Monthly Income Levels of the HHs in 1991 (in DM)

	per HH	per employee (110 persons)	per person (270 persons)
(Mean) Income values	3496,71	2225,18	906,55

They make use of their savings here for "buying land in Turkey" (58.57%). And 18.57% "can't save" at all!

The Turks interviewed were living mainly in the **"Turkish ghettos" of Berlin:**

Table 8.19 : Where Do the Turkish HHs Live in Berlin?

District	Frequency	% Share	District	Fre.	% Share
Buckow	1	1.43	Kreuzberg (Tempelhof)	9	12.86
Britz	1	1.43	Kreuzberg (SO 36)	8	11.43
Maerkisches Vier.	1	1.43	Neukölln	13	18.57
Schöneberg	3	4.29	Moabit/Tier garten	7	10.00
Spandau	2	2.86			
Charlottenburg	2	2.86			
Wedding	17	24.29			
Reinickendorf	3	4.29			
Wilmersdorf	1	1.43			
Licht	1	1.43			

Lichtenraeder	1	1.43		
Total			70	100.03

According to the table above, the Turks in Berlin live as expected as being concentrated mainly to **Kreuzberg** and **Wedding** to an extent of 24.29% each (48.58% altogether). Neukölln (18.57%) and Moabit/Tiergarten (10.0%) follow the two formerly mentioned. This results are being supported also by the fact that the Turks' "compatriot" friends live to an extent of 61.43% in Kreuzberg and to 17.14% in Wedding and Tiergarten. These findings are solidly verifying Ass.1 of the Thesis work.

The neighbors in the same building of the interviewed Turks are mostly Germans (62.86%). This fact as combined with the finding that their neighbors are Turks only to a fixed extent of 22.86% points out to the strict regulation exercised by the German local instances. However, only 27.14% of the asked persons come into contact with their Turkish neighbors; 40.0% do not have any contact to their neighbors be them Turks and/or Germans, no matter. 88.57% of the cohort sample can find every type of consumer goods within their close environment. They say moreover that they are "happy" because of living in their district (94.29%). The reason for their satisfactionwith their districts is related with Turks and "familiarity" of the district to a fixed share of 34.29 percent. They have stated that they have also the following services provided by the city authorities: Parks and green areas (88.57%); waste collection, street cleaning (88.57%); school (94.29%); Kindergarten (75.71%); youth centers (60.0%); police, security (95.71%);

socio-cultural centers for grown-ups (35.71%). (It shouldn't be a surprise that the police service is the most provided for service!)

As to the mobility of the Turkish tenants city surface, we can give the following table:

Table 8.20 : How Many Times Did the HHs Change Houses?

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0	11	15.71
1	26	37.14
2	16	22.86
3	10	14.29
4	3	4.29
5	3	4.29
6	1	1.43
Total	70	100.01

As seen, 59 HHs (84.29%) have changed at least once (37.14% of the total) their housing units.

Table 8.21 : How Did One Get Housing?

Definition	Frequency	% Share
Tenant/Renewal Organisation	33	17.93
Newspaper announcement	7	3.80
Employer	13	7.07
Real Estate Dealer	4	2.17
Housing Firm	28	15.22
Friend	99	53.80
Total	184	99.99

Of a total 184 movements, 53.8% have been realized with help obtained from the "friends" as followed by "tenant/renewal organisations"

guiding contributions. The rather very high share of the "friend"'s category in finding and/or getting of housing denotes to the existence of a specific **"Turkish (guest)workers' housing submarket(s)"** functioning for the most part in Turkish ghetto districts. (This finding verifies Assumptions 2, 3 and 4.) As to the figures and shares of the moved in-and/or out housing units, one can supply the following table:

Table 8.22 : Housing Change/Transfer Acts

Definition	Frequency	% Share
1	70	38.04
2	59	32.07
3	31	16.85
4	13	7.07
5	7	3.80
6	4	2.17
Total	184	100.00

So, a total of 86.96% of housing change/transfer acts were consisting of 1st, 2nd, and/or 3rd housing changes. The tenureship pattern was as follows:

Table 8.23 : Tenureship Pattern

Definition	Frequency	% Share
Subtenant	29	15.76
Owner	1	0.54
Tenant	154	83.70
Total	184	100.00

The **great majority** of the "movers" are **"tenants"** (83.7%). (Only one transfer movement (0.54%) was realised by an "owner"!) The "living periods" in housing units have been calculated as follows:

Table 8.24 : Living Periods in Different Housing Units

House No:	Amount of Houses	Total Period (Month)	Period per Hou. Unit (Month)
1.House	70	3570	51.00
2.House	59	3546	60.10
3.House	31	1686	54.39
4.House	13	927	71.31
5.House	7	271	38.71
6.House	4	341	85.25
Total	184	10341	56.20

According to the values obtained from the table above, the average living period (56.20 months) in a house for the whole cohort is 4,7 years.

The distribution of rents of housing units occupied have been found out as visualised within brackets as follows:

Table 8.25 : Rent Distribution

Definition	Frequency	Percentage
(-) 100	26	14.13
100-199	38	20.65
200-299	31	16.85
300-399	13	7.07
400-499	22	11.96
500-599	14	7.61
600-699	15	8.15
700-799	7	3.80
800-899	6	3.26
900-999	6	3.26
1000-1099	1	0.54

1100-1199	1	0.54
1200-1299	1	0.54
1300-1399	1	0.54
1400-1499	1	0.54
1500(+)	1	0.54
Total	184	99.98

It is seen from the above table that the rents do show an accumulation pattern below the level of 700 DM. 159 of 184 housing units (86.41%) were lying below that value line. The average rent levels according to the sequential ranking of different houses have been found out as follows:

Table 8.26 : Average Rent Levels (in DM)

Which House?	Rent Amount
First House	245,06
Second House	398,41
Third House	518,39
Fourth House	382,92
Fifth House	414,57
Sixth House	445,75
Mean Rent Value	400,85

A definite rise in rents with the increasing numbers of housing transfers seems to be the case. The mean rent value of 400,85 is approximately 11.46% of the mean HH monthly income.

As to the physical standards of the occupied units, one can summarize the general situation as follows:

Table 8.27 : Physical Standards of Housing Units Occupied

Which House?	Room #	Existence of kitchen (%)	Floor area (sqm) (*) (Mean value)	"Old"? (Yes) (%)	Type? (A:Public; B:Private; C:"Heim"; D:Lodgement)
First House	1,83	97.10	52,04	76.81	9;52;6;2
Second H.	2,22	96.55	61,38	74.14	12;42;4;0
Third H.	2,55	96.77	65,81	58.06	13;16;1;1
Fourth H.	1,69	100.00	48,77	69.23	5;7;1;0
Fifth H.	2,43	100.00	64,43	42.86	3;4;0;0
Sixth H.	2,75	100.00	65,75	50.00	2;1;0;0

(*)Some of the cohort sample members did not remember; and/or they have given an answer like: "1/2 room". In such cases, it has been assumed a room size of 15 sqm; and a kitchen size of 20 sqm.

Although the spatial and technical infrastructural standards of the occupied housing units of the Turkish cohort have been improving along the sequential flow of the units at first look, they nevertheless have been only partially doing so, since the share of the "old" (pre-1948) buildings even for the **sixth house** is still 50.00 percent! In other words, the Turks' housing units are for the most part sticked to the "old" and "private market" buildings' stock which is rather a speculative object for public and especially for private housing developers and/or housing construction firms of every type and calibre. Another very important potential possibility inherent in that building stock is, as we've seen earlier, that the "modernisation" schemes applied here are also pointing out to the very danger of "removal" of the inhabitants, in our case of the Turks, away even from that housing stock into the "unknown"! (Verification of the Assts. 1, 4 and 6.)

The size of the flat seems to be playing a vital role for most of the Turks in changing their units: 38.57% of them who had changed their premises have claimed as the principal reason that "the house was small". The second answer group was concentrated with a share of 21.43% in the item of "due to change in family composition (reunion; dissolution)" which is also related with the size of housing. The fact that the "house was not satisfactorily healthy" is the third factor with a share of 8.57 percent. The "renewal" factor, to our astonishment, was cited only with a share of 2.86 percent. However, as we'd asked the cohort members to rank their replies according to the priority order, they have ranked that factor (of "renewal-modernisation") as the first one together with item "family composition" (10.0% each).

37.14% of the cohort have been "refused" by the house owners and/or landlords while searching for housing whereas the rest of 62.86% have claimed that they weren't refused. (We should say at this point, however, that the Turks do actually search in those dilapidated housing areas where they most probably would not been refused!) Those refused have said that they have been refused "more than ten times" to an extent of 57.69% percent. 73.08% of them have given as the main reason for their being "refused" **"their being Turco"**! (This finding is a proof for Assts.1, 4.)

As to the comfort level of their housing units, the followings can be stated: 98.57% of the units have "kitchen", "electricity" and "cold water"; 71.43% have "hot water" whereas 8.57% have provided it "by themselves" and 20.0% do not have it at all; 94.29% have "WC" within the house (only

4.29% don't have it inside); 85.71% have "bathroom (shower)" (whereas 8.57% do not have it inside); only 42.86% have "naturalgas"; only 51.43% of them have "central heating"; 30.0% do make use of "coal stove" for heating; 98.57% of them have provided for "furniture" by themselves; the "refrigerator" has also been supplied by themselves to an extent of 95.71; 91.43% of them were having "automatic washing machine" whereas only 14.29% of them were having "automatic wash drying machine". The share of the "TV" ownership has been found out as 98.57%; and the share for "videoownership" was 90 percent.

The cohort members were "complainant" of their houses to a fixed rate of 47.14 percent and because of mainly the cited reasons below (as starting from the most cited ones): The house is "small" (21.87%); "rent is too high" (21.87%); "old (building)" (12.50%); "a very noisy environment" (12.50%); and "I don't like the landlord" (9.38%).

The interviewees who have passed through renewal and/or modernisation processes (to an extent of 65.71%) have counted the renewal/modernisation attempts in their (last) houses as follows:

Table 8.28 : Renewal/Modernisation Attempts in the Last House

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0 (No renewal)	24	34.29
1 (Walls (inside))	6	8.57
2 (Walls (outside))	7	10.00
3 (Facade)	8	11.43
4 (Stairs)	1	1.43
5 (Floors)	4	5.71
6 (Windows)	0	0.00
7 (Roof)	2	2.86
8 (WC)	2	2.86

9 (Kitchen)	1	1.43
10(Water installation)	0	0.00
11(Electricity instal.)	1	1.43
12(Waste-water instal.)	0	0.00
13 (Bathroom)	1	1.43
14 (Other)	2	2.86
15 (Not any attempt)	11	15.71
Total	70	100.01

It is seen from the table above that 50.0% of the interviewees have been renewal/modernisation "customers" to a larger or smaller extent. (In another question, the respondents have said that renewal/ modernisation attempts have been realised within their nearby environment to an extent of 84.29 percent.) This fact also proves that the Turks are living in the most dilapidated, old and/or though new in-need-of-renewal areas/districts of the German cities. The majority of the modernisation undertakings have been related to the "outer" parts of the buildings. This finding also shows that the urban renewal schemes and/or applications in Germany do favor the "outlook" of the buildings more than the actual physical and/or financial needs and aspirations of the inhabitants living in those buildings. This situation also becomes clear if one takes into account the fact that the Turks have said that they have not been informed to an extent of 74.29% on the very issue of renewal activities to be exercised in their districts. They have got into knowledge of urban renewal attempts firstly either by themselves through observing on the street and/or via their friends to an extent of 65.71 percent. The second rank in mediating the information on renewal activities

is owned by the landlords with a percentage share of 15.71. (Verification of Ass.4.)

As to the participation of the Turks in their neighborhood's renewal schemes some questions have been directed. Only 10.00% of the respondents have said that they have participated in the meetings organised by the local district municipalities with regard to renewal activities. In other words, 90.00% of them have not participated at all! The reasons for this situation have been explained by the interviewees as follows:

Table 8.29 : Reasons For Not Participating in Renewal

Definition	Frequency	% Share
0 (No response)	7	10.00
1 (No information to Turks)	17	24.29
2 (Don't listen to us)	6	8.57
3 (They do what they want)	3	4.29
4 (We don't have voting right	1	1.43
5 (Insufficient German langu.	3	4.29
6 (Other)	33	47.14
Total	70	100.01

As seen, the most cited reason is coded as "other". However, since this reply includes such responses as "they haven't called us", "nobody has informed us" (and just a few saying that "I had no time") etc., this reason could and should be added to the first item, i.e. to the answer saying that "we, the Turks are not given any information" (with a percentage share of 24.29). Then one gets a total figure of 71.43 percent! In other words, nearly three fourths of the Turks residing in Berlin have claimed that they were easily "forgotten" to be covered by German local authorities in urban

renewal issues which were actually directly and (much more than anyone else) effecting their own socio-spatial life records! Again this situation is a vivid proof of the mostly "sheer propaganda rhetoric" of German official instances talking much about the so- called "users/inhabitants participation" schemes without any real benefit to the most affected urban poors and/or social strata (such as the Turks).. (This finding is a proof for Ass.4.)

The Turks in Berlin are well aware of the existence of "housing allowance" policy implementation (to an extent of 94.29%)! However, only 17.14% of them get it on a regular basis since their income levels are too high(?!) for it (to an extent of 60.00 percent).(108) Again, nearly all of them (94.29%) do know what "public (social) housing" does mean. 28 HHHs out of 70, i.e. 40.0% of them were already occupying public housing units. Although another 20.0% of them did try to get one, they couldn't succeed. A fixed part of them (making 28.57%) do think that it is in vain to apply for such a housing unit since the Germans "will prefer citizens from the (old)

Eastern Bloc". (Therefore?) Only 4 HHHs (5.71%) were on the "waiting list". (We should add here the information that Turkish families with a monthly mean income of 3496,71 DM (in other words with a total annual income of 41,961 DM) and with a HH average size of 3,86 persons are competing with the category of German families with an annual income of up to 47,800 DM!) (Also a verification of Ass.4.)

The Turks are to an extent of only 21.43% members of a foundation, organization and/or association. (And their membership organization is "sports clubs" to an extent of 93.33%!) Their membership rate

to syndicates (at their workplaces) is around 34.29 percent (i.e. not very high).(109)

In their "free time" they do "picnic with friends/their families" to an extent of 20.0%; or "go to the park with friends and play football" for a percentage share of 18.57; or "come together with friends in the coffee-house or association" to an extent of 17.14%; and/or "go to the cinema, theatre, disco" at a rate of 15.71 percent. This finding shows also that the Turks are in close contact with each other as it is a most natural outcome to be observed between ghetto residents. (Verification of Ass.1.) They do "know" Berlin mostly (only) as the "half" of it (30.0%); as the "whole" city (28.57%); or as "one-fourth" of the whole(12.86%)! (This finding could also be taken as verifying Ass.1.)

As to the discrimination efforts of the German society against themselves and their own perception of those efforts, the picture can be summarized as follows: The respondents state that the Turks are discriminated against by the Germans to a sheer extent of 88.57%! (Only 8 out of 70, i.e. 11.43% say "no" to this question..) As to the reasons of this discrimination, they cite the followings:

Table 8.30 : Reasons of Discrimination as Perceived by the Turks

Definition	Frequency	%Share
0 (No discrimination)	8	11.43
1 (Germans don'tlike foreig	23	32.86
2 (" " " Turks)	23	32.86
3 (Turks get the jobsof Ger)	1	1.43
4 (Dress habits' differences	7	10.00
5 (Turks "underdeveloped")	2	2.86
6 (Boss Germans - worker Tur	0	0.00

7 (Turks don't know German)	0	0.00
8 (Germans are racists)	5	7.14
9 (Other)	1	1.43
Total	70	100.01

As seen in the table above, the most cited reasons for the German discrimination are the items stating that "the Germans don't like foreigners and Turks" (each one to an extent of 32.86%, i.e. altogether 65.72%!) If one adds to this total also the item in (8) (which is essentially denoting the same thing), then one gets a subtotal of 72.86%! Following this, the item in (4) (which could also be accepted as the "manifestation" of the "racist" standings of both groups vis-a-vis each other) makes itself apparent with a percentage share of 10.0. (These findings do verify Assts.7 and 8.)

As to the counter-measures for the mentioned discrimination practice by the Germans against Turks, the respondents have underlined the followings: 54 out of 70 HHs, i.e. 77.14% have stated that "Turkey should support Turkish guestworkers in every field"! The most cited item ranking in the second place (with 10.0%) was the one saying that "Turkish workers should be given the right to participate in local elections". The third one (with 5.71%) was pointing out to the importance of education: "For Turkish children should be provided better education conditions".. Though not very much emphasized, the fourth-ranking reply (with only 2.86%) was stating that "Turks and Germans should live in the same neighborhood and housing environments". (These findings also verify Assts.1, 3, 4, 7 and 8.)

At the end of the questionnaire, the last question was aiming at getting the three most biggest problems of the Turks living in Germany as perceived by themselves. The picture is given below:

Table 8.31: The Three Most Biggest Problems of the Turk(o-German)s

Definition	Frequency	% Share
1 (Visa)	4	5.71
2 (Unemployment)	25	35.71
3 (Housing)	10	14.29
4 (Insufficient education)	6	8.57
5 (Xenophobia)	9	12.86
6 (Insufficient German)	3	4.29
7 (Competition of East.Germs	0	0.00
8 (Future flow of Easterners	1	1.43
9 (Inertia of Turkey)	8	11.43
10(Cultural identity)	0	0.00
11(Indecision between Gr-Tur	4	5.71
Total	70	100.00

The table above is pointing out to the fact that the Turk(o-German)s' primary problems are the followings: 1-Unemployment (to an extent of 35.71%); **2-Housing** (with a percentage share of 14.29%); and 3-Xenophobia (to an extent of 12.86). (It is followed by the item stating "Turkey's inertia against the Turks in Germany" (11.43%).) (These findings verify Assts.1, 2, (albeit slightly) 3, 4, and 7.)

8.4 CONCLUSION

W.Berlin as the historical world-city of Germany has passed through many epoches and evolved from a residence city to an imperial industrial (European) center with its world-famous "Mietskasernen". It has

always inhabited within its borders national as well as foreign "workers" being employed at the service of the gigantic German industry aiming at reaching world-power status.

Berlin, being the subdivided city at the end of the Second WW between the two (seemingly) antagonistic socio-military blocs, has tried to unify itself for getting the world-city status anew. It has used thereby for its regeneration process from within the diffused parts of the socio-economic, human(istic), and last but not least artistic/architectural and urbanistic heritages the labor work, patience, hopes and/or aspirations of the Turk(o-German)s since nearly 35 years. And now at the end of the mentioned regeneration process, it wants to be get rid of those Turkish workers and their families by not providing them **sufficient housing** conditions which have again been made an important dependency factor (for "removal" of the Turks from Germany in the last instance into their native country) included (also) in the new **"Aliens Law"** (of 01.01.1991).(110)

The **urban renewal** schemes developed (starting from the 1960s onwards) especially **for the gentrification of the Turkish ghettos** in W.Berlin (and in whole Germany afterwards) have also targeted principally the mentioned **removal of the Turk(o-German)s from their "last" housing/living niches on German soil!** However, the German central and local authorities do pretend to be wanting just the opposite of what has been stated above for the Turks, for their beloved **"citizens without citizen rights"!** They do everything(!) for the **"participation"** of the Turks in the city

(neighborhood/ghetto) planning; however, the Turks, i.e. "those people with an **"oriental" culture and mentality"** do not get involved with such issues!

Our field survey realised in W.Berlin has displayed that the **Turk(o-German)s** have evolved to the status of an **ethnic minority** group already rooted in German soil and cities and (un)employed rather as a foreign mostly industrial and/or service sector worker population group showing, however, **ethnic underclass** particularities, as well!

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Susan Stern (Ed.), Meet United Germany: Handbook 1992/93, Frankfurt am Main: FAZ GmbH Information Services/Atlantik-Brücke e.V., 1992, pp.45-48.

2. Klaus Grosch, "Foreigners and Aliens", (in)Meet United Germany: Perspectives 1992/93 (Ed.: Susan Stern), Frankfurt am Main: FAZ GmbH Information Services/Atlantik-Brücke e.V., 1992, (pp.132-151)p.136. The total figure of the "**undocumented**" foreigners living in W.Berlin (before 1980) has been estimated as being around 15,000 (see: Lydia Thill, Der Wohnungsmarkt in Berlin, Berlin: Arbeitshefte (No:19) des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der TU Berlin, 1980, p.175 (Footnote (1)) which must be much more than this (and maybe several times this figure given)!

3. Informationszentrum Berlin (Ed.), Im Überblick: Berlin, Berlin: Cornelsen-Velhagen & Klasing, 1984, p.8. Another source (an encyclopedia) is giving the total foreigner population of W.Berlin right before the unification process as being around 200,000, nearly a half of which (i.e. 100,000 people) is said to be Turks; see: Milliyet - Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi, Vol.3, 1992, p.1547.

4. Faruk _en/ Andreas Goldberg, Türken in Deutschland: Leben zwischen zwei Kulturen, München: Beck'sche Reihe No:1075, 1994, p.15 (Table 2).

5. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.5.

6. Ibid., p.9; and Reinhard Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse der Stadtgeschichte bis 1945", (in)Berlin: Vom Brennpukt der Teilung zur Brücke der Einheit (Ed.: Gerd Langguth), Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1990, (pp.20- 47)pp.22-24. (If otherwise not mentioned, I'll rely largely upon this article. Ö.B.)

7. Kückelmann, "These Cheeky Berliners", Scala, No:3, May-June 1987, (pp.16-21)p.18.

8. Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., p.20. It is for this reason that a former governing mayor of Great Berlin has stated the following: "In Berlin, monarchy, republic and dictatorship have crossed paths; here the spirit of freedom and the spirit of unfreedom existed and exist side by side. Berlin was the centre of terror just as it was that of resistance." (See: Eberhard Diepgen, "Berlin Has Remained the Nation's Capital", Scala, No:3, May-June 1987, p.3.)

9. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.11.

10. Ibid., pp.12-14; Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., p.27. (The other gates are: Hamburger-, Oranienburger-, Potsdamer-, Hallesches-, Schlesisches-, Mühlen-, Frankfurter-, Landsberger-, Bernauer-, Prenzlauer-, Schönhauser-, Rosenthaler Tor.)

11. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.14; Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., p.29; Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche nach der Zukunft - A City in Search of Its Future, Berlin, 1983, p.4; AnaBritannica, Vol.4, 1986, p.23.

12. Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., pp.33-34.

13. Ibid., pp.32-33; Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.15.

14. As it is a well-known fact that the history of Germany in the last centuries has mainly two structural components as being: i)Realization of the nation-state; and ii)Giving priority to the foreign policy ("Primat der Aussenpolitik") (see:Ibrahim S. Canbolat, Değişen Dünya ve Alman Dış Politikası ("Changing World and the German Foreign Policy"), Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, March 1991, p.26), it should not be surprising that the ruler in Berlin and Berliner themselves were closely following the French movements. Another reason was, of course, the invasion of Berlin by the French Emperor Napoleon in 1806 (after his victory over the Prussian army) for a period of two years.

15. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.5.

16. Ibid., p.6. Another source gives the population figure of 1871 as one million; see: Franziska Bollerey / Kristiana Hartmann, "Die Mietskaserne", (in)Lernbereich Wohnen - 2 (Eds.: Michael Andritzky, Gert Selle), Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, March 1983 (1979), (pp.283-301)p.287. Some others give the figures as 900,000 and 2,700,000 respectively; see: Brigitte Jacob / Wolfgang Schaeche, "Eine bewegte Stadt - Zur Geschichte Berlins mit Exkursen zu den Bauausstellungen 1910, 1931 und 1957", (in)Leitfaden: Projekte, Daten, Geschichte - Berichtsjahr 1984 (Ed.: Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen), Berlin, 1984, (pp.5-22)p.8.

17. Bollerey/Hartmann, "Die Mietskaserne"op.cit., pp.287-289; Jacob/Schaeche, "Eine bewegte Stadt(..)"op.cit., p.8.

18. Bollerey/Hartmann,"DieMietskaserne"op.cit., pp.283, 287.

19. Ibid., p.289.

20. Peter Haiko / Mara Reissberger, "Grossbürgerliches Wohnen", (in)Lernbereich Wohnen - 2(..)op.cit. (Eds.: Michael Andritzky, Gert Selle), (pp.266-282)pp.273-276.

21. Victor Noack, Kulturschande. Die Wohnungsnot als Sexualproblem, Berlin, 1925; cited in: Bollerey/Hartmann, "Die Mietskaserne"op.cit., pp.290-291.

22. Bollerey/Hartmann, "Die Mietskaserne"op.cit., pp.284-285; S.T.E.R.N. Gesellschaft der behutsamen Stadterneuerung Berlin mbH, Adım Adım - Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi: Kreuzberg, Uluslararası Yapı Sergisi Berlin 1987 ("Behutsame Stadterneuerung: Kreuzberg, Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987") (Brochure) (Trans.by: T. Adman, S.İskender), Berlin, 1987, p.2.2; and: Die Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987 - Projektübersicht, Berlin, 1987, p.274.

23. Harald Bodenschatz, Platz frei für das Neue Berlin: Geschichte der Stadterneuerung in der "grössten Mietskasernenstadt der Welt" seit 1871, Berlin: :TRANSIT, 1987, P.22.

24. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., pp.16-17; Jacob/Schaeche, "Eine bewegte Stadt(..)"op.cit., pp.8-9.

25. Jacob/Schaeche, "Eine bewegte Stadt(..)"op.cit., pp.9-11; Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.35. It is very interesting to imagine that Jansen has had after "Greater-Berlin (of 3,5 million people) Plan" and after "Mietskasernen", to deal with the "Ankara Development Plan" in the late 1920s, a city of only 30,000-40,000 people and to be set up "new"! His insistence upon asking Atatürk after "the political force to implement the plan?" is gaining more light under the experiences of Berlin! (See: Falih Rıfkı Atay, Çankaya,Istanbul: Bateş A._., 1980, p.422.)

26. Hermann Jansen, Vorschlag zu einem Grundplan für Gross-Berlin. Beim Wettbewerb mit einem ersten Preis an erster Stelle ausgezeichnet, München, 1910, p.75.

27. Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.72.

28. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.19; Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., p.40; and Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.82.

29. Bodenschatz,Platz frei(..)op.cit.,pp.94-95.

30. Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., pp.38-39. It is very interesting, however, that even after the "**emancipation**" of the Jews introduced following the French Revolution of 1789 (and its laicist reform with regard to the "freedom" given to the religious minorities) (see: Süleyman

Kocabaş, "Vaat Edilmiş Toprak" Filistinlçin Mücadele: Türkiye ve Siyonizm ("Struggle For the "Promised Land" Palestine: Turkey and Zionism"), Kayseri: Vatan Yayınları No:5/5, June 1987, pp.90-92), the racist Germans were accepting the Jews in Germany (be them be even a "Berliner" like Moise Mendelssohn (1729-1786) who had advocated as a pioneer the political freedom and equality for the Jews) nearly as a "guest folk" due to the classical "anti-semitism" feelings stemming from the Lutherian times onwards. (See: Ernst E. Hirsch, Hatıralarım: Kayzer Dönemi Weimar Cumhuriyeti, Atatürk Ülkesi ("Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks. Eine unzeitgemaesse Autobiographie"), Ankara: Banka ve Ticaret Hukuku Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayını No:169, 1985 (1982), pp.43-47.)

31. Th. Hilpert, Hufeisensiedlung Britz 1926-1980. Ein alternativer Siedlungsbau der 20er Jahre als Studienobject, Berlin: TU Berlin Dokumente aus Forschung und Lehre Nr.1, 1980, p.85; Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.82. (Bodenschatz cites Huse according to whom those settlements are "the highest points of the Berliner architecture history only comparable with the Schinkel's time"). See also: Rürup, "Berlin - Umrisse(..)"op.cit., p.42.

32. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.20.

33. Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (Trans.by: Richard & Clara Winston), London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970 (1969), p.75.

34. Ibid., pp.73-76. Hitler was explaining his style in early 1939 so: "Why always the biggest? I do this to restore to each individual German his self-respect. In a hundred areas I want to say to the individual: We are not inferior; on the contrary, we are the complete equals of every other nation." (See: Ibid., p.69.)

35. Rainer Nitsche (Ed.), Haeuserkaempfe 1872 / 1920 /1945 / 1982, Berlin: :TRANSIT, 1981, p.177; and Bodenschatz,Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.119.

36. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.7; Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., pp.21-22; and: Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Berlin Per staedtebauliche Rundfahrten für Gruppen (Brochure), Berlin, December 1986. The overall destruction figures at the end of the WW II for Germany are as follows: 2,3 million housing units were destroyed totally; another 2,3 million units were heavily destroyed. There were ready to be put into service only 8 million units for 12,8 million households in 1949. (See: Ernst Wolowicz, "Zwischen Staatsintervention and freiem Spiel", (in) Wege aus der Wohnungsnot (Ed.: Christian Ude), München, Zürich: Piper No:1277, September 1990, (13-54)p.19.)

37. Jacob/Schaeche, "Eine bewegte Stadt(..)"op.cit., pp.15-16; and Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., pp.137-149.

38. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.31.

39. Ibid., p.35. With a remarkable construction speed, there were produced between the years of 1960-1969 annually 570,000 units; and between 1970- 1979 498,000 units each year! (Wolowicz, Wege aus der(..) op.cit., pp.19, 39.

40. Jacob/Schaeche,loc.cit., p.18.

41. Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., pp.153-155.

42. Hans Stimmann, Verkehrsflaechenüberbauung: Anwendungsversuche im Rahmen staedtebaulicher Umnutzungsprozesse West-Berlins - Band 2, Berlin: Arbeitshefte (No: 16) des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der Technischen Universitaet Berlin, 1980, pp.64-65; and Harald Bodenschatz, Volker Heise, Jochen Korfmacher, Schluss mit der Zerstörung? Stadterneuerung und staedtische Opposition in West-Berlin, Amsterdam und London, Giessen: Anabas Verlag (Reihe Werkbund-Archiv Band 11), 1983, pp.30, 409 (Ref.(9).)

43. Ilse Balg and Lona Ottersky, "Unterlagen für die Vorbereitung eines Sanierungsgesetzes. Beispiele aus dem Bezirk Wedding" (Brochure), October 1955; cited in: Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.156.

44. Johannes Göderitz, Sanierung erneuerungsbedürftiger Baugebiete. Untersuchungen von Wohnbaugebieten in Berlin und Hannover, Stuttgart, 1960; Johannes Göderitz, Stadterneuerung. Organisatorische, wirtschaftliche und rechtliche Voraussetzungen für die Sanierung ungesunder Wohngebiete, Wiesbaden, 1962.

45. Bodenschatz, Platz frei(..)op.cit., p.157.

46. Hans Stimmann, "Die autogerechte Stadt", (in)Die Metropole. Industriekultur in Berlin im 20. Jahrhundert (Eds.: Jochen Boberg, Tilman Fichter, Eckhart Gillen), München, 1986, p.308.

47. Ingo Pfeiffer, "The Economy and Population of Berlin (W)", (in) Housing and Labour Immigrants: Problems and Policies in West-German Metropolitan Areas (Ed.: Friedemann Kunst), Berlin: Arbeitshefte (No: 21) des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der TU Berlin, 1982, (pp.8-13)p.9.

48. Ibid., pp.9-13.

49. The writer of the Thesis must confess that as a foreigner stationed just for a couple of months in Berlin, he had got the feeling of being "surrounded/encircled" very strongly (even if the "wall" were out of sight)! Berlin thus had been the "island of the encircled western-type of freedom" (where the American-type of capitalism was being "displayed")..

50. Louis Wirth, The Ghetto, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966 (Ori.1928), pp.vii, 1-2.

51. Ibid., p.4.

52. Ibrahim Yasa, Yurda Dönenişçiler ve Toplumsal Değişme ("Returning Workers Home and Social Change"), Ankara: TODAİE Yayını No:182, 1979, p.4 (Footnote 6).

53. As one will remember, the Chicago School of urban sociologists, i.e. Park, Burgess and McKenzie, wrote a great deal on the city in the 1920s and 1930s and tried to interpret city form in ecological terms. They have found out that cities exhibited "a certain regularity of spatial form". For instance, low-income groups and various other ethnic groups were concentrating within particular sections of the city. Burgess elaborated from all this what came to be known as the "**concentric zone theory of the city**". Park and Burgess have regarded the city as an ecological complex within which the processes of specialization of function and of life style, social adaptation, competition for living space, etc. acted to produce a coherent social structure, the whole being held together by the "moral order" as Park had called the arising form of social solidarity among the citizens. (See also: David Harvey, Social Justice and the City, London: Edward Arnold, 1973, p.131; and Peter Worsley (Ed.), Introducing Sociology (Second Edi.), Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977 (1970), pp.377-382.)

54. The term "natural area" denotes "a spatial unit, limited by natural boundaries enclosing a homogeneous population with a characteristic moral order, which is the result of unplanned urban growth. It is distinguished by its physical individuality and internal uniformity and by the social, economic and cultural characteristics of its residents. Its existence stems from the fact that households with similar characteristics are treated similarly by the economic process of competition. The outcome of that process is a pattern of "segregation" in the form of a mosaic of natural areas(..)." (See: Brian Goodall, The Penguin Dictionary of: Human Geography, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987, pp.317-318; also: H.W. Zorbaugh, "The Natural Areas of the City", (reprinted in) Studies in Human Ecology (Ed.: G.A. Theodorson), Evanston, New York, 1961 (Ori.1926), pp.45-49.) The best account of the Turkish guestworkers' settlement patterns in Germany (in Kreuzberg/W.Berlin) within the theoretical formulations of the "Chicago School" is this one: Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im

Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977.

55. Wright Mills, Toplumbilimsel Düşün ("The Sociological Imagination") (Trans.by: Ünsal Oskay), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlı/ı Yayınları No:305/4, February 1979 (1959), pp.10-11.

56. Harvey, Social Justice(..) op.cit.,1973, pp.23-27.

57. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.28.

58. Heidede Becker, "Die untersuchten Gebiete", (in) Sanierungsfolgen: Eine Wirkungsanalyse von Sanierungsmassnahmen in Berlin (Eds.: Heidede Becker and Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch), Berlin: Verlag W.Kohlhammer, Deutscher Gemeindeverlag (Schriften des Deutschen Instituts für Urbanistik - Band 70), 1982, (pp.40-56)pp.43-45, 49; and Hartwig Dieser, Die "behutsame" Stadterneuerung zwischen Kapitalverwertung und Mieterinteressen: Eine Untersuchung unter der besonderen Berücksichtigung des Interessenstandpunktes der Mieter, durchgeführt in Berlin-West, Frankfurt: R.G. Fischer Verlag, 1983, p.114.

59. Dieser, Die "behutsame" Stadterneuerung(..) op.cit., p.118. (Until December 1973, the "modernisation" of the old-housing stock was carried out only to an extent of 2%! See: Hardt-Walther Haemer / J.Rosemann, "Stadterneuerung ohne Verdraengung - Ein Versuch", Arch +, 29, 1976, p.4.)

60. Franziska Eichstaedt-Bohlig, "Zerstörung der Staedte - Zerstörung der Demokratie", (in) Haeuserkaempfe 1872/ 1920/ 1945/ 1982 (Ed.: Rainer Nitsche), Berlin: :TRANSIT, 1981, (pp.210-224)esp.pp.211-213.

61. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.30.

62. Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, "13. Bericht über Stadterneuerung", (in) Mitteilungen des Praesidenten des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin, p.4; cited in: Dieser, Die "behutsame" Stadterneuerung(..) op.cit., p.119.

63. Federal Ministry for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development, Renewal of Housing Policy and Urban Development Policy, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, (1985) (?), pp.25-26.

64. Ibid., p.26; Becker, "Die untersuchten Gebiete(..)" op.cit., p.55.

65. Interview made with Annalie Schoen from the Institute for City-, and Regional Planning of the Technical University (TU) of Berlin on

29.06.1987; and other interviews conducted with a couple of city officials who were mainly responsible of city-wide urban renewal projects from the Berliner Building and Settlement Senat in June 1987.

66. Federal Ministry for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development, Renewal of Housing(..) op.cit., p.27; also: Dieser, Die "behutsame" Stadterneuerung(..) op.cit..

67. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.29. These aims are the summarized forms of the famous "**12 principles of the cautious renewal scheme**" defined by the "**International Building Exhibition (Berlin 1984/1987)**" ("Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA) Berlin") in spring of 1982 and approved by the Berliner Senate on 17th March 1983. (The principles were mainly aiming at preserving the existing social networks and built-up stock in Kreuzberg via respecting the people living there and their immediate physical environments by taking the necessary financial, technical and social measures step by step and in an unlimited time-period.. These principles, however, were "invented" as "counter-measures" right after the "**housing invasion activities**" (which were staying vacant due to evacuation caused by destructionist urban renewal schemes) of some youth groups which had begun in Kreuzberg/Berlin in February 1981! In other words, they were by no means developed by planners and/or (city) politicians so eager for making use of "democratic" procedures in renewal activities! See for the principles which have also been made quite frequently "advertised" and "popular" in Turkey as well: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH (Ed.), Projektübersicht - Stadtneubau und Stadterneuerung - Stand September '84, Berlin, (n.d.), pp.176-177; Hardt-Waltherr Haemer, "Für einen liebevolleren Umgang mit der Stadt", (in) Leitfaden: Projekte, Daten, Geschichte - Berichtsjahr 1984 (Ed.: Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen), Berlin: IBA Pub., 1984, pp.35-36; Anon., "Adım Adım Kent Yenilemesi - Berlin Kreuzberg Türk Mahallesi'nde Yenileme Çalışmaları" ("Step by Step Urban Renewal - Renewal Activities Undertaken in the Turks' District of Kreuzberg Berlin"), Yapı, No:68, August 1986, p.38; Mete Tapan, Ersin Emiro/lu, "Kreuzberg'ellişkin Düşünceler" ("Thoughts Related With Kreuzberg"),Yapı, No:68, August 1986, pp.40-41; Seniha Çelikhan, "Yapısal - Hacımsal - Parasal Problemlere Halkın Katılımı Konusunda Stratejiler" ("Strategies of Public Participation For Structural, Spatial, Financial Problems"), Yapı, No:68, August 1986, pp.43-45; and (one of the few architects employed by the "IBA" of Turkish origin who had also the "mission" to propagandate for the "Kreuzberg Project" in Turkey:) Bahri Düleç, "Kent Yenilemesinde Kreuzberg Deneyimleri" ("Kreuzberg Experiences in Urban Renewal"), (in) Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler - 13- 14 Aralık 1991 Türk-Alman Semineri (Ankara) ("Cautious Urban Renewal and Local Governments - 13-14th December 1991 Turco-German Seminar (Ankara)") (Ed.: Bayar Çimen), Ankara: TMMOB Yayını, 1992, (pp.16-20)p.19. (It is interesting to learn that the

"Step by Step Urban Renewal Exhibition" of the IBA has been displayed since 1986 in nearly 68 cities in different countries of the world including the Turkish ones (of course) as well (having being in Ankara, Antalya, Eskişehir,Istanbul,Izmir and Trabzon)! See: Anon., ""Adım Adım" Dünyayı Dolaşıyor" ("The "Step by Step" (Exhibition) Moves Around the World"), Ekin, (Berlin), No:27, June/July 1987, p.12.) See also for contributions from the counter-position to IBA and/or urban renewal policies in Berlin: Eichstaedt-Bohlig, "Zerstörung der Staedte(..)" op.cit., pp.210-224; and Bodenschatz, Heise & Korfmacher, Schluss mit der Zerstörung? (..) op.cit., (pp.17-112) esp.pp.75-78.)

68. Cihan Arın, "Immigrants as Inhabitants of Urban Renewal Areas", (in) Housing and Labour Immigrants: Problems and Policies in West-German Metropolitan Areas (Ed.: Friedemann Kunst), Berlin: Arbeitshefte (No: 21) des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der TU Berlin, 1982, (pp.89- 97)p.89.

69. Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch, "Experience Gathered From Urban Renewal in Berlin (W) - Evaluation-Studies of Renewal Schemes in the Wedding and Charlottenburg Districts", (in) Housing and Labour Immigrants: Problems and Policies in West-German Metropolitan Areas (Ed.:Friedemann Kunst), Berlin: Arbeitshefte (No: 21) des Instituts für Stadt- und Regionalplanung der Technischen Universitaet Berlin, 1982, (pp.33-42) esp.pp.34-35. The same expert says that he understands from "bringing the standard of the social structure up to the Berlin average", the sinking of the foreigners' population share of 33.9% in 1974 (in Wedding) to the Berlin's average figure of 10.1% in 1979; see: Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch, "Die Sozialstruktur im Sanierungsprozess", (in) Sanierungsfolgen: Eine Wirkungsanalyse von Sanierungsmassnahmen in Berlin (Eds.: Heidede Becker and Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch), Berlin: Verlag W.Kohlhammer, Deutscher Gemeindeverlag (Schriften des Deutschen Instituts für Urbanistik - Band 70), 1982, (pp.123-151)pp.132-133.

70. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet(..) op.cit., pp.23-25, 41-44.

71. Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin Building Review'78, Berlin (West): Thormann and Goetsch, September 1978, p.12.

72. Federal Ministry for Regional Planning, Building and Urban Development, Renewal of Housing Policy and Urban Development Policy, Mönchengladbach: Wilhelm Kraft, 1985, p.14. The ratio of the tenant foreigners in whole F.Germany is around 95% of which one tenth is "subtenant": Rudi Ulbrich, "Die Wohnungsversorgung im Spiegel der Statistik", (in)Wohnen zur Miete: Wohnungsversorgung und Wohnungspolitik in der Bundesrepublik (Ed.: Joachim Brech), Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1981, (pp.16-31)p.21.

73. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.88.

74. Anon., "Kira Sınırlamasının Devamılçin Halk Oylaması: "Berlin Oy Kullanıyor"" ("Referendum for the Continuation of the Rent Control: "Berlin Votes""), Ekin (W.Berlin), No:25, April 1987, pp.4-5; and Anon., "Halk Oylaması Başarıyla Sonuçlandı" ("Referendum Succesfully Finished"), Ekin (Berlin), June/July 1987, p.13. (The referendum was organised mainly by the tenants' associations of Berlin (such as the "Mieterverein" and "Mietergemeinschaft"). Among active members of the "BTT" were Necati Gürbaca (the president) and also Cihan Arın of whose works the reader must be yet aware.)

75. Whereas the ratio of foreign households (Turks, Yugoslavians and Greeks together) having more than 2 persons is 52%; and for Turkish households a sheer 62%, the same ratio is only 20% by the German HHs in Berlin according to a research made in 1979. (Cited in and calculated from: Cihan Arın, Sigmar Gude & Hermann Wurtinger, Auf der Schattenseite des Wohnungsmarkts: Kinderreiche Immigrantenfamilien, Basel, Boston, Stuttgart: Birkhaeuser Verlag, Stadtforschung aktuell Band No:11, 1985, p.24 (Table 1).)

76. Jürgen Rosemann, "Wohnungsmodernisierung und Stadterneuerung", (in) Wohnen zur Miete(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Joachim Brech), (pp.89-111)pp.94-95.

77. Informationszentrum Berlin, Im Überblick(..)op.cit., p.54.

78. For instance, the renewal activities in Hamburg had begun between 1978- 1982 (see: Baubehörde Hamburg (Amt für Stadterneuerung), Stadterneuerung in Hamburg: St.Pauli-Nord - Karolinenviertel Erneuerungskonzept, Hamburg: (Brochure), 1985, p.3; and Baubehörde Hamburg (Amt für Stadterneuerung), Stadterneuerung in Hamburg: Altona-Altstadt Chemnitzstrasse, Hamburg: (Brochure), 1984/1, p.4; some other information was gathered from the **Interview** with Braune from the Building Department of the Municipality ("Baubehörde") on 16.09.1987); they had begun in Frankfurt am Main in 1974 (see: Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Stadterneuerung und Wohnungsmodernisierung: Förderung, Beratung, Erfahrungen, Folgerungen, Frankfurt am Main: (Brochure), 1985, p.7; Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Stadterneuerung in Bockenheim, Frankfurt am Main: (Brochure), 1985, p.7; some more information was gathered from the **Interview** with Junghanns from the Municipality ("Technisches Rathaus; Abteilung Generalplanung") on 23.09.1987 and **Interview** with Schirmer and Nagel from the Urban Renewal Department of the Municipality on 24.09.1987); the starting had been recorded in Bremen in 1972 (Senator für das Bauwesen Bremen, Ostertor: Streifzüge nach der Sanierung, Bremen: (Brochure), February 1987, p.67; some information was also collected from the **Interview** with

Zantke, Kotthoff (from the Building Senat) and Donat (from the City Planning Department) on 10.09.1987; the renewal works had begun in Hannover in 1975; see: Peter M. Leist, Ulrich Schweitzer and Jochen Schulz-Heising, Wohnumfeld und Wohnquartier aus der Sicht des Stadtbewohners: Vergleichende Untersuchung in fünf staedtischen Wohnquartieren innerhalb der Stadtregion Hannover, Koblenz: Schriftenreihe des Bundesministers für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau Nr.02.030, 1982, p.30). All of these and other uncited renewal works undertaken in F.Germany's several cities were being carried out under the lights of W.Berlin's experiences as the "leading renewal city".. That is why it is said that "Berlin is now keen to experiment with new housing models in order to set the trend for future urban planning" since "Berlin's problems are also those of all other big cities". (See: Senator for Building and Housing, Berlin: Eine Stadt auf der Suche(..)op.cit., p.33.) The "International Building Exhibition (Berlin 1984/1987)" ("Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA)") which was planned to be realised in 1984 (and then postponed to 1987, i.e. to the 750th anniversary of Berlin) with the target of demonstrating how "**to live in the inner city**" was therefore very important. The IBA's division (which was organised as an institution employing around 80 architects, planners and social scientists established besides the "Berliner Building Senat" in order to invent the "know-how" of the international "event" of 1984) into two parts as being "**IBA- new (building)**" (under direction of J. P. Kleihues and to be realised mainly in Tiergarten) and "**IBA- old (building)**" (under direction of H.-W. Haemer and to be realised mainly in Kreuzberg SO (South-East) 36 where arises as the "laboratory for experimenting with new strategies in the very field of urban renewal") was pointing out rather to the confusion of the organisers who were looking actually for possible solutions to prevent "formation of Turkish (guestworkers') slums/ghettos on German soil"! The "new-building" schemes were nothing else but "cosmetics" (make-up) attempts to hide the immense dimensions of "ghetto-formation processes" going on in German big cities even under such strict legal, economic, spatial and/or police control measures! As a contrast to "new-building", the "old-building" schemes designed to modernise the dilapidated housing stock (tending to become Turks' ghettos) have had the opportunity to experiment with some 20,000 HHs(' housing units) to be affected directly from urban renewal activities. The slogan used was "renewal without removal" and/or "**inhabitant and/or victim** (since the Turks are not acccepted as "citizen(s)") **participation**" (a principle as "transplanted" from the experiences of Rotterdam) under guidance of the famous "**12 principles of the cautious renewal scheme**" mentioned before! (See: Bodenschatz, Heise & Korfmacher, Schluss mit der Zerstörung? (..) op.cit., pp.54-55; also: Hardt-Waltherr Haemer, "Berlin-Kreuzberg: Behutsame Stadterneuerung, ein Versuch der Demokratie", (in) Die Rettung der kaputten Stadt: Planen und Bauen als demokratische Anstrengung (Ed.: Eberhard von Einem), Berlin: :TRANSIT, 1985, pp.61-69; Günter Fuderholz, "Berlin Kreuzberg: Von der Macht der

Mehrheit zum Lernen von der Minderheit", (in)Die Rettung der kaputten Stadt(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Eberhard von Einem), pp.69-72. (A note to the interested reader: The book last mentioned is copyrighted by the Berliner Senator for Building and Housing and it has been got from a German experts' team which was on a "propaganda tour" for "Kreuzberg renewal" also at the METU campus in Ankara (most probably) in 1987 (within the context of the "Step by Step Urban Renewal Exhibition" of the IBA mentioned above in Ref.(67)).. The propaganda work for "democratic Kreuzberg renewal" has been continued in the following years and has been shaped into a book at the end of a seminar organised in Ankara in 1991 (see: Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler - 13-14 Aralık 1991 Türk-Alman Semineri(..) op.cit. in Ref.(67)). The representatives of the Chamber of Architects (Ankara Section) (mentioning especially the "project democracy" implemented in Kreuzberg (Ibid., p.7)); the then Lord-Mayor of Ankara, Murat Karayalçın (mentioning that (being invited and had visited there) "Kreuzberg can give important (positive) messages to Ankara and other Turkish cities, as well!" (Ibid., p.14)); Assos.Prof. Raci Bademli (who was then also the head of the "Urban Development Section" of Ankara Municipality and was conducting a ("Hacı Bayram-ı Veli Camii Çevresi Projesi") "historical center (of Ankara)" upgrading project in Ulus district around a mosque, mentioning that they were aiming at "public participation" (Ibid., pp.21-27)); and Prof. Do/an Kuban, one of the prominentest "theorists" dealing with eagerly Istanbul's architectural heritages to be "preserved" since so many years, mentioning that "Turkish urbanisation and urban planning processes (as contrasted with European history) are pseudo-processes?" (Ibid., pp.29-32); were all seeming to be "very much" influenced by the "Kreuzberg project"! The writer of the Thesis had directed a common question to the panelists (on 14.12.1991) in the form as follows: "There is only one specific result of urban renewal projects be them undertaken in New York, Berlin, or Ankara and without any effect of the discrepancies recorded between architectural traditions and/or urban (planning) histories of the countries: It is the "**gentrification**" process at the end of which the original and vulnerable inhabitants and/or users of the project areas are being **removed**! What is the "Berliner" reply to this process?" It was a pity (!) that there were not **any** satisfying answer to that question..)

79. Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin, Vierzehnter Bericht über die Stadterneuerung in Berlin, Drucksache 8/851 vom 26.9.1980, p.71; cited in:Susanne Heidtmann-Frohme, "Die Lage der türkischen Familien", (in)Sanierungsfolgen: Eine Wirkungsanalyse(..) op.cit. (Eds.: Heidede Becker and Jochen Schulz zur Wiesch), (pp.280-327)p.288.

80. Heidtmann-Frohme, "Die Lage der türkischen Familien(..)" op.cit., pp.304-305.

81. Edith von Welser-Ude & Christian Ude, "Aktuelles Lexikon zu Wohnungspolitik und Mietrecht", (in)Wege aus der Wohnungsnot(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Christian Ude), (pp.257-292)p.275.

82. Verein SO 37, Berlin'de Kiralar Serbest Bırakılıyor ("Rents in Berlin Will Be Set Free"), Berlin, 1987, p.3.

83. Arın, "Immigrants as Inhabitants(..)" op.cit., pp.90-91.

84. Zur Wiesch, "Experience Gathered From Urban Renewal(..)" op.cit., pp.36-37.

85. Ibid., p.39.

86. Freie Planungsgruppe Berlin GmbH & PROGNOS AG Basel, Wohnraumversorgung von Auslaendern und Entballung überlasteter Gebiete durch staedtebauliche Massnahmen, Berlin: Der regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin - Senatskanzlei / Planungsleitstelle, November 1980, pp.159-161.

87. Sevin Osmay, "Immigrant Workers, Housing and Integration", (in)Housing and Labour Immigrants(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Friedemann Kunst), (pp.78-88)esp. pp.85-86.

88. Werner Braam, Stadtplanung: Aufgabenbereiche, Planungsmethodik, Rechtsgrundlagen, Düsseldorf: Werner-Verlag, 1987, pp.88-101. See also for a contribution by a Turkish planner (from the METU) who works since 1980 at the Hamburg Municipality's Urban Renewal Department (and who as being assigned the task from the "Baudirektor" Herrn Braune, had taken the writer of the Thesis (on his tour to Hamburg on 16/17th September 1987) to renewal areas of the city such as Wilhelmsburg, Kirchdorf-Süd (social housing blocks of the 1960s), Wilhelmsburger Bahnhofsviertel, and St.Pauli-Nord (Karolinenviertel) among others): Ali Vardar, "Kent Yenilemesinde Sakinlerin Planlamaya Katılması - Federal Almanya'dan Örnekler" ("Inhabitants' Participation in Planning in the Field of Urban Renewal - Examples From Federal Germany"), Planlama, No:88/1, (pp.16-18)p.16; and zer Bostano/lu, "Federal Almanya'da Halk Katılımı ve Türkler" ("Public Participation in Federal Germany and the Turks"), Ammeldaresi Dergisi, Vol.22, No:2, June 1989, (pp.41-52)pp.48-49.

89. Franz-Ludwig Knemeyer, "Local Government in Germany", International Review of Administrative Sciences, Vol.49, No:2, 1983, (pp.175-182)p.177. This rather "smooth functioning participation mechanism" for the "citizen" is taken "granted" for the "West" in general, and for "Europe" in particular. And as coupled with the "inferiority feelings of the oppressed ones" living in most "developing countries" of the Third World, this story of "participation mechanism" grows rather to a

"**democracy myth**" encompassing everybody and everything existing in Western First World countries! However, the situation is not so easy and so inclusive as it seems to be at first look as we'll see it later on! See for a quick belief about the "democratic superiority" of the West in "**participatory planning**": Mehmet Rıfat Akbulut, "Bir Kollokyumun Ardından: Türkiye'de 14.Dünya ehircilik Günü Kutlamalarılzlenimleri" ("After a Colloquium: Impressions of the 14th World Habitat Day Celebrations in Turkey"), Planlama, Vol.90/3-4, No:8, September-December 1990, pp.4-7.

90. Walter Ackers, Christel Frank, Hermann Straeb, Stadtleben + Stadtleben lassen (2nd Edi.), Darmstadt: Deutscher Ausschuss für die Europaeische Kampagne zur Stadterneuerung Pub., 1983, p.82.

91. Vardar, "Kent Yenilemesinde Sakinlerin(..)" op.cit., p.17.

92. Rolf Schwendter, Theorie der Subkultur (3rd Edi.), Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1981 (1973); and Dick Hebdige, Gençlik ve Altkültürleri ("Subcultures: The Meaning of Style") (Trans.by: Esen Tarım),Istanbul: letişim Yayınları No:66, 1988.

93. Ackers et.al, Stadtleben + Stadtleben(..) op.cit., p.92; and Braam, Stadtplanung(..) op.cit., p.146.

94. See just for an example: Freie Planungsgruppe Berlin GmbH & PROGNOS AG Basel, Wohnraumversorgung von Auslaendern(..) op.cit., p.159.

95. Der Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau, Bürgerbeteiligung bei staedtebaulichen Sanierungs- und Entwicklungsmassnahmen. Fallstudien zur Anwendung des StBauFG, Heft Nr.019, 1979; Der Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau, Bürgerbeteiligung bei der Stadterneuerung. Beispiel: Karl-Theodor-Strasse, Hamburg, Heft Nr.020, 1980; Der Bundesminister für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Staedtebau, Bürgerbeteiligung bei der Stadterneuerung. Beispiel: Strategien für Kreuzberg, Heft Nr.021; Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Ratgeber für Mieter bei öffentlich geförderter Sanierung und Modernisierung, Berlin, Oktober 1986; Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Wohnungsmodernisierung durch Mieter, Berlin: Felgentreff & Goebel, April 1987; Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, "Stadterneuerung: Araştırma Bölgeleri Sparrplatz ve Neue Hochstrasse (Wedding)" (Display Catalogue), Berlin, 1987. Arın et.al state that the tenants can "modernise" by themselves and may thus obtain 35% of the costs as "official subvention"; if they make use of "**self-help**" method, they may obtain 70% of the material costs be reimbursed, however the minimum cost thereby should be 6,000 DM. There has been introduced (since 1983) a new "**self-help scheme**" (which seems to be also convenient for the Turkish families with many

children as Arın et. al say) according to which one may get 80-85% of the construction costs back (i.e. maximum 800 DM per sqm of housing floor area). (See: Arın, Gude & Wurtinger, Auf der Schattenseite des Wohnungsmarkts(..) op.cit., pp.63-65.)

96. Vardar, "Kent Yenilemesinde Sakinlerin(..)" op.cit., p.17; see also: Braam, Stadtplanung(..) op.cit., esp.pp.142-156.

97. The Thesis writer is remembering an incidence happened in the "**local bureau**" in Wilhelmsburg/Hamburg (on 16.09.1987) which should reflect, without exaggeration, the "social atmosphere", more or less, awaiting for the Turks almost in all such local bureaux everywhere in Germany: While they (himself and Vardar (see Ref.(88))) were staying (for observance) in the bureau for nearly two hours, (only) one or two Turks subject to renewal had visited the bureau for asking something about most probably monetary aspects arising due to movements caused by renewal activities. Then, a German inhabitant had come and started to complain as follows: "We can not live here any more since there are a lot of foreigners (i.e. Turks, Ö.B.) and dirt here!" One of the concepts used frequently within the conversation of the complaining man with the German woman from the German building company (carrying out her tasks for being helpful to the users/tenants in the area in that bureau) undertaking renewal works there, had been "**Turkish mentality**"?! Vardar was seemingly used to hear such "racist" complaints about his fellow countrymen; he therefore remained silent; The Thesis writer coulnd't prevent himself from asking the woman: "What is that "Turkish mentality" at all, you've just mentioned before?" She hesitated and did not answer it satisfactorily, anyway?!

98. The Thesis writer had taken part in a "**forum**" organised by the Senator for Building and Housing realized on 11.06.1987 (at 7 p.m.) in W.Berlin (at the adresse: Evangelische Brüdergemeinde, Kirchgasse 14-17, 1 Berlin 44) on the occasion of discussing renewal research works to be undertaken in Neukölln on Karl-Marx-Strasse (Rixdorf) with the inhabitants of the area. There were present some 100 people who had zealously discussed their socio- spatial problems and/or their reactions against the prepared renewal project with the officials from the Berliner Senat. To his most regret, the writer had not meet even only one person of Turkish origin at that gathering! (See for the announcement exemplar for that gathering Appendices.)

99. The "**citizen initiatives**" are local, loose, spontaneous, "ad hoc", non-governmental organizations, groups, and/or networks forming by their existences the basic (root) democracy as aimed for by the so-called strong "social movements" which have been firstly met in F.Germany in the early 1970s and allthroughout 1980s. They have been functioning in the very fields of environmental protection, urban planning, traffic, health, education, and so on and have been creating, so to say, "**alternative**"

politics as opposed in most cases to the prevailing political norms/mechanisms of the "**establishment**". See for a pioneering work in Turkish: Necmi Zeka, Batı Almanya'da: Alternatif Hareket ("In F.Germany: The Alternative Movement"),Istanbul: Metis Yayınları No:3, April 1985, esp.pp.63-73.

100.Braam, Stadtplanung(..) op.cit., pp.146, 152.

101.Cihan Arın, "Stadterneuerung aur der Schattenseite: Rahmenbedingungen der "Wende" in der West-Berliner Stadterneuerungspolitik", (in) Stadterneuerung in Berlin-West: Perspektiven einer Bestandsentwicklungspolitik (Ed.: Arbeitsgruppe Stadterneuerung), Berlin: Verlag für Ausbildung und Studium in der Elefanten Press, 1989, (pp.24-31) esp.pp.26-27; and Cihan Arın, "Das Vermarktete Wohnen: Prozesse und Antagonismen im Wohnungssektor in New York", (in)Die Janusgesichter des Booms: Strukturwandel der Stadtregionen New York and Boston (Eds.:Ulrich Becker and Annalie Schoen), Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1989, pp.104-123. See also the interview with Cihan Arın: Anon., "Die Pioniere der Gentrification sind da...: Interview mit dem türkischen Stadtplaner Cihan Arın zu Umstrukturierung, Rassismus und Metropole", Prowo (Berlin), No:7, 26th October 1990, pp.1, 5.

102.Another "somewhere else" (which is mostly wanted by the Germans) where the Turks could move, is, of course, their beloved native country, i.e. Turkey! (See: Özer Bostano/lu, "Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya Yönelen Dışgöç Hareketi ve Yarattı/ı Mekansal Oluşumlar", Ammeldaresi Dergisi, Vol.20, No:4, December 1987, (pp.89-106)p.106.)

103.Cihan Arın, "Projekt Berlin: Multikulturelle Visionen über eine künftige "Weltmetropole und ihre Segregationsprozesse"" (Unpublished Manuscript of a Speech made at the occasion of: "Aus-Laender 20. Darmstaedter Werkbundgespraech, 19.-20.10.1990"), (Berlin), esp.p.7. (According to a German architect, Rolf Toyka (who, being the director of the Academy of the Chamber of Architects Hessen, has made a speech at the German Cultural Center within the framework of a symposium titled as "The Situation of the Architects in the European Union" in Ankara on 01.12.1995), the building and construction undertakings in Berlin are continuing with a speedy pace and with a concentration of efforts in and around the original inner city areas (like Tiergarten, Kreuzberg, etc.) towards preparation of the city as the "capital" in the 2000s. One has to add to this also the fact that German officials do not want to speak about the Turks and their housing conditions in Berlin and in Germany at all! (For example, the Thesis writer went to listen to two speakers from Germany taking part in a symposium organised here in Ankara (on 23-25th November 1995) as a preparatory conference on the way to "HABITAT II - Conference"; although the name of the symposium was **"Housing Question of the Others (such as women, immigrants,**

elderly, disabled, and children)", both speakers (on 25.11.1995) (Bernd Schnieder (whose topic was: "Different Housing Demands: Segregative & Integrative Options in the Actual Housing Discussions in Germany") and Philip Potter (whose topic was: "Alternatives to the Concept of "Integration" in the Struggle Against Exclusion") did not spell out even the name of the Turks living in Germany?! (The report prepared by the "Centre for Turkish Studies" (by Çi/dem Akkaya, "Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany & the Housing Problem") and presented during the symposium on 23.11.1995 was the only report about the very topic; however, the "function and/or mission" of the mentioned "Center" should be clear now for the reader!) Under such conditions mentioned, the Turks in Berlin do really have many (for not saying "every") reasons to "fear" from the future threatening their very survival in that city!)

104. Ibid., pp.5-6, 12.

105. Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Merkblatt über das Gesetz zur Beseitigung von Wohnungsmisstaenden (in Berlin) (Wohnungsaufsichtsgesetz (vom 06.03.1973)) (Brochure), Berlin, December 1986.

106. Being "squeezed" and/or "segregated" into the "**not-yet-modernised old- housing stock**" (see also: Hartmut Haeusermann and Walter Siebel, Neue Urbanitaet, Frankfurt am Main: Edition Suhrkamp No:1432/432, 1987, p.160), the Turks in Berlin which is the city where one meets to the "**New World Order**" in its most exaggerated form with its all kinds of beggars, mafias, refugees from the Eastern Bloc and Russia (see:Güner Yüreklik, "Berlin'de Yaşam Kapanın A/zında" ("Life in Berlin is in the Hands of the Stronger Ones"), Cumhuriyet, 31.01.1993, p.10; Güner Yüreklik, "Bu Kentte Herşey Yeni" ("Everything is New in This City"), Cumhuriyet, 23.10.1994, p.10) will have to face greater challenges nearly in every sphere of life than before. It is not a pure coincidence that the Turkish youth in Berlin has last year "established" their "**ethnically segregated**" discotheque "Hadi Gari" ("Hurry up") (on the Hardenberg Str. where Talat Pasha (who was the founder of the ("pro-German") "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti" ("Union and Progress Society/Party") established for overthrowing the Ottoman Sultanate (financed later on also by Berlin/German capital (see: Süleyman Kocabaş, Osmanlı Ihtilallerinde Yabancı Parma/ı ("Foreign Finger in Ottoman Revolutions"), Kayseri: Vatan Yayınları No:11/2, 1993, esp.214-215) and a close friend of Enver Pasha) had been killed by an Armenian terrorist!) thus adding to their ghettos' rather nearly "full" social-, and cultural/ethnic infrastructure a musical component, too (see: Dilek Zaptçıo/lu, "Berlin'de _ıkıdım _ıkıdım Türkiye" ("Dancing in Berlin in Turkish style"), Cumhuriyet, 21.08.1994, p.8). (As a note to the interested reader, the Thesis writer wants to add here the information that the discrimination against Turks in Berlin's (and/or German) discos is not a new phenomenon having arisen, say, after the unification process. See

for a newspaper (of Berlin) news mentioning about an official ("Senate"'s) investigation to be undertaken in Berlin's discos whether if (as somebody had complained about) they were discriminating against Turkish youngsters: Anon., "Diskriminierung wird erforscht", Der Tagesspiegel, 11.06.1987, p.10.) We've been newly informed that the number of the Turkish discos in Berlin has already increased to three (with "Kapkara" ("pitch-black") and "Halikarnas")..(See: Serpil Gündüz, "Berlin'in "Güzel" Fahişeleri, So/u/a Aldırmıyor" (""Beautiful" Prostitutes of Berlin Do Also Work in Cold Weather"), Cumhuriyet, 19.12.1995, p.20.) It is not again without reason that the Turkish "rap" band "**Cartel**" which is making "**oppressed minority music**" (i.e. of the **Turks** in Germany) and which has been classified as an "anti-fascist" band in Europe, has been very popular in last years among especially Turks! (See: Anon., "Cehennemden Çıkan Türkler" ("Turks Coming Out of the Hell"), Cumhuriyet, 15.08.1995, p.3. Turkish "socialists" here, on the other hand, gathered around "**Birikim**" journal (thus having a tendency to **Germany**('s cultural world)) seem (after a little bit hesitation) once again to be opposing the "nationalist tone" of the "Cartel"(!); see: Aras Özgün, "Cartel; Cehennemden Çıkma Çılgın Faşizm!" ("Cartel; Mad Fascism Coming out of the Hell"), Birikim, No:80, December 1995, pp.48-54.)

107.The survey was carried out by the Thesis writer by himself alone. However, if there were not the persons' important helps (whose names will be given below) for arranging the survey's execution according to the spatial and temporal limitations of the Consulate General of W.Berlin, the mission would very probably be not done so easily. Therefore very special thanks go to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in general, and to the following persons, in particular:

-Dr.Cihan Arın (Architect from the "Technische Universitaet Berlin"),
-Akın Emregül (Consul General in W.Berlin),
-Mehmet Çınar (Consul),
-Aslı Umar (Consul Assistant),
-Ömer Günay (Official),
-Ö. Osman Çalışkan (Attaché for Education).

108.Here one should remember the fact that the "housing allowances" in Germany are mostly (83%) extended to the pensioners (67.4% in 1976) and to the people on "public assistance". The workers are getting only to an extent of 13.4%; and the "families with many children" do not get an important share of it, either! (See: Winfried Schwarz, "Formen des Wohnungsbaus und der Wohnungspolitik", (in)Wohnen zur Miete(..) op.cit. (Ed.: Joachim Brech), (pp.44-66)p.56.)

109.The author remembers a conference on "**European Syndicalism**" by a guest German professor of political science from Marburg University (who was an expert on "syndicalism" dealing with it since 30 years and also one of the leading advisors to the German Union of Syndicates ("DGB")

for years) held on 19.03.1994 in Ankara (upon invitation of the "Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı" ("Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey") at the premises of the "Türk Harb-İş Sendikası" (a Turkish syndicate)) during which the speaker had differentiated between three types of syndicates in Europe as being: a)Western-, and South European **"radical" syndicalism** (seen in Spain, Belgium, France and Italy); b)Central European **"social-democrate" syndicalism** (met in Austria, **Germany**, and Scandinavian countries); and c)Syndicalism in Great Britain. He had further said that the second one (also prevailing in Germany) was **the most successful one** among the three types.. The Thesis writer had asked him the following question: "You have just said that the German syndicalism is the most successful syndicalism. Can you make a ("self"-)criticism with regard to the German syndicalism and/or the "DGB" in paving the way to the (guest- worker) Turks in Germany to "climb" to the ranks of the so-called "sub- proletariat" of Germany?" He had found the question "very, very important" and had had then to "accept" the fact that "the "subproletariatization" by the Turks was seen starting from the second and third generations onwards"!

110.Liselotte Funcke who had been the "Federal Advisor in Foreigners' Issues" for more than a decade between 1981-1991 had "confessed" (just one day after her resignation from her post and after stating that she always would feed warm feelings for the foreigners) that "they couldn't prevent the inclusion of the "**sufficient housing**" condition in the new Aliens Law" to a Turkish newspaper; see: Ahmet Külahçı, "Güle Güle Funcke!" ("Good-bye Funcke!"), Hürriyet (Germany Edi.), 16.07.1991, p.13.

CHAPTER 9

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The capitalist world-economy which has come into existence starting from the sixteenth century onwards, has introduced even in its earliest stages international slave trade activities. These were rather the preliminary configurations of the labor migration movements of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries taking place nearly at every region of the capitalist world and extending from African countries (as one of the main labor force sources) to the Americas where the White Europeans had "explored" the "New World" ("new" just for themselves only, since there were the "natives", the "Indians" of "Asian" and most probably, of "Turcic" origin(1) living since centuries there!); and from China to Australia and moreover to South Africa, just to mention a few.

The capitalist world-economy le_d by the U.S. as the hegemonic power in the (late) twentieth century has also caused in respective "nation-states" the so-called "internal", i.e. "rural- urban" migrations witnessed right after the World War II and taking place rather in the "Third World" countries (affiliated with and/or dominated by the capitalist core nations) including Turkey and Mexico as the two "leader" countries of that "World", as well. We already know that at the very end of these (internal)

migration movements "spontaneous", "squatter" and/or "gecekondu" housing areas, i.e. those "illegal human settlements" (developed either on illegally occupied or illegally subdivided land) have been generated to inhabit rather the "majority" (actually much more than "half") of the (approximately 120 in number) Third World countries' great cities' poor populations. Although those urban poors are "the true planners and builders of Third World cities"(2), they are, quite paradoxically enough, at the same time the principal "target groups" which are specifically pointed out to be "enabled" for being "sheltered" in the "Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000" of the UNCHS-HABITAT.(3) Mexico was and is a close "neighbor" and was maybe "deliberately a distant" affiliate of the U.S. for nearly half a century,but now "a close one" (after the "economic collapse more severe than any since the Revolution and the civil war that followed")(4), a situation being reinforced by the signing of the "North American Free Trade Agreement" (NAFTA) in 1992 (with the U.S.).It should be remembered that this agreement has foreseen for Mexico primarily the future role of a neighboring country expected to develop" as an agricultural land specializing (as a "greengrocer" and "butcher") in products not supplied by the U.S."(5)! Mexico is for today the most largest labor power source than ever.. With a "legal immigrants"' stock of 66,000 (which was the highest among other nations)in the fiscal year of 1989, it has "won" the first prize(6), after being selected the "No.1" country for sending "illegal immigrants" in a steady manner and for years, to the U.S.!

However, the very problem of Mexican labor power migration to the U.S. has not been included/tackled with in the NAFTA Agreement?!(7)

Turkey, on the other hand, as "an historical ally of Germany" since nearly a couple of centuries, has been a "distant neighbor", but "a close friend" for Germany for decades, until "the episode of the big friendship" was starting to be shaken by the very existence of the Turkish (guest)workers there. As already known, they were "invited" and rather "enticed to go and work there" in the 1960s (i.e. right after the internal migrations have been accelerated as a process of "rapid urbanization" following the WW II as "an inherent component of the process of modernization"(8) of Turkish agriculture specifically). And they were employed rather in the very dirty, unhealthy, unpleasant, and unprestigious jobs, i.e. "to do the dirty job(s)" of Germany which was striving to be a "world-power" once again after having lost the WW II and after having "recovered", and having been "rehabilitated", so to say, with financial ("Marshall") credits supplied by the United States. The Turkish (guest)workers growing nowadays into their third generation have evolved, to a great extent, to an "underclass" of an all-embracing nature which is seen on the U.S. scene with its all types of socio- economic "vicious cycles", deficiencies, lacks, illegalities, illnesses, misfits, and nuisances (as dealt with in previous chapters).

The Turks in Germany have been much and much faster then their "distant neigbors", however (and most probably their "close relatives" (as touched upon in Ch.3 above)), i.e. the Mexicans, in creating the(ir)

"socio-economically determined, legally supervised and reinforced, socio-spatially displayed (via the very existence of "ethnic (i.e. "Mexican, and/or Hispanic" versus "Turkish") ghettos") and racially discriminated against" "ethnical underclass formations"! We should not forget, however, the very "contributions" provided by our German "friends"' rather "institutionalised racist state practices, procedures, and mechanisms" which are fabricated (albeit in a hidden manner) nearly as "perfect and precise" as the famous "German work disciplin and ethics" (which reads as follows (as having been carved on top of the door of the "Auschwitz ("Murder/Death") Camp"): "Arbeit macht frei" ("Work makes free"))!

Although the Thesis work had had a quite limited field survey capacity, i.e. investigating only 70 households among an estimated total of 41,451 and/or 46,632 Turkish HHs in W.Berlin (which means a sample ratio of 1,69 and/or 1,50 per 1,000), it had brought us to parallel results which were in great harmony to earlier results obtained during other surveys realized by other scholars in Germany. What differed, of course, from "their" survey results was the rather different "composing and explaining" effort with regard to the survey items and to the final outlook of the survey results by the Thesis writer. At this point of the discussion, we want to link the attention of the reader once again to the following fact: If the survey results are denoting at first look and seemingly a high level of technical infrastructural standards, this finding should never be taken as the "proof for a possible counter-argumentation to the Thesis work" which states that "there is a

"Turkish ghetto" in Germany (and/or Europe) inhabiting the **Turkish "underclass"** living there"! The main reason for this warning lies in the very fact that the Turkish cohort investigated in the field survey was living to an extent of 76.81% in the "first house" and to an extent of 50.00% in the "sixth house" (still) in "dilapidated" and to be "modernised" **"old buildings"!** These old buildings are, as we've seen allthroughout the Thesis work, rather the most important "housing trap" for vulnerable (foreigner and native, as well) persons from the disadvantaged social layers of Western societies! The next step from those old buildings away takes one into the circle of "unknown" which is also a potential ground for "homelessness"! The Thesis work which has partly been conducted in Germany and in the U.S. has witnessed resemblances to a very great extent between those two ("host" and "center") countries on the one hand with regard to their policies and programmes to "handle" the immigrant workers; and between the Mexicans and/or Mexican-Americans in the U.S. and the Turks in (F.R.)Germany as regards their (even) ethnical, socio-economic, and not the least, juristical/legal group characteristics which could have been brought together and labelled as the "principal characteristics of an ethnical underclass"! To our regret,the Mexican-Americans in the U.S. and the Turks in Germany share rather the fate of being "modern slaves" of the "White- Western- Capitalist-Christian (Protestant) -Europeans/Americans" at the very end of the twentieth century! They are the "subordinated foreigners" (even in their "own" land and even with their "American identity cards" in their pockets as it is the case with (at

least some of) the "Catholic" Mexican-Americans as compared to the "Muslim" Turks who form "religious islands" within, so to say, "Christian" seas existing in whole Germany and moreover whole Europe)!.(9) And they are still (after so many decades within the immigration process itself) in "search"of their "homes" and their "identities" which oscillate between their loneliness and powerlessness originating from the facts of being members of the Third World, on the one hand, and their succeeding generations being reproduced as members of an underclass on the First World's soil, on the other.(10) The following table will summarize some of the basic resemblances mentioned to be existing between Mexican(-American)s and Turk(o-German)s:

Socio-Economic Characteristics Displayed

Ethnic Group	Main Position Occupied in the Host Country	Housing & Settlement Form(s)	Education Possibilities Offered
Mexican(-Ame.)s	Worker (in agri-culture, services)	Ethnic enclaves and/or ghettos, agri. fields, "bush"-houses in open air	Secondary level
Turk(o-German)s	Worker(in industry, services)	Dilapidated inner city "old-housing" areas evolving into ethnic ghettos, asylum-houses, youth-, women shelters	Secondary level, "Sonder-schule"

As regards the very topic of the "ethnic ghettos" one could say that these have developed even in a country like Germany where the state with its monstrous police/security force has been unable to prevent the Turks from moving into existing "Turkish ghettos" like "Kreuzberg" in Berlin.(11) Moreover, if it had been successful in stopping them, the ethnic ghettos would develop, anyway, because the ghettos do come into existence due to the very social/racial "segregation" practices and pressures applied to the ethnic minorities stigmatized with their being "poor and inferior", with their being "(school) drop-out", "drug addict", "lazy", "living on public assistance", "illegals", and/or as expressed in one word, with their being only and simply the "others", i.e. "Mexicans" and/or "Turks".. Thus, the logical result of these social "transactions" is the following: "Mexicans are Turks; and Turks are Mexicans", in that very sense, too, if one would even neglect some other common characteristics! (Those characteristics, for instance, are getting an average annual income around one tenth of the average annual income in the host country (it is US$ 2192,7 in Turkey in 1994 and US$ 2,200 in Mexico in the 1990s as being compared to the ones being around US$ 20,000 in the host countries(12)) and also being used to live under a land regime of "state ownership" (i.e. "encomienda/ hacienda/ejido (after the Zapata revolution in 1911)" system in Mexico and "tìmar/has/zeamet" system in Ottoman Turkey(13).)

The "ethnic ghettos" thus developed in the two leader countries of the "Western (First) World", i.e. the U.S. and Germany, could be regarded

as the "socio-economic and socio-spatial "replica" of the shanty towns/ squatter houses" ("colonias populares" of Mexico and "gecekondus" of Turkey) of the developing countries of the "Third World" (represented here by Mexico and Turkey).(14) The famous "illegality of the squatter houses" of the Third World, a problematic eagerly handled by Western-minded urban planning "experts" and easily "solved" by them by "legalizing and regulating the tenureship" of those housing units (via, say, "gecekondu amnesty campaigns" conducted just before the political elections to be held(!)), is to be "substituted" in the case of the "First World" rather with the "illegality of the foreigners" and/or with their inclination towards this due to their very fragile and weak juristical / legal-political status in the respective societies and by the very mechanisms and transactions of the job-, and/or housing (sub)markets existing and functioning there. Thus, the Western scientific/ideological paradigm stating that the First World has "solved" its urbanization and/or housing problems is simply a "false" statement! It is rather a "myth" propagated in order to make the "superiority" of the Western world "endure" (also in that specific field)! The hesitations seen by especially some First World countries in issuing their citizenship rights to ethnic minorities are to be understood in that sense, too: They want to get rid of the socio-economically and socio-spatially potential problem groups of ethnic minorities (like the ones created by the former (Turkish) guestworkers in Germany) as quickly and as early as possible!

The ruling groups/politicians of the First World are wrong if they believe that they can manage this result even by "burning their ethnic minorities" (as in Germany) by the "barbaric" neo-Nazis' inhuman activities and thus causing them to fear and run away to their respective native countries!(15) The history of the squatter houses in the Third World falsifies and denies such an expectation! "The migrants to the cities never returned back to their villages"! There is not a single justification that this situation could and would be reversed in the case of the ethnic immigrants settled in "their Third Worlds just within the First World countries"! Therefore, there is only one and legitimate policy option to be followed by the First World countries: It is to try to alleviate the "global poverty" phenomenon witnessed at rather huge and frustrating scales covering nearly 1,3 billion people living in Third World countries!(16) Besides this, the "inner" poverty within the First World countries themselves has been speeding up in last years vehemently!(17) And lastly, as being parallel to the rise of the poverty in poor Third World countries (which are mostly (all?) "Islamic" countries(18)), the rise of the so-called "Islamic fundamentalism" with its all kinds of (real and/or implied/ supposed/imagined) "terrorism" potential(s) has been cited and/or spoken about by many Western intellectuals.(19) Whether the "New World Order" which has been claimed to be a result of the "Western liberal (capitalist) democracy" (as the "end (i.e.final stage) of the history" as stated by Fukuyama(20)) will be established at the end of the ("Western", "Islam", "Konfutchian", "Slave-Orthodoxe", "Latin American", Japanese and (probably)

"Black African")"civilizations' clushes" (and especially at the end of the "Western" confrontation with "Islamic" and "Konfutchian" civilisations) as Samuel Huntington predicts(21) or not remains to be seen in the future. However, one issue is sure: The fundamentalisms of different religions and/or civilisations / cultures all over the world are rising!(22) And one of the main "financial sources" (as it is the case for the Islamic rising in Turkey as "feeded" by the Turkish workers' cohort living in Germany) and (even murder!) "attack targets" at the same time are the (guest)worker / immigrant(s) population groups decided to settle now permanently in First World cities! Therefore the housing/settlement policies to be developed in those countries with regard to the foreigners / immigrants' ethnic ghettos inhabiting the new underclass members of the Western capitalist societies will have socio-spatial repercussions in most remotest and tiniest parts of the (Third) world, as well, due to the already established social and economic "networks" functional in the very process of "join-migration" of the persons of the same geographical and/or familial origin! It is hoped that those would-be policies to be developed by "far-sighted" planning experts of the Western-White-Protestant- Capitalist world will be "non-racist" at first instance and of "most egalitarian and democratic and humanistic" nature as the rather "explosive" social situation (encompassing everywhere and everybody on the planet) dictates.. As far as the Third World members are to be "handled" properly, one has to remember the fact that they are mostly inclinedto apply to the "state" apparatus as socio-economic problems

doarise!(23) That is to say that if the First World authorities do want to "solve" the housing/ settlement problems of the(ir) (guest)workers / immigrants, they should make use of their "state apparatuses/bodies and/or public sectors and officials" to the largest extent possible.. They, for instance, should erect public housing units to be distributed as rentals and/or for ownership to the most disadvantaged groups (i.e. (guest)workers / immigrants) in a "fair" manner. Since the (central and local, as well) capitalist marketsdo not function in an egalitarian way(24), this issue has to be evaluated rather a "must"! Apart from this, as the "globalization" process endures (encompassing the "three poles" being the U.S., Japan and the EU under the leadership of Germany and bringing forth rather to a "chaos"(25)) albeit for only 900 million persons (living in the capitalist core countries) who are "integrated" with each other and whoaremostly "discriminating against, segregating and/or excluding" the "others"(26) who are composed of the "blacks", (guest)workers, ethnic minorities, Muslims, etc.), a suggestion will (hopefully) not awake surprise if one would wish that the thus envisaged policies/programmes for those disadvantaged groups should also be "supervised" by an "experts/professionals" group from the respective Third World country(es), too! Otherwise, and if the developments are allowed to being (re)shaped only by (private) market forces,the world will witness other "ethnic cleansing" "(theater) plays/acts" as displayed in Bosnia-Herzegovigna, in other words "right in the middle of Europe", just as the humanity approaches towards the years of the third millennium ahead!

As a last attempt of the Thesis work, we'll propose some general policy measures to be taken with regard (also) to the settlement/housing issues of the Turk(o-German)s living nearly since four decades in Germany (the implementation scopes of which could also be enlarged to other ethnic minorities living in other countries):

1-The Turks should be accepted as "permanent citizens" of German cities where they live and work for German economy and nation. This fact necessitates the widening of "liberal democracy" also to cover the Turks, i.e. the Turks should be empowered to (active and passive) "vote" for local, and national issues affecting themselves and their families. Without such a "political power", the Turks will not be taken into account "sufficiently" by German federal and local political instances;

2-The Turks should be given "double citizenship". However, it is not to be forgotten that the "German citizenship" thus obtained will only partially enhance the "official/institutional" status of the Turks; it will not prevent the racist attacks against them taking place on the streets, in the undergrounds, etc., i.e. in "real and actual life situations"! Therefore, the Turks should be "protected" with additional new and modern legal devices to be introduced by German authorities. (This is to say that some new mechanisms such as "Affirmative Action" mechanisms used since 1964, i.e. for more than three decades in the U.S. in order to "exorcise the existence and effects of the racism and sexism so deeply entrenched in (the U.S.) society"(27) should be introduced in Germany, too);

3-The "free movement" of the Turks between and within the German cities should be guaranteed/secured. The legal "barriers" to move to specific city districts (such as the "Turkish ghettos") should be removed. The effective mechanisms for combatting "ethnic ghetto" formations are principally not "spatial prohibitions".. They are, on the one hand, rather measures of "socio-economic" nature (in the sense of social and occupational "vertical mobility" to be got by "educational" reform movements(28) (including the "Turkish" education of Turkish children as a main component of the "bilingual education" and/or as the "first" foreign language helping to "form" their individualities/ personalities) especially aiming at "upgrading" the "societal hierarchical positions" of the Turks). And they also are "housing provision/supply" mechanisms and/or policies, on the other hand, aiming at the increasement of different types of housing (making room also for "multi-personal" families with many children) and at a "fair and non-racist" distribution (also to be supported with "quota" provisions) of the (local) housing stocks administered by federal and local governments;

4-As a last, but not the least measure, one has to mention from the very necessity of Turkey's economic recovery and strength for the well-being of (also) her citizens living in Germany (and in other European countries), as well. It is a historical and global fact that if a Third World country (like Turkey, Mexico, Algeria(29) and/or Senegal(30)) becomes economically and culturally more "dependent" on a specific First World country (i.e. Germany, the U.S. and France, respectively) to become and/or

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to endure the being of nearly a(n) (albeit "semi"-) "colony" of that country, the situations of their citizens having migrated and being living there as a "subproletariat and/or underclass" do worsen concomitantly!

Therefore, the Third World(s) of the globe should resist rather collectively to the neo-imperialist/colonialist politico- economical policies such as "privatization" for (actually) "oligopolization/ monopolization" targets as disguided under "globalization" rhetorics (31) (and its policy implementation institutions like the IMF and the World Bank(32)) and cultural attacks(33) of the First World! Otherwise, we will all become extremely "impoverished"(34) to fall down to the socio-economic ranks of the "Kreuzbergers"(35) living in "Harlem-ghettos"(36) "there"; and/or of "urban poors" living in "segmented (Third World) cities"'(37) "shanty towns/ squatter houses/ gecekondus" piled up on top of each other and/or in "janitor dwelling units located at the cellars of the ("post") modern apartments of different "European" ("comprador bourgeoisie"'s) styles"(38) "here", very soon.. The underdeveloped Third World countries with their rather severe economic dependencies on the capitalist First World deepening day by day as witnessed in their "dualistic" (urban) economies(39) and socio-spatial urbanization processes creating the so-called "cities of peasants"(40) should not forget that the main difficulty in "understanding" the First World and especially the European countries lies in the very concept of "unitas multiplex", i.e. "the one in the multiple and the multiple in the one".. Europe is the "civilisation model" and the "historical colonialist power" at the same time!

Therefore one has to learn and return to both principles of "multi-logics" ("le principe dialogique") and "recurrence" ("le principe de recursion")(41) for practical reasons frequently while one conducts relationships with European/ First World powers.. If, otherwise, the Third World countries cannot manage to resist to the rather potentially detrimental effects of "super powers"' international socio-economic (and not the less socio- spatial ones as in the examples of "free trade zones") policies, their cities will also turn in a not so far future into the **"cities of permanent underclass(es)"** (42) as started to be seen in the ("post-industrial", "ultra-post-modern" and "informational") **"global cities"** of the First World!

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerikan Etnik Yapısının Tamtamları: "Erime"den Kayna(ş)ma(ya mı?)", Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No:4, Winter 1994/95, (pp.132-146)p.142 (Footnote 38).

2. Jorge E. Hardoy & David Sattertwhaite, Squatter Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World, London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1989, esp.pp.12-36. (Of course, here phenomenon of "Third World City(es)" as a whole (i.e.having direct linkages of various natures to the "centre" countries of the "First World") must be regarded and conceptualised within the general capitalist world-economy framework developed excellently by King (in his book): Anthony D. King, Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World System, London and New York: Routledge, 1990, esp.Chs.1, 4 and 5.

3. Özer Bostanoğlu, "Türk Kentleşmesinde Saat: 2000'e 5 Kala "HABITAT"", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.28, No:, June 1995, pp.81-107; see also: Leyla Tavşanoğlu, "AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fak. Öğretim Üyesi Prof.Ruşen Keleş, İstanbul'un Çelişkiler Yumağı Olduğunu Söylüyor: HABITAT Türkiye İçin Büyük Fırsat" ("(An Interview With) Prof.Ruşen Keleş From the Ankara University Saying that İstanbul is Full of Contradictions: HABITAT is a Great Opportunity For Turkey"), Cumhuriyet, 24.12.1995, p.6. It has been "envisaged" in the "(Draft) National Report (of Turkey)" (prepared within the scope of the "Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000" of the UNCHS-HABITAT) as the "first" one of the "national policy recommendations" (26 in number) the "globalization of the national settlement system(s)".. Moreover, it has also been recommended that one should apply to "international financial systems (and/or mechanisms)" for "enabling" the "social actors" of the "Action Plan" prepared to be realised at financial basis. (See: Danışma Kurulu ("The Advisory Committee" (for the "National Committee of Turkey" ("Türkiye Ulusal Komitesi")) personified by: İhsan Bilgin, Necat Erder, Mübeccel Kıray, Şule Özüekren, İlhan Tekeli and Ali Türel), HABITAT II -Türkiye Ulusal Raporu ve Eylem Planı -Taslak ("HABITAT II - National Report and Action Plan of Turkey -Draft"), Ankara, November 1995, esp. pp.77- 146.) This policy recommendation which seemingly has been developed due to financial crisis situation in the national economy should be scrutinized and implemented carefully since the founders and/or inventors of "international debt trap mechanism(s)" are really aiming at "reaching" "local/municipal" markets "protected/saved from" penetration of "foreign capital" until yet due to their being "hided" by the "national-state borders".. If the urban poors of the Third World are really wanted to help, then, one should search at first instance for "national/domestic" (financial) sources. If there aren't any, then one should try to "create" them again as from

within the country itself (trying, of course, not being "isolated" and "left to it/herself" by the "Western/Northern capitalist core countries" which still represent the "global civilisation level(s) (in especially industrial, technological and informational matters)" to be followed by Third World countries, and by Turkey, too).. If, instead, the national housing policies which have been supporting rather middle-, and upper-income groups (as lastly seen by the housing marketing inability of the Housing Development Administration which has built as a pilot project some 2900 dwelling units in the poor Southeastern Anatolia whereby only 724 units have been sold; see: Nizamettin Kaplan, "Toplu Konutlar Elde Kaldı" ("Mass Housing Units Could Not Have Been Sold"), Cumhuriyet, 21.01.1996, p.3) are promoted further as in the case of (middle-, and upper-income) housing programmes such as "Building Savings Fonds" now being propagated as an "innovative finance mechanism" (as adapted from and supported eagerly by Germany; see: Anon., "Toplu Konuta Gurbetçi Kredisi" ("Guestworkers' Credit For Mass Housing"), Cumhuriyet, 29.05.1994, p.7; Leyla Tavşanoğlu, "(TOKİ Başkanı) Yiğit Gülöksüz: HABITAT'ın Mirasının Peşindeyiz" ("(An Interview With the) (President of the Housing Development Administration (also responsible of HABITAT II organization)) Yiğit Gülöksüz: "We're After the HABITAT's Heritage"), Cumhuriyet, 21.01.1996, p.8; Ali Türel, "Türkiye'de Konut Yapım ve Mülk Konut Edinme Süreçleri" ("Housing Construction and Owner-Occupied Housing Buying Processes in Turkey") (Paper submitted to the "Housing Surveys' Symposium" Held on 1-2nd July 1993 in Ankara), p.20) will be of no help to urban poors targeted by the UNCHS-HABITAT, either.

4. Sidney Weintraub, "North American Free Trade and the European Situation Compared", International Migration Review, Vol.XXVI, No: 2, Summer 1992, (pp.506-524) pp.511-512; and A. Riding, Distant Neighbors, New York: Knopf, 1985. The economic crisis conditions which Mexico deals with since 1982's "liberalisation of the economy" movement (started at a time point when the foreign debts had totalled to a fixed rate of 53.4% of the (gross) national income) (see: İzzettin Önder, "Meksikalaşmayalım" ("Don't let us be Mexicanized"), Cumhuriyet, 18.01.1995, p.7) have rather deepened in the last years so seriously that the most richest Western core states (the "G-7"s) have decided to allocate for Mexico a "rescue package" (under the patronage of the U.S. and) consisting of nearly U.S.$ 50 billions (Anon., "G-7'den Rusya ve Meksika'ya Destek" ("Support from the G-7s to Russia and Mexico"), Cumhuriyet, 06.02.1995, p.7)!

5. Kenan Mortan, Odak Ülke: Meksika, Ankara: A Kitabevi Yayınları No:7/1, May 1994, p.43. This "economic policy recommendation" is also familiar to Turkey! For a "serious" research effort by an American expert who has "adviced" to the Turkish authorities strengthening of the national agricultural structures and trying to develop (only) "light industries" functioning especially in the field of agricultural products and/or food production (by making use of American experts and while leaving the

"heavy industries" which had started having been established during Atatürk's era aside), see: Max Weston Thornburg, Türkiye Nasıl Yükselir ("Turkey: An Economic Appraisal") (Trans.: Semih Yazıcıoğlu), İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, (1950 (?)), esp. pp.226-228.

6. Weintraub, "North American Free Trade(..) op.cit., p.515.

7. Ibid., p.507 (Footnote (1)). Frank reminds us that some Canadian, Mexican and U.S. "pro-labor" intellectuals state that the "widening of the NAFTA's region to include Mexican boundaries will speed up either exploitation or exclusion of the labor or both at the same time and in three countries"; see: André Gunder Frank, "Demokratik Olmayan Bir Piyasada Piyasa Demokrasisi" ("Market Democracy in a Non- Democratic Market"), (in) Düşük Yoğunluklu Demokrasi: Yeni Dünya Düzeni ve Yeni Politik Güçler ("Low Intensity Democracy") (By: Samir Amin, André Gunder Frank and Noam Chomsky) (Trans.by: Ahmet Fethi), İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık No:144/24, October 1994, (pp.47-74)p.52. One should add at this point also the fact that the famous "privatization policy" in Mexico started in 1988 (following the "strict IMF period" under the presidency of de la Madrid who had tried to "recover" the "bankrupt" Mexican economy after the "collapse" in 1982 when Mexico had to postpone its debt services) with Carlos Salinas de Gortari's presidency period (for six years until December 1994) has ended up with privatization of totally 1155 public bodies (being diminished to 280 bodies only) and moreover with "opening up" of nearly 30 million hectares of "ejido land" to foreign (i.e. "U.S.") capital with an amendment realised in the Mexican Constitution's 27th article in 1992. It is for sure that both of these developments (having negatively great pressures on the country's agricultural, income and employment structures as witnessed in the "Zapatistas' rebellion" arising (just on 01.01.1994, i.e. the day when the "NAFTA Agreement" has entered into force!) due to (potential) "land scarcity" reasons and also seen in the "transformation" of Mexico from an agricultural country (with enough animal sources as well, i.e. at least "feeding itself", to a large extent) to a country "importing" now its "meat demand" while struggling with the "fiscal crisis" "exploded" (and brought the country to a new "stand-by agreement" with IMF including a credit of US$ 7,8 billion) under the new president Ernesto Zedillo) will cause more ("illegal") labor migration to the U.S. than ever! (See: Mortan, Odak Ülke(..) op.cit., pp.25-27; 43-44; Hayri Kozano/lu, "Meksika'da Kriz" ("Crisis in Mexico"), Birikim, No:75, July 1995, pp.55-64; Noam Chomsky, "Zapatista Ayaklanması" ("Zapatistas' Rebellion") (Trans.: Özgür Gökmen), Birikim, No:75, July 1995, pp.69- 72; and Erdoğan Soral, "Salıncakta İki Ülke: Meksika ve Türkiye" ("Two Countries on the Swing"), Cumhuriyet, 03.04.1995, p.2; and A.Erinç Yeldan, "Meksika Krizinin Öğrettikleri Ya da Hades Cehenneminde Azgelişmişlik" ("Lessons of the Mexican Crisis or Underdevelopment in the Hell of Hades"), Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol.XIX, No:186, December 1995, pp.36-40.)

8. Michael N. Danielson & Ruşen Keleş, The Politics of Rapid Urbanization: Government and Growth in Modern Turkey, New York, London: Holmes & Meier, 1985, p.3.

9. Here one should clarify a bit the situation with regard to the "religion" (which seems to be playing a big role in the case of the "Muslim" Turks in Germany who are discriminated against by the "Christian" host society not the least also by their religion!): The Mexican-Americans who are originally "Catholics" to an extent of 92.6% make up (albeit "Christian") also a "religious minority" group in the U.S. where the Catholics are a minority group with their sheer size of 55 million (i.e. 24.1% of the total U.S. population which was 228,305 million in 1983) as being added to the "religiously majority group" of "Evangelical Protestants" (altogether 80 million, i.e. 35% of the total). There are also living 9 million "Muslims", 5-6 million Jews, Christians of other "sects" (like "Calvinists", "Episcopals", "Presbyterians", "Methodist Baptists", etc.) and also Buddhists, etc., in the United States.. (The source (for the U.S. case) upon which we've based our calculations: Abdülbaki Keskin, Doğu-Batı ve 21.YY Üçgeninde: İslam ("Islam: Within the Triangle of East-West and the 21st Century"), Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları No: 131/12/2, 1994, pp.69-70, 85, 112. And see for the Muslims in Germany/ Europe: Anon., "15 Milyon Müslüman Fransa, İngiltere ve Almanya'yı Rahatsız Etti: Müslümanlar Avrupa'ya Yayılıyor" ("15 Million Muslims Annoyed France, England and Germany: Muslims Are Dispersing Out in Europe", Cumhuriyet, 14.05.1995, p.11; Leyla Tavşanoğlu, "Avrupa, Müslüman Toplumunu İnceliyor" ("Europe Investigates Muslim Community"), Cumhuriyet, 26.05.1995, p.3; Recai Akyel, İngiltere Müslümanları ("The Muslims of England"), İstanbul: Endülüs Yayınları No:23, February 1994; and Kadir Canatan, Avrupa'da Müslüman Azınlıklar ("The Muslim Minorities in Europe"), İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları No:149/65, May 1995. The Turks being the Muslims bringing forth the Islam with themselves "up to the portals of Vienna" and also "representing the Islam for centuries as against the "Christian Europe"" (see: Ergun Balcı, "Dinsel Açıdan" ("From the Religious Angle"), Cumhuriyet, 08.06.1995, p.9) are really a "specific case": They (actually the "Ottoman Turks") have also "protected" for long years the "Eastern Christianity" (i.e. the "Orthodoxes") as against the "Western Christianity" (i.e. the "Catholics")! And, moreover, as the great Austrian "Orientalist" and historian Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall had stated once (in his Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi ("Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches"), Vol.15, (1983-1986) (Ori.1827-1832), p.326) if the Ottoman Turks under the reign of "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman" ("Suleiman the Magnificent") had not been so strong enough as to protect the "(Martin) Lutherian Protestants" as against the "Holy Roman" (i.e. German) Emperor Charles V (who was an orthodox Catholic even "massacring" the Protestants) in the 16th century, the religious "topography" of Europe (and also of "Protestant Germany") would be radically different than it is for today! (See: Yalçın Toker, Tarih İtiraz Ediyor: En Üsttekiler Türkler ("The History Raises Objection to (Being

"Ganz Unten" as Walraff Claimed): The Turks At the Very Top"), İstanbul: Toker Yayınları No:197/24, 1986, esp. pp.19-49.) That is also why the Protestant Churches in Germany do "support" the foreigners/Turks against the German governments' legal "attacks" from time to time! (See: Toker, Tarih İtiraz Ediyor(..) op.cit., pp.27- 28.) (Within this very complex context, Weber's important book pointing out to the positive connection between Protestant "work ethics" and "accumulating" capitalism should be reminded, too: Max Weber, Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhu ("The Protestant Ethics and the Soul of Capitalism") (Trans.:Zeynep Aruoba), İstanbul:Hil Yayın No:20/1, 1985, esp.p.137. According to Weber's thesis, then, the import of labor power from the Third World to principally "Protestant" Western "capitalist" countries like the U.S. and Germany is not a pure coincidence! On the other side, the Islam religion advices for everybody to work and earn "legitimately" ("helal") in "this" world and to go to the "other" world (as especially stressed) "poor"! See: Orhan Türkdoğan, Aydınlıktakiler ve Karanlıktakiler (Toplumumuzun Dramı) ("People in Light and People in Darkness (The Tragedy of Our Society)"), İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat No:7, 1982, p.13.)

10. Prof. Huntington claims that the Turks and the Mexicans are (in addition to the Russians) displaying rather "divided / partitioned identities", i.e. they can not decide to which "civilisation" world they should adhere to! (See: Muzaffer Özdağ, ""Medeniyetler Çatışması" Üzerine" ("On the "Civilisations' Clushes"), Avrasya Dosyası, Vol.1, No:1, Spring 1994, (pp.72-85) p.75.) Maybe this characteristics is also one of the "determining" resemblances between the two societies..

11. Anon., "(Kreuzberg:) Ablukada Bir Semt" ("(Kreuzberg:) A District Under Blockade"), Ekin (Berlin), No:27, June/July 1987, p.4.

12. Bostanoğlu, "Türk Kentleşmesinde(..) op.cit., p.82 (Footnote (3)); and Weintraub, "North American(..) op.cit., p.508. (One could also mention here from the specific and very "close" places (as rather "a derivative of their national incomes and populations") (as being the 35th and the 36th with scientific citations totalling to 5,796 and 4,606, respectively) occupied by Mexico (with a total population of 87,8 million in 1990) and Turkey (with an estimated total population of 62,7 million in 1996) in the global "publications' list" of "Science Citation Index(es)" ("SCI") with regard to the years 1989-1993 (including a total of 2,501,076 entries and ranking the U.S. (With 878,866 publications) England (210,528), Japan (205,323) and Germany (?) as the first four leading countries, respectively); See: Mustafa İlhan and R.Kazım Türker, "Dünya Biliminde Türkiye'nin Yeri", ("Place of Turkey in World Science"), Cumhuriyet-Bilim Teknik, No.462, 27.01.1996, p.7).

13. Mortan, Odak Ülke(..) op.cit., pp.40-43.

14. Prof. Keleş states that "slums and squatter settlements are the formations which possess most of the physical and socio-economic qualities attributed to marginal populations." However, he adds that although used interchangeably (see his: Ruşen Keleş, "Overall Impact of the Slums and Slum Dwellers on the Societal Structure in Turkey", (Paper submitted to IDE, February 1983), they are "different concepts", since: "The term of slum is mainly used in the Western industrialized countries to denote substandard and rundown dwellings and the environments they constitute" (in the central areas of cities and realized according to the prevailing building standards and regulations, thus being a "slum" an "ex post" qualification (acquired later than the building date)). And, he says that: "On the other hand, squatter dwellings ("illegal structure(s), "ex ante"") are located primarily on the outskirts of the cities ((although,) "(h)owever, squatting in central areas is also extensive in almost all Middle Eastern metropolises")." He further states that one of the basic differences between the two forms of low-income settlements is the "permanency" situation of the users/inhabitants of both settlements: Whereas the users of the "slums" are mostly "tenants", the inhabitants of the squatter housing areas are essentially "homeowners". (See: Ruşen Keleş, Urban Poverty in the Third World: Theoretical Approaches and Policy Options (With Special Reference to the Middle East), Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies Pub., December 1988, pp.25-26.) Although "correct" in technical building and location aspects, we do tend to see these explanations (which have been also advocated by some other Turkish prominent urban researchers like Kemal Karpat (in his: The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, esp.pp.23-25) rather as "generalisations" of a "closing" time period..(The turning point seems to be the year of 1989 when the "Eastern Communist Bloc" had collapsed and furthermore when, for instance, the "Islam "in" France" has been transforming into the "Islam "of" France", (starting with the "head-scarf" event in Creil on 05.10.1989 where the school director did not accept the entrance of three Muslim girls into the "Gabriel Havez" secondary school's classroom (with their headscarves on)) as Kepel states; see: Gilles Kepel, Allah'ın Batısında ("A l'Ouest d'Allah") (Trans.by: Işık Ergüden), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları No:21, August 1995 (1994), p.194.) There are at least some indicators (as being mentioned allthroughout the Thesis work) showing that the "Western slums" are "evolving / transforming" into rather "permanent underclass housing and living areas of ethnic minorities" like the Mexican-Americans, Puerto-Ricans and the Turk(o- German)s as especially the once and originally "immigration process of the (guest)workers of the Third World" has been transforming into a "migration process to become a permanent resident/member (albeit of an arising "underclass") of the host societies of the First World"! Türkdoğan in his above-cited book develops the thesis that "slums and shanty towns (and/or squatter houses)" are one and the same thing if one takes into account the "poverty" as the determining factor..(See: Türkdoğan,

Aydınlıktakiler ve(..) op.cit., esp. pp.46-59.)

15. Although the Germans were famous for their ("German) solution" developed for the(ir) "guestworkers" (easily to be "excluded" in crisis periods) during the 1960s and 1970s, as Castells claims (in his article: Manuel Castells, "Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism: The Western European Experience", (in) Peasants and Proletarians: The Struggles of Third World Workers (Eds.: Robin Cohen, Peter C.W., Gutkind and Pyllis Brazier), New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1979, (pp.353-379) esp p.367). They, too, have "consumed" all the ways and have to "re-invent" the(ir?) old "barbaric" methods like "burning the immigrants asleep and alive"! For the "barbaric" nature of the Germans as a nation, as a "Volk", Hammer states the following: "The Germans and Venetians who are (more) barbaric as compared with the Turks have destroyed all the famous monuments of the antiquity which had been preserved for centuries by the Turks." (See: (His) Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi (..) op.cit., Vol.12, p.227; as cited by Toker, Tarih İtiraz Ediyor(..) op.cit., p.115.) See also Siegfried's wonderful account of the German national character which is described as being "barbaric stemming from being (also) of Asian origin albeit far away": André Siegfried, Milletlerin Karakterleri ("The Characters of the Nations") (Trans.: Samih Tiryakioğlu), İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları No:12/811, February 1961, p.140. (Meanwhile, the "barbaric" Germans are still continuing to "burn" the foreigners.. 10 people have been "killed" in the last arson attack in one of the Lübeck's "Asylantenheims": Anon., "(Almanya) Yurtta Yangın: 9 Ölü" ("(Germany) Fire in the Hostel: 9 Deads"), Cumhuriyet, 19.01.1996, p.10; Anon., "(Almanya) Yangının Nedeni Hala Belirlenemedi" ("(Germany) Fire Causes Still Undetermined"), Cumhuriyet, 20.01.1996, p.10.)

16. Ferruh Yılmaz, "İnsanlık Ayıbı: Yoksulluk" ("Shame on the Humanity"), Cumhuriyet, 07.03.1995, p.9; Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Açlıktan Ölüyoruz!.." ("We're Starving!"), Cumhuriyet, 01.05.1995, p.7; Ferruh Yılmaz, "Yoksulluğa Çare Aranıyor: Danimarka'nın Başkenti Kopenhag'da Bugün Başlayacak Olan "Dünya Kalkınma Zirvesi"(..)" ("Heal to Poverty is Looked After: The "World Summit for Social Development" to be Started Today in Kopenhagen(..)"), Cumhuriyet, 06.03.1995, p.11; Patricio Aylwin, "Justice and Solidarity: A Challenge for the One World", (in) For Democracy and Social Justice (Ed.: Josef Thesing), Sankt Augustin bei Bonn: KAS Publication, (1995), pp.17-25; and Jakobus N.M. Richelle, "The World Summit for Social Development: Demands and Expectations", (in) For Democracy and Social Justice (op.cit.), pp.26-37; and Özer Bostanoğlu, "Birinci ve Üçüncü Dünyalarda (Kentsel) Yoksulluk Üzerine", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.25, No:3, September 1992, pp.147-161. See also for an early account of the topic by "the" expert of it: Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty: A World Anti-Poverty Program in Outline, New York: Pantheon Books, 1970, esp.pp.273-385 (Part Three).

17. See just for a last example (among many others) from the Great Britain: Edip Emil Öymen, "Yoksulluk Edebiyatı Gerçek Oldu" ("The Poverty Rhetoric Has Been Turned into Reality"), Cumhuriyet, 13.02.1995, p.8; and see for a contribution made on the U.S. which is being said to have an economic recession since 1990 having caused an overall unemployment rate of 8%; a budget deficit of nearly US$ 5,000 billion; around 4 million "homeless" persons; and 36 million persons without an (social) insurance: Keskin, Doğu-Batı ve (..) op.cit., p.122; and Özer Bostanoğlu, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Evsizlik", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.26, No:3, September 1993, pp.153-168. The increasing poverty also causes the education standards to fall: For instance, there were in the U.S. in 1984 some million ("functional" and "marginal(ly functional)" together) "adult illiterates", i.e. well above "one third of all American adults"! (See: Jonathan Kozol, Illiterate America, New York and Scarborough, Ontario: A Plume Book (New American Library), 1985, esp. Part One (: "Invisible Minority: The Growing Crisis of Illiterate America") and p.10.) (See also for Germany: Güner Yüreklik, "(Almanya:) Üç Milyon Kişi ("Yabancılar" Hariç) Okur Yazar Değil" ("(Germany:) There Are Three Million (Excluding the "Foreigners") Illiterate People"), Cumhuriyet, 08.02.1993, p.8.) Maybe one should also listen to the very interesting statements of Gans who claims that the urban poors (in America) are actually socially very "functional" (in both "negative" and "positive" ways(!) consisting of: 1-Risk reduction; 2-Scapegoating and displacement; 3-Economic banishment and thr reserve army of labor; 4-Supplying illegal goods; 5-Job creation; 6-Moral legitimation; 7-Norm reinforcement; 8-Supplying popular culture villains; 9-Institutional scapegoating; 10-Conservative power shifting; 11-Spatial purification (i.e. since "stigmatized", their "underclass areas" can be torn down to make room for "higher taxpayers"' "gentrification" purposes and/or for NIMBY ("not in my backyard") (protests for locations of homeless shelters, garbage dumps, etc.) purposes); 12-Reproduction of stigma and the stigmatized; and 13-Extermination of the surplus (to make ample room for competitors of scarce jobs, etc.); see: Herbert Gans, "Positive Functions of the Undeserving Poor: Uses of the Underclass in America", Politics & Society, Vol.22, No:3, September 1994, pp.269-283.

18. The Muslims are now making roughly one fifth of the total world population (i.e. 1,2-1,3 billion people) (see: Keskin, Doğu-Batı ve (..) op.cit., p.156) and they are living in 46 Islamic countries (the number of the states where the Muslims make over 50% of the population is nearly 57) (see: Waqf Ikhlas, Islam and Christianity (Third Edi.), İstanbul: Waqf Ikhlas Pub. No:12, 1990, p.80).

19. Sabri Sayarı for the) RAND Corporation, Amerikan Gizli Belgelerinde: Türkiye'de İslamcı Akımlar ("The Prospects for Islamic Fundamentalism in Turkey") (Trans.by: Yılmaz Polat), İstanbul: Damla Ofset, August 1990 (June 1989), p.15; and Fuat Kozluklu, "ABD, (New York'taki "Dünya Ticaret Merkezi"'nin 1993 Şubat'ındaki Bombalanmasını Planlayan)

Mısırlı Teröristi Affetmedi: Kör İmam'a "Ömürboyu"" ("The U.S. Did Not Forgive the Egyptian Terrorist (Who Had Planned the Bombing of the "World Trade Center" in New York in February 1993): Life Imprisonment For the "Blind Imam""), Cumhuriyet, p.11. See also for the rise in Islamic education (feeding also the rise of general Islamic movements) in Turkey: Bahattin Akşit, "Türkiye'de İslami Eğitim: Osmanlı'nın Son Dönemlerinde Medrese Reformu ve Cumhuriyet'te İmam-Hatip Okulları" ("Islamic Education in Turkey"), (in) Çağdaş Türkiye'de İslam: Din, Siyaset, Edebiyat ve Laik Devlet ("Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics, Literature and Laicist State") (Ed.:Richard Tapper), İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1991, pp.99-131.

20. Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man, New York: Free Press, 1992; and Francis Fukuyama, "Tarihin Sonu mu?" ("Is it the End of the History?"), (in) Tarihin Sonu mu? (Ed.: Rey Yayıncılık), Kayseri: Rey Yayıncılık No:7/1, (n.d.), pp.13-51.

21. Özdağ, ""Medeniyetler Çatışması" op.cit. Another vivid "proof" of the rise of "Islam" in Western" countries is claimed to be the rise of the "Black Muslims"' movement in the U.S. (where there are nearly 9 million Muslims (300,000 of whom are Turks) living and approximately 1,000 mosques serving them); see: Charles Eric Lincoln, Siyah Müslümanlar ("Black Muslims") (Trans. by: Nadir Özata), İstanbul: Bengisu Yayıncılık No:11, 1992; see also: Kepel, Allah'ın Batısında(..) op.cit., pp.17-103; and Keskin, Doğu-Batı ve (..) op.cit., pp.83-92.

22. See: Anon., "ABD'de Hıristiyan Köktendinci Tehlikesi" ("The Christian Fundamentalism Danger in the U.S."), Cumhuriyet, 22.05.1995, p.11; and see for the very relationship of this Christian fundamentalism with the "white/western racism" (also rising as witnessed with regard to the attacks against foreigners/ immigrants) (as exemplified in the case of the "Christian Identity" movement in the U.S. (under the leadership of Pete Peters who is claimed to be the "Jirinovski" of the U.S.)): Aytunç Altındal, Türkiye ve Ortodokslar: Yunanistan, Patrikhane ve Ortodoks Kıskacı ("Turkey and the Orthodoxes: Greece, the Patriarchate and the Orthodox Pincer"), İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, March 1995, pp.147- 149.

23. See for Turkey: Doğan Ergun, Türk Bireyi Kuramına Giriş (Türk Kültürünün Olanakları ya da Türkiye'de Kamu İktisadının Kültür Kökenleri) ("Introduction to the Theory of the Turkish Individual (The Possibilities of the Turkish Culture or the Cultural Origins of the Turkish Public Economy"), İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi Yeni Dizi No:6, January 1991; and see for Mexico where the "native Indians" are displaying a "public/societal mind" as against the "mestizos' familial/individual mind": Mortan, Odak Ülke(..) op.cit., p.39.

24. Robert A. Dahl, "Serbest Piyasa Neden Yeterli Değildir?", (in) Kapitalizm, Sosyalizm ve Demokrasi: Yeni Değerlendirmeler ("Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy: New Evaluations") (Eds.:Larry Diamond and Marc

F.Plattner) (Trans.by: Ergun Özbudun and Levent Köker), Ankara: Türk Demokrasi Vakfı, 1994 (1993), (pp.109-120) p.117. This idea about the inappropriateness of the capitalism and/or market democracy for the underdeveloped countries (and also for war- torn countries of the First World like Germany after the WWs I and II) trying to develop in an egalitarian way is not a new one. See for instance Hans Zehrer's (a prominent representative of the movement "Die Tat" which was seeking the salvation and rebirth of Germany after the WW I as "a country not exploitating, and not being exploitated by others") statements in that direction: Anon., "Kadro ve Die Tat" ("Kadro and Die Tat"), Kadro, No:6, June 1932, (pp.5- 8)p.7.

25. Samir Amin, Kaos İmparatorluğu: Yeni Kapitalist Küreselleşme ("Das Reich des Chaos") (Trans.by: Işık Soner), İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları No:143, p.13.

26. İlhan Tekeli, (His Speech), (in) Kent Kooperatifçiliği Yedinci Teknik Kongresi- 5 Kasım - 8 Kasım 1992 - Belek-Antalya ("The Seventh Technical Congress of the Urban Co-operatives' Movement -5th November- 8th Nov. 1992- Belek-Antalya"), Türkiye Kent Kooperatifleri Merkez Birli i Yayınları No:5, (n.d.), (pp.38-43)pp.42-43. See for a newest account for the segregation practices in Britain as a result of "British racism": Susan J. Smith, "Residential Segregation and the Politics of Racialization", (in) Racism, the City and the State (Eds.:Malcolm Cross and Michael Keith), London and New York: Routledge, 1993, pp.128-143.

27. Herman Schwartz, "Affirmative Action", (in) Minority Report: What Has Happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Other Minorities in the Eighties (Ed.: Leslie W. Dunbar), New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, (pp.58-74)p.58. As a very negative development,we should mention a very recent U.S. "Supreme Court"'s decision stating that the "Affirmative Action" is contrary to the U.S. Constitution?! (See: Anon., "Azınlık Haklarına Darbe" ("Stroke on Minority Rights") (as cited from the "New York Times" of 14.06.1995), Cumhuriyet, 16.06.1995, p.10.)

28. The first Hispanic mayor of the town Pomona (California) (a city of 140,000 (of which 51% is Hispanic), about 60 miles east of Los Angeles), Eddie Cortez, who has been elected in April 1993 local elections as mayor, says the following with regard to "education": "As they become more educated, Hispanics position themselves to move out of their de facto segregation that has served as a sense of security." (See: Daniel B. Wood, "(Mexican-Americans in Southern California (..) Balance Assimilation and Preserving Their Cultural Heritage:) US Hispanics: To Be and Not to Be", The Christian Science Monitor, 21.05.1993, pp.9-10.)

29. Kepel, Allah'ın Batısında(..) op.cit., pp.189-298.

30. Adrian Adams, "Prisoners in Exile: Senegalese Workers in France",(in) Peasants and Proletarians: (..) op.cit. (Eds.: Robin Cohen, Peter C.W. Gutkind and Pyyllis Brazier), New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1979, pp.307-330; and Tahsin Yücel, "Senegal'in Dilleri" ("The Languages of Senegal"), Cumhuriyet, 16.01.1996, p.15.

31. Yılmaz Akyüz, "Ekonomide Liberalleşme ve Sanayileşme: Latin Amerika Deneyimi" ("Economic Liberalization and Industrialization: The Case of Latin America"), Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol.XVIII, No:165, March 1994, pp.10-20; Erkan Tapan, Yeşim Özdil, Zeynep Rüstemoğlu, Arslan Töreyen, "Özelleştirme" ("Privatization"), (in) Türkiye'de Özelleştirme ("Privatization in Turkey") (Ed.:Türk Demokrasi Vakfı), Ankara: Yetkin Basımevi, 1994, pp.49-76; Tevfik Ertüzün, Özelleştirme Belgeseli: Çitosan ve Usaş Davaları (1989-1991) ("Documentary Privatization: Çitosan and Usaş Cases (1989-1991)"), İstanbul:ABC Ajansı Yayınları No:2, November 1993; Şahin Gökçen and et.al., Özelleştirme mi? Tekelleştirme mi? ("Is It Privatization (Or) Monopolization?"), Ankara:Öz Gıda-İş Sendikası Yayını No:2, September 1992; Ruşen Keleş, "Konut Kesiminde Özelleştirmenin Sorunları" ("Problems of Privatization in the Field of Housing"), (in) Kent ve Siyaset Üzerine Yazılar (1975-1992) (Ed.: Ruşen Keleş), İstanbul: IULA-EMME Yayını, 1993 (Ori.1988), pp.170-195; and see for "alternative" policies in different fields (as elaborated by different experts), i.e. for "nationalization" policies suggested: Kaynak Yayınları (Ed.), Özelleştirme Değil: Kamulaştırma ("Not Privatization: Nationalization"), İstanbul:Kaynak Yayınları No:167, October 1995.

32. Cheryl Payer, Borç Tuzağı: IMF ve Üçüncü Dünya ("The Debt Trap: IMF and the Third World") (Trans.:Reşit Ergener), İstanbul: Yalçın Yayınları No:3/8, April 1981; see also her other important book: Cheryl Payer, The World Bank: A Critical Analysis, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1982. See also: Tevfik Ertüzün, Sömürge Ekonomisi ("Colonial Economy"), İstanbul:ABC Ajansı Yayınları No:1, November 1987; Vasili Vahruşev, Yöntemleriyle ve Manevralarıyla Yeni- Sömürgecilik ("Neo-Colonialism With Its Methods and Manoeuvres") (Trans.:Cemil Aslan), İstanbul: Konuk Yayınları, (n.d.), pp.181-363. Alpaslan Işıklı, "Dünya Bankası İmparatorluğu'nda Gazino Kapitalizmi" ("The Casino Capitalism With the Empire of the World Bank"), Cumhuriyet 30/31.07-01.08.1995, pp.12, 10, 10 (respectively); and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Brezilya'da Büyük Başarı!" ("The Great Success in Brasil!"), Cumhuriyet, 01.01.1996, p.9.

33. According to the estimates made, whereas there were spoken some 10 thousand languages on the globe some 15 thousand years ago, today 95% of the whole humanity speaks around 100 languages. And what is more shocking and alarming a very dangerous situation is the fact that only five languages are "controlling", so to say, 50% of the humanity! (See: Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Globalleşme ve Kültürel Soykırım(1)" ("Globalization and Cultural Genocide(1)"), Cumhuriyet, 17.01.1996, p.4.

and (as translated and cited from: "New Scientist" No.2011 by: Sinan Özeren, "Ölüm Döşeğindeki Diller" ("Dying Languages"), Cumhuriyet - Bilim Teknik No.462, 27.01.1996, pp.6/7). Prof.Sinanoğlu who has been a prominent academician since nearly 33 years in the U.S. has claimed that "Great Britain and the U.S. are trying to create a cultural transformation in Turkey by inserting English language education and (thereby) to "colonize" her since more than 40 years"! (See: Leyla Tavşanoğlu, "ABD'de Öğretim Üyeliği Yapan Prof.Oktay Sinanoğlu Uyardı: "Gümrük Birliği, Kapitülasyondan Daha Beter"" ("Prof.Sinanoğlu Has Warned. "The Customs Union is Much More Dangerous Than Capitulations""), Cumhuriyet 16.12.1995, p.7) (See also for the relationship of foreign language education with colonization efforts: Ahmet Kabaklı, Kültür Emperyalizmi (Manevi Sömürgecilik) ("Cultural Imperialism (Moral Colonialism)"), İstanbul: Toker Yayınları (100 Büyük Eser) No.4, 1971, p.169; and Attila İlhan, Aydınlar Savaşı: Attila İlhan'ın Defteri 8 ("The Debate On Intellectuals: The Notebook 8 of Attila İlhan"), İstanbul: Bebekus'un Kitapları No.11, February 1991, esp. pp.63-65, 172-174.)

34. As started to be seen also in Turkey where one now "imports" agricultural products whereas Turkey just until a couple of years ago was a country (from within the 7 countries) "capable of feeding it(/her)self" (see: Anon., "Türkiye'nin Tarım Politikası Tartışıldı: Çiftçi, Siyaset Kurbanı" ("Turkey's Agricultural Policy Discussed: The Farmer is Victim of Politics"), Cumhuriyet, 11.01.1996, p.9; and see also for an early "expert"'s view: Osman Nuri Koçtürk, Açlık Korkusu ("Hunger Fear"), Ankara: Ata Yayınları, April 1970) and where one has already entered into the "debt trap" (mentioned above)right after Mexico which is now ranking as the "first country" in the "debtor countries"' list (with its debt total of US$ 125,2 billion) and in the "tenth rank" (with her debt amounting to US$ 61,7 billion (according to the latest OECD figures as cited by the (German) "Focus" magazine)). At the opposite side of the medaillon, the ranking of the "creditor" countries is as follows: 1-Japan (with a credit (to be returned by the debtors) totalling to US$ 236,8 billion); 2-The U.S. (with US$ 147,4 billion); and 3-Germany (with US$ 106,3 billon)! (See: Anon., "Türkiye Borçlu Ülkeler Listesinde 10. Sırada" ("Turkey Ranks As the Tenth Within the Debtor Countries' List"), Cumhuriyet, 16.01.1996, p.8.)

35. See for an excellent account of the Kreuzberg's "social milieu" consisting of especially (young and delinquent) Turks: Mümtaz Ergün, Kreuzbergliyiz Hepimiz ("We All Are Kreuzbergers"), Ankara: Tuba Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 1986; see also: Karl-Heinz Fiebig, Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm and Eberhard Knödler-Bunte (Eds.), Kreuzberger Mischung: Die innerstaedtische Verflechtung von Architektur, Kultur und Gewerbe, Berlin: Verlag Aesthetik und Kommunikation, 1984.

36. Since the "Americanization of the German cities" (i.e. a process by which the German cities start to display more "poverty increasement"

intensifying "marginalization" as combined with higher and higher "spatial segregation" as it is the case in most American cities) is gaining width, we prefer to use the term "Harlem-ghetto" instead of simply using the "ghetto". (See: Margit Mayer, "Restructuring and Popular Opposition in West German Cities", (in) The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics (Eds.: Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin), Oxford, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989 (1987), (pp.343-363)p.351.)

37. Raci Bademli, "Forms of Housing in Ankara: Segmentation in the Domain of Housing in a Segmented City", (in) Housing and the Urban Poor in the Middle East - Turkey, Egypt, Morocco and Jordan - (Eds.: Ruşen Keleş and Hiromasa Kano), Tokyo: I.D.E. Publication, 1987, pp.44-82.

38. Anon., "Bodrumunuzdaki Zenci: Kapıcılar" ("The Negro at Your Cellar: The Janitors"), İkibin'e Doğru, Year:7, No:1, 03rd January 1993, pp.8-15. The low-middle and middle-income tenants who do form the "largest" customer profile of ("authorized") "apartment blocks" in Turkey are potentially also the main target groups (within this "legal" section of the cities) for UNCHS-HABITAT programmes..(See: Murat Balamir, "Konutlandırma Politikaları ve Hanehalkları Özellikleri Açısından Küçük Konut Üretimi" ("Small Housing Production With Regard to Housing Policies and Households' Characteristics"), (in) Dar Gelirlilere Konut Sempozyumu - 26-27 Mayıs 1986 ODTÜ, Ankara ("Symposium on Housing for Low Income Groups - 26-27th May 1986 METU, Ankara"), Ankara: TÜBİTAK-YAE Yayını No:d5, 1986, (pp.207- 224)p.218; and Murat Balamir, "Konut Sisteminin Bir Diğeri: Küçük Hane Halkları" ("Small Households as An Other"), (Paper submitted to the Workshop on "Housing Question of the Others" Realized Within the Framework of HABITAT II's Preparatory Activities Between 23-25th November 1995 - Bilkent University, Ankara.)

39. Danielson & Keleş, The Politics of Rapid Urbanization(..) op.cit., pp.40-43.

40. Bryan Roberts, Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World, London: Edward Arnold, 1978.

41. Edgar Morin, Avrupa'yı Düşünmek ("Thinking Europe") (Trans.: Şirin Tekeli), İstanbul: AFA Yayınları No:6/68, December 1988, esp.pp.29-30. This method seems to be very close to the one suggested and defined by Akşit as the "one and "spiral" way of European capitalist development also causing underdevelopment (in Third World countries)"; see: Bahattin Akşit, Türkiye'de "Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm" ve Köylere Girişi (""Underdeveloped Capitalism" in Turkey and Its Penetration into Villages"), Ankara: ODTÜ Öğrenci Birliği Yayınları No:1, 1967, p.22.

42. Peter Hall, Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century, Oxford, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990 (1988), pp.362-400 (Ch.12).

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: World Cities.

TABLE **A.1**: *Headquarters location of the world's largest transnational firms, 1984*

City	Metropolitan area population (000s)	Number of firms
1 New York	17,082	59
2 London	11,100	37
3 Tokyo	26,200	34
4 Paris	9,650	26
5 Chicago	7,865	18
6 Essen	5,050	18
7 Osaka	15,900	15
8 Los Angeles	10,519	14
9 Houston	3,109	11
10 Pittsburgh	2,171	10
11 Hamburg	2,250	10
12 Dallas	3,232	9
13 St Louis	2,228	8
14 Detroit	4,315	7
15 Toronto	2,998	7
16 Frankfurt	1,880	7
17 Minneapolis	2,041	7
18 San Francisco	4,920	6
19 Rome	3,115	6
20 Stockholm	1,402	6
21 Turin	1,191	5
22 Hartford, CT	1,020	5
23 Fairfield, CT	100	5
24 Seoul	6,889	4
25 Atlanta	2,196	4
26 Montreal	2,828	3
27 Stuttgart	1,835	3
28 Cologne	1,810	3
29 Cleveland	2,174	3
30 Milan	3,775	3
31 Basel	580	3
32 Eindhoven, Netherlands	374	3
33 Midland, MI	100	3
34 Genoa	830	2
35 Zurich	780	2
36 Akron, OH	606	2
37 Winston-Salem, NC	291	2
38 Peoria, IL	320	2
39 Ashland, KY	100	2
40 Wilmington, DE	100	2
41 Bethlehem, PA	100	2
42 Southfield, MI	100	2
43 Moline, IL	100	2
44 Philadelphia	5,254	2
45 Johannesburg	3,650	2
46 Madrid	4,515	2
47 Melbourne	2,722	2
48 Munich	1,955	2
49 San Diego	1,788	2
50 Cincinnati	1,481	2
51 Rotterdam	1,090	2

Sources: Rand McNally Commercial Atlas & Marketing Guide, Rand McNally & Co.: Chicago, 1986; *Statistical Abstract of the US*, US Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, 1985; *Ward's Business Directory*, vol. 3, Information Access Co.: Belmont, CA, 1985.

Banks are excluded from the data sources. Size is in terms of sales. The population figures listed above are Ranally Metropolitan Areas (RMAs), which include outlying urbanized areas (e.g. suburban towns) around the city giving the area its name.

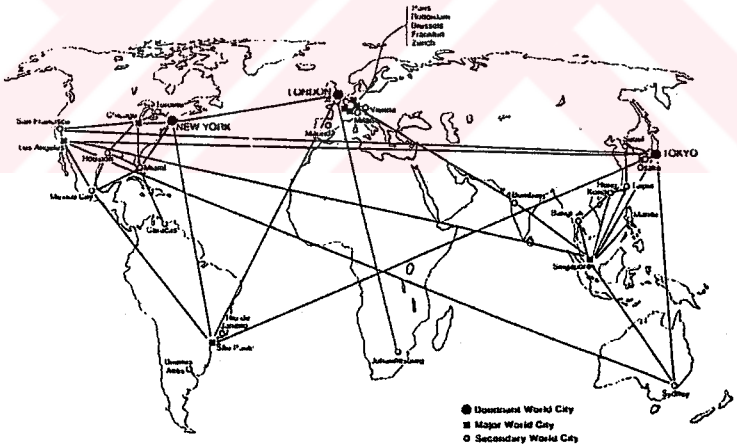


Figure A.1: The System of World Cities

Source: Paul Knox & John Agnew, The Geography of the World Economy, London, New York: Edward Arnold, 1989, p.61 (Fig. 2.18).

Appendix B: Indians of America

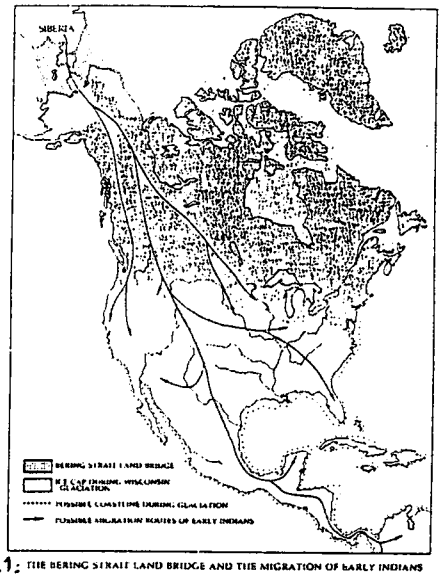


FIG. B. 1: THE BERING STRAIT LAND BRIDGE AND THE MIGRATION OF EARLY INDIANS

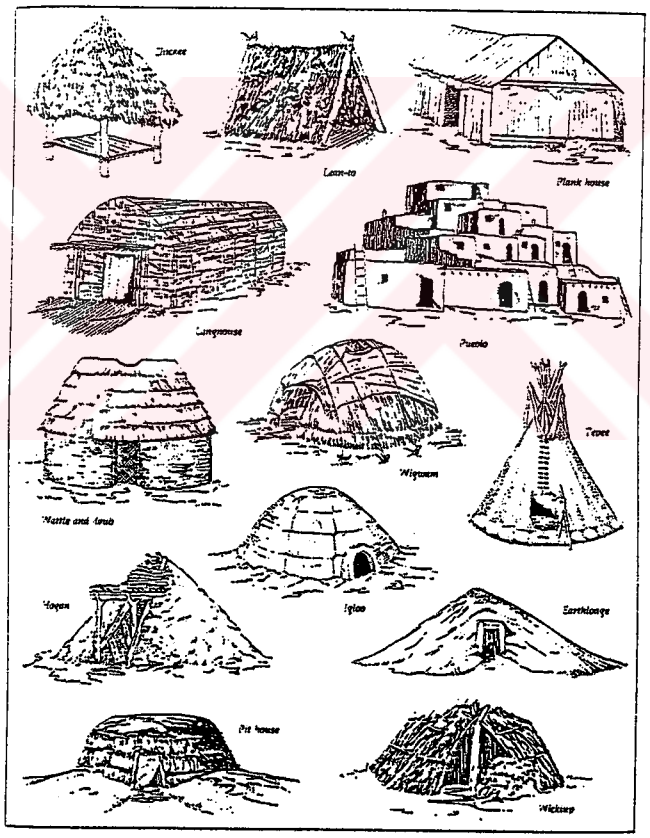


FIG. B. 2: INDIAN LIFEWAYS

Source: Carl Waldman, Atlas of the North American Indian, New York, Oxford: Facts On File Publications, 1985, p.2 (Map 1.1) and p.51.

Appendix C: Early Phases of American Settlement Planning

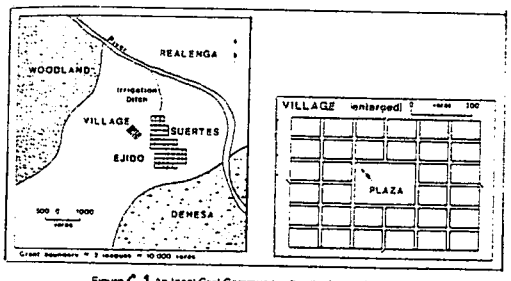


Figure C.1 An Ideal Civil Community after the Laws of the Indies (one vara = approx. 33 inches; one league = 2.6 miles)

(From: Richard L. Nostrand, see below.)

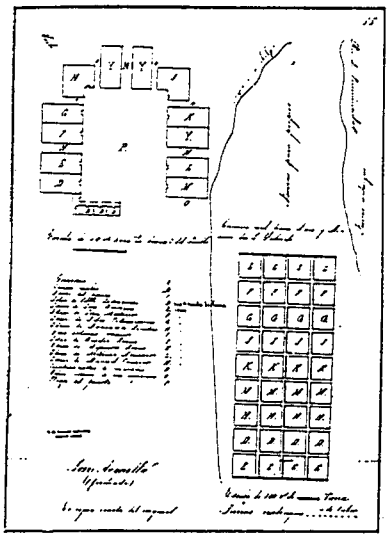


Figure C.2 Plan of Los Angeles, California: 1781

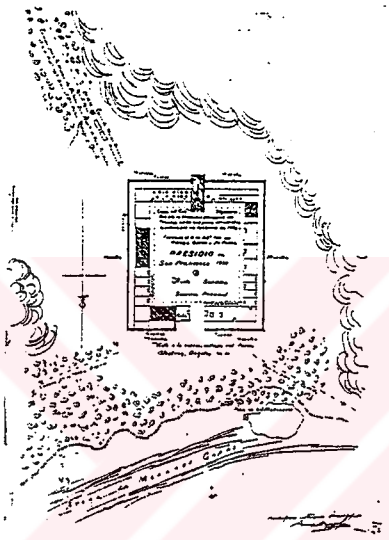


Figure C.3 Plan of the Presidio of San Francisco, California: 1820

Figure C.4 Mission Santa Ines in the Late 19th Century (Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History Department)

Source: John W. Reps, Town Planning in Frontier America, University of Missouri Press, Columbia & London, 1989, pp.42, 44, 45.

Figure C.5 Los Angeles in 1853 (Courtesy Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

Source: Richard L. Nostrand, "The Spanish Borderlands", (in) North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent (Eds.: Robert D.Mitchell & Paul A. Groves), London: Hutchinson, 1987, pp.49, 63.

Appendix D: Urban Settlements in the U.S

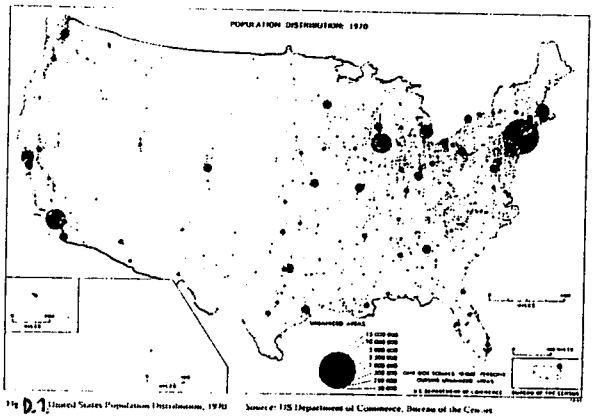


Fig. D.1: United States Population Distribution, 1970 Source: US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

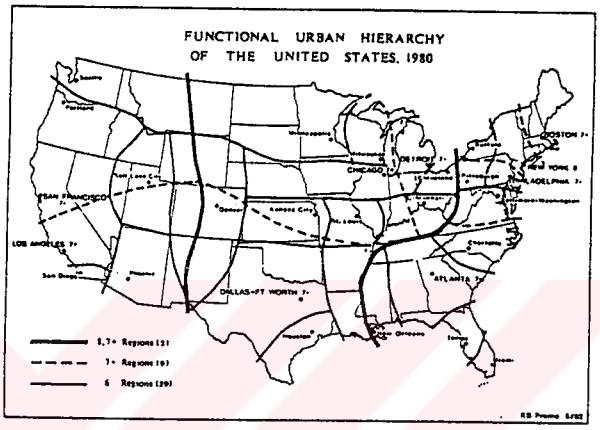


Fig. D.2: Functional Urban Hierarchy of the United States, 1980

Table D.1: *Number of Settlements or Agglomerations (1980)*

Size Class	Number of Settlements	Population	% of US Population	Metropolitan Areas: Number	Metropolitan Areas: Population	Metropolitan Areas: % of US Population
In Urbanized Areas						
Over 10,000,000	1	15,590,000	6.9	1	16 million	7.1
5-10,000,000	2	16,259,000	7.2	3	20	8.8
2,400,000-5,000,000	7	21,418,000	9.5	8	25	11.1
1-2,400,000	19	26,821,000	11.8	23	35	15.5
500,000-1,000,000	23	15,597,000	6.9	40	26	11.5
250,000-500,000	47	16,202,000	7.2	72	24	10.6
100,000-250,000	110	16,339,000	7.2	139	20	8.8
50,000-100,000	160	10,956,000	4.8	28	2.4	1.1
All Urbanized Areas	369	139,182,000	61.4	314	168	74.0
Other Urban Areas						
25,000-50,000	118[a]	3,784,000	1.7			
10,000-25,000	641	9,699,000	4.3			
5,000-10,000	1071	7,438,000	3.3			
2,500-5,000	1992	6,852,000	3.0			
ALL URBAN	4191	166,955,000	73.7			

Rural Places			
Settlements and population according to census statistics			
1,000-2,500	4430[b]	7,021,000	3.1
500-1,000 / 200- 500 / Under 200	9356[c]	3,901,000	1.7
Isolated rural		48,617,000	21.5
Estimated actual numbers of rural settlements[d]			
1,000-2,500	5000	7,500,000	3.3
500-1,000	5000	3,500,000	1.5
200- 500	10000	3,500,000	1.5
Under 200	30,000	3,000,000	1.3
Rural dwellings	14,000,000[e]	42,000,000	18.5

a Probably actually higher (2007), since only agglomerations over 50,000 have been measured by the census bureau.
b Includes some but not all unincorporated places over 1000.
c Incorporated places only.
d Estimates by the author (Morrill) by extrapolation from states which incorporate most places.
e At least half are rural non-farm families within metropolitan areas.

Source: US Bureau of the Census, 1980

Source: R.L. Morrill, R.Sinclair and D.R. Dimartino. "The Settlement System of the United States", (in) Urbanization and Settlement Systems -International Perspectives (Eds.:L.S. Bourne, R.Sinclair and K. Dziewonski). New york: Oxford University Press, 1984, (pp.23-48)p.29 (Table 1.1),. p.32 (Fig.1.2) and p.34 (Fig.1.3).

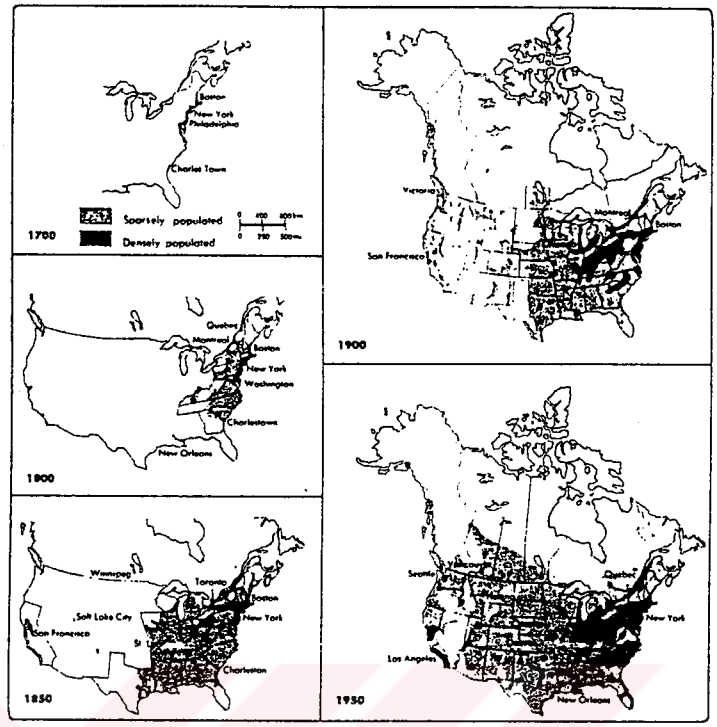


Fig. E.1: Spread of Settlement, United States and Canada, 1700-1950
Source: Thoman, Richard, *The United States and Canada*, Figure 1.2, p. 6.

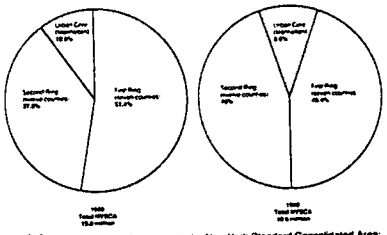


Fig. E.1 Distribution of the Population in the New York Standard Consolidated Area: 1960 and 1980. Source: *Population Abstract of the United States* (Maclean, Va.: Andrat Associates, 1980) and U.S. Bureau of the Census.

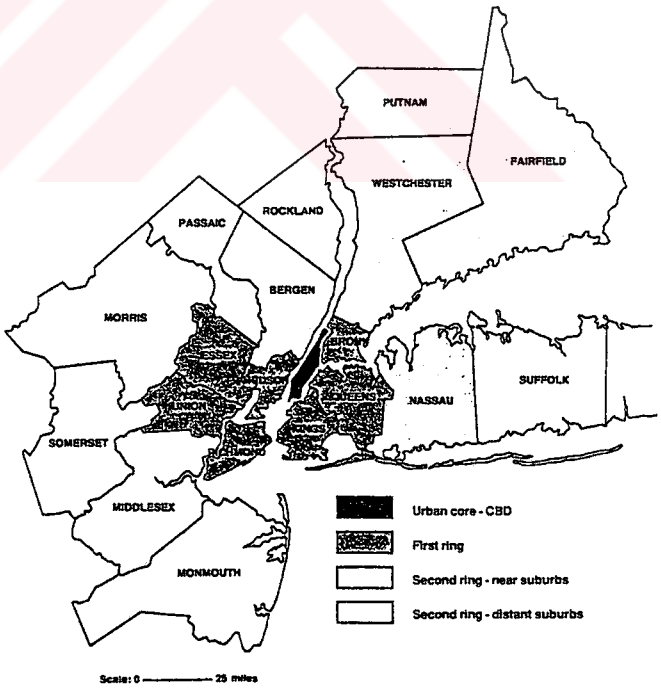


Fig. E.2 The New York Standard Consolidated Area

Table F1: NEW YORK CITY

TOTAL POPULATION

	1970	1980	1985
Number	7,895,900	7,072,000	7,245,000
Average Annual % Change	—	-1.0	0.4

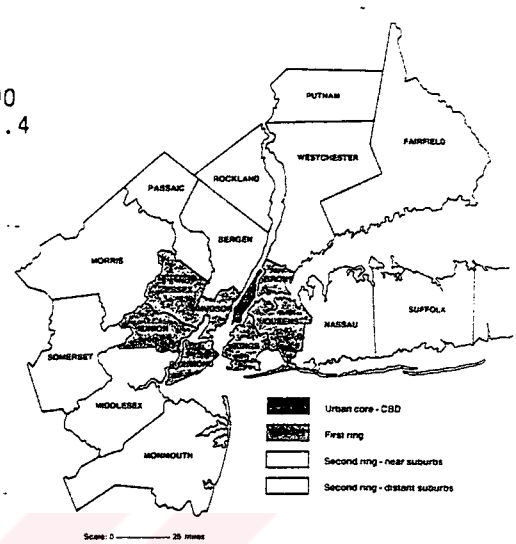


Fig. The New York Standard Consolidated Area

AGE OF POPULATION

	1980	% Change 1980-2000
0-17	1,765,500	-1.3
18-64	4,354,500	-0.1
65-	951,700	+0.1
Total	--	+0.4

INCOME SUPPORT

	1980	1987
Public Assistance (AFDC, Home Relief)	320,793	826,749
Supplemental Security Income	256,547	228,013
Medicaid Only	81,707	142,077
Total Persons Assisted	1,159,047	1,196,839
Percent of Population	16.4	16.5

HOUSING UNITS BY BUILDING TYPE

	1980	1987
1 Family	345,019	347,690
2 Family	437,606	439,726
3+ Family	2,155,226	2,171,509
Total	2,937,851	2,958,925

TOTAL LAND AREA: ACRES 205,951.7
SQ. MILES 321.8

LAND USE, 1987

	Lots	Percent
Residential		
1-2 Family	542,272	60.9
Condominiums	56,385	6.3
Old Law Tenements	10,741	1.2
Walkups	108,156	12.2
Elevator Apartments	11,929	1.3
Industrial	16,487	1.9
Commercial	54,944	6.2
Vacant Land	66,914	7.5
Other	21,916	2.5
Total	889,744	100.0

(Source: The City of New York, Community District Needs - Fiscal Year 1990, New York, October 1988.)

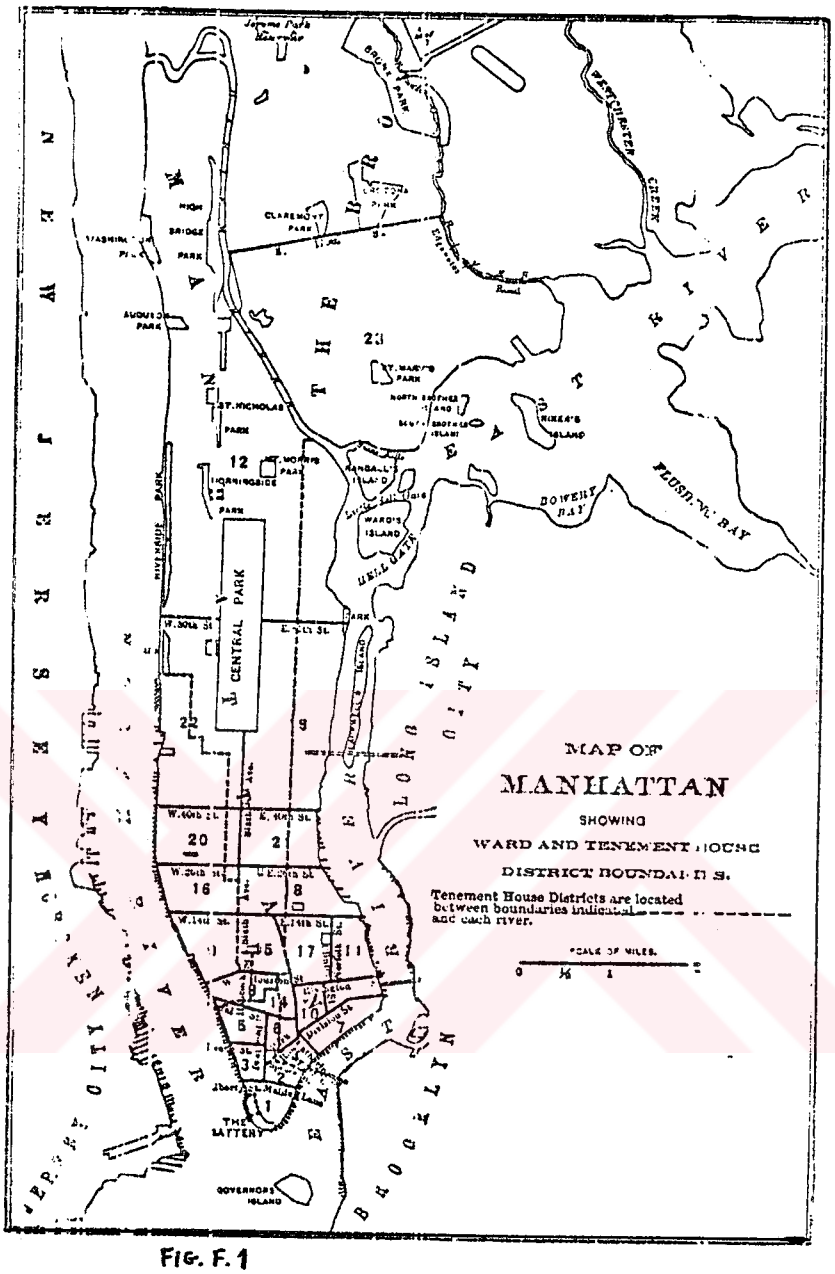


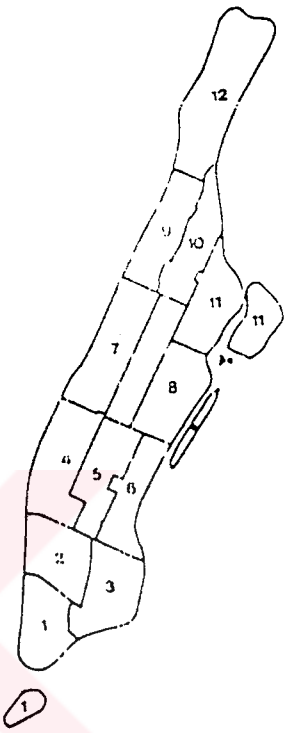
FIG. F.1

(Source: R. Lubove, The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City 1890 - 1917, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 272 (App. IX).)

Table 2: BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

TOTAL POPULATION

	1970	1980	1985
Number	1,532,200	1,428,000	1,475,000
Average Annual % Change	—	-0.9	0.6



AGE OF POPULATION

	1980	% Change 1980-2000
0-17	253,200	+1.1
18-64	970,600	-2.1
65+	204,400	+5.1
Total	—	-0.5

INCOME SUPPORT

	1980	1987
Public Assistance (AFDC, Home Relief)	145,634	163,762
Supplemental Security Income	66,097	51,955
Medicaid Only	16,181	31,992
Total Persons Assisted	227,912	247,709
Percent of Population	16.0	16.8

HOUSING UNITS BY BUILDING TYPE

	1980	1987
1 Family	2,642	2,657
2 Family	3,300	3,263
3+ Family	744,221	777,005
Total	750,163	782,925

TOTAL LAND AREA: ACRES	15,170.3
SQ. MILES	23.7

LAND USE, 1987

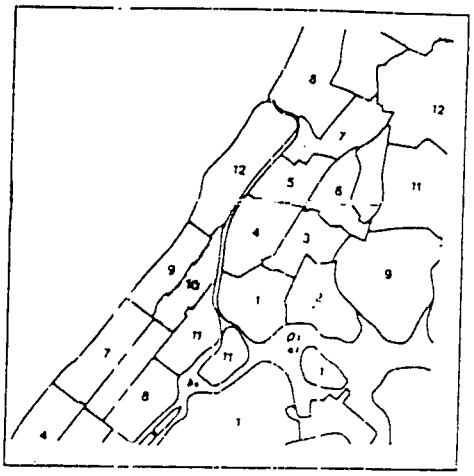
	Lots	Percent
Residential		
1-2 Family	3,111	4.4
Condominiums	23,997	33.7
Old Law Tenements	7,228	10.2
Walkups	11,755	16.5
Elevator Apartments	5,506	7.7
Industrial	4,147	5.8
Commercial	9,135	12.8
Vacant Land	2,948	4.1
Other	3,338	4.7
Total	71,165	100.0

(Source: The City of New York, Community District Needs – Fiscal Year 1990, New York, October 1988.)

Table 3: MANHATTAN COMMUNITY DISTRICT 10

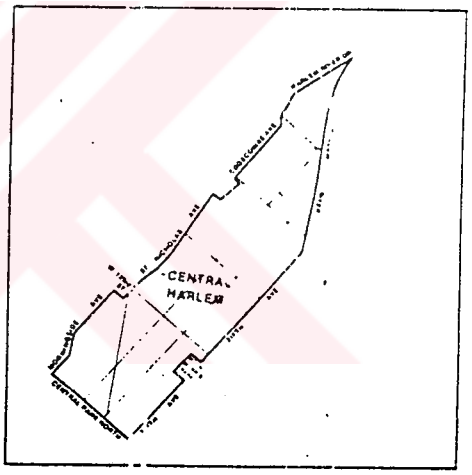
TOTAL POPULATION

	1970	1980	1985
Number	159,300	105,800	111,800
Average Annual % Change	—	-3.3	1.0



AGE OF POPULATION

	1980	% Change 1980-2000
0-17	24,900	-4.9 to +4.9
18-64	63,700	-10.0 & under
65+	17,200	-4.9 to +4.9
Total	—	-2.5 to -9.9



INCOME SUPPORT

	1980	1987
Public Assistance (AFDC, Home Relief)	23,855	26,474
Supplemental Security Income	10,122	6,940
Medicaid Only	1,754	3,089
Total Persons Assisted	35,731	36,503
Percent of Population	33.8	32.7

HOUSING UNITS BY BUILDING TYPE

	1980	1987
1 Family	217	217
2 Family	210	210
3+ Family	55,010	52,680
Total	55,437	53,107

LAND USE, 1987

	Lots	Percent
Residential		
1-2 Family	238	4.7
Condominiums	18	.4
Old Law Tenements	1,084	21.5
Walkups	2,215	44.0
Elevator Apartments	258	5.1
Industrial	40	.8
Commercial	226	4.5
Vacant Land	656	13.0
Other	310	6.1
Total	5,045	100.0

TOTAL LAND AREA: ACRES 899.1
SQ. MILES 1.4

(Source: The City of New York, Community District Needs – Fiscal Year 1990, New York, October 1988.)

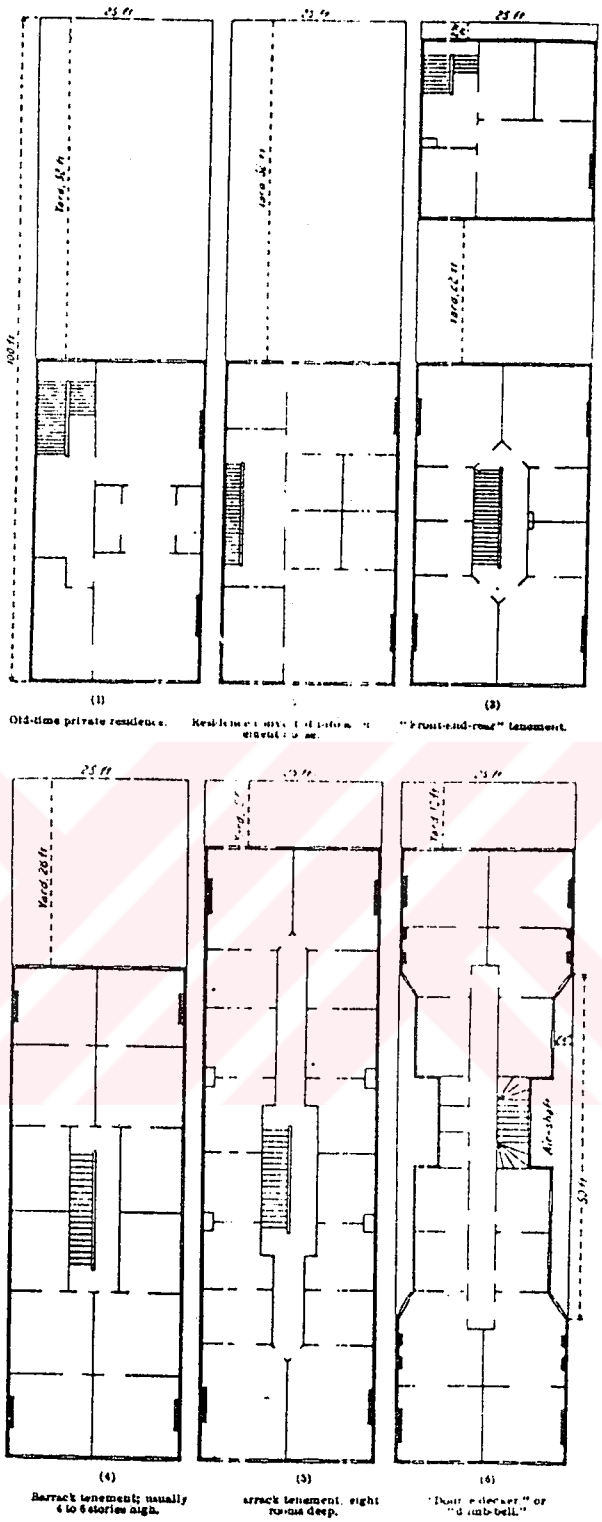


Figure F.2: Increasing lot coverage: New York, 1850–1900

Source: New York City Health Department, *The Tenement House Problem in New York*, 1877.

(Cited in: D. Ward, Poverty, Ethnicity, and the American City, 1840 - 1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 70 (Fig. 3.7).)

Appendix G: San Diego and Mexican Immigration

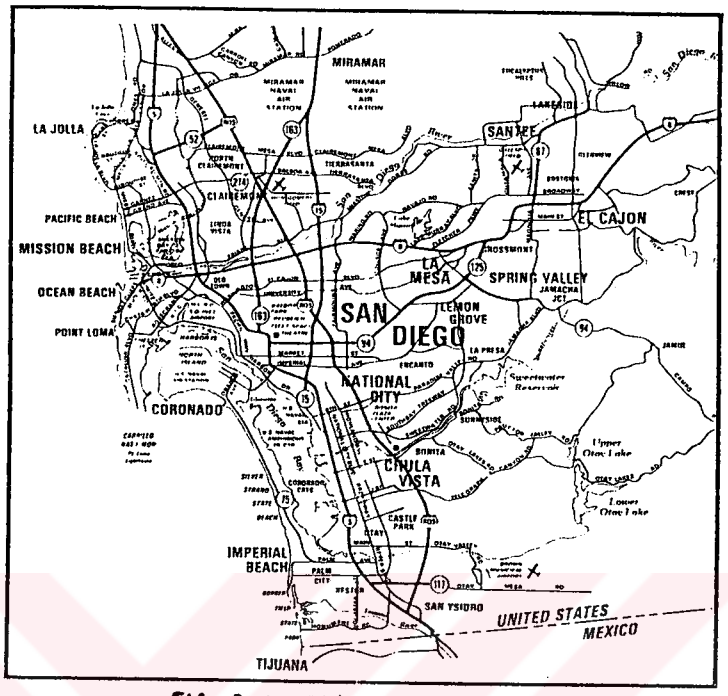


FIG. G.1 : SAN DIEGO

(The Metropolitan City Plan of San Diego Neighbouring to Tijuana.)

TABLE G.1: Mexican Immigration to the United States: 1900–1987

Years	Total Number	Percent of Total	Cumulative Rate	Rate Per Year
1900–1904	2,830	0.1	0	566
1905–1909	28,358	1.1	31,188	5,672
1910–1914	88,358	3.3	119,546	17,671
1915–1919	96,976	3.7	216,522	19,395
1920–1924	255,774	9.6	472,296	51,155
1925–1929	243,171	9.2	715,467	48,634
1930–1934	21,944	0.8	737,411	4,389
1935–1939	10,765	0.4	748,176	2,153
1940–1944	18,258	0.7	766,434	3,652
1945–1949	37,873	1.4	804,307	7,575
1950–1954	69,804	2.6	874,111	13,961
1955–1959	204,061	7.7	1,078,172	40,812
1960–1964	220,423	8.3	1,298,595	44,085
1965–1969	213,689	8.1	1,512,284	42,738
1970–1974	300,339	11.3	1,812,623	60,068
1975–1979	308,610	11.6	2,121,233	61,722
1980–1984	327,690	12.4	2,448,923	65,538
1985–1987	199,961	7.5	2,648,884	39,992
1965–1987	1,350,289	(50.9% of Total Mexican Immigration)		

Source: Grebler, et al, 1970:64; 1987 Statistical Yearbook of the INS

Appendix H: Tijuana

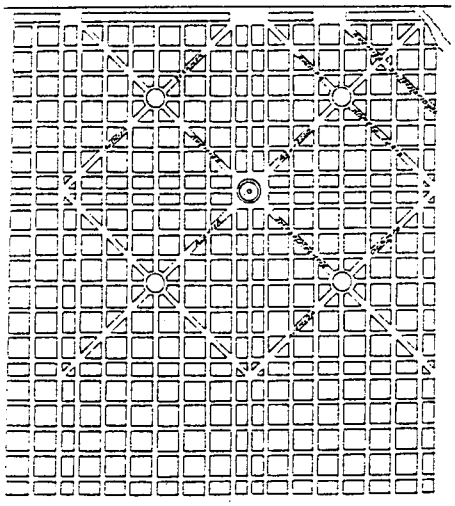
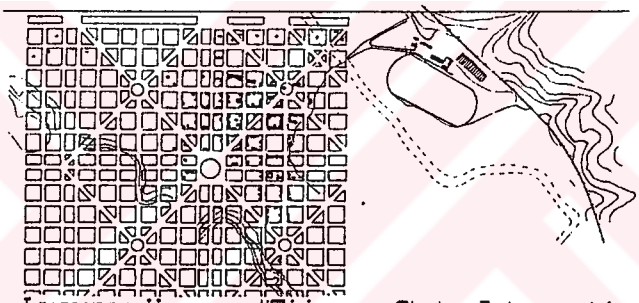


Figure H.1:
Plan of Tijuana, 1889



Source: Lawrence Herzog, "Tijuana: State Intervention and Urban Form in a Mexican Border City", (in) Housing and Land in Urban Mexico (Ed.: Alan Gilbert), San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (Monograph Series, 31), University of California, 1989, (pp.109-133)p.112 (Fig.1) and p.113 (Fig.2).

Figure H.2:
Plan of Tijuana, 1921

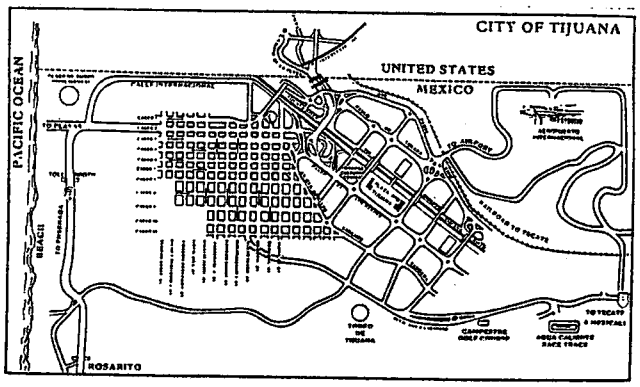
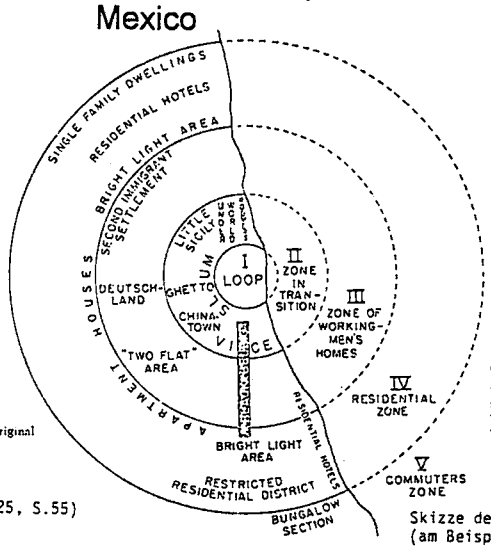


Fig.H.3: Plan of Tijuana, 1990 (not to scale).

Appendix I: Urban Development Forms in the U.S. and Mexico

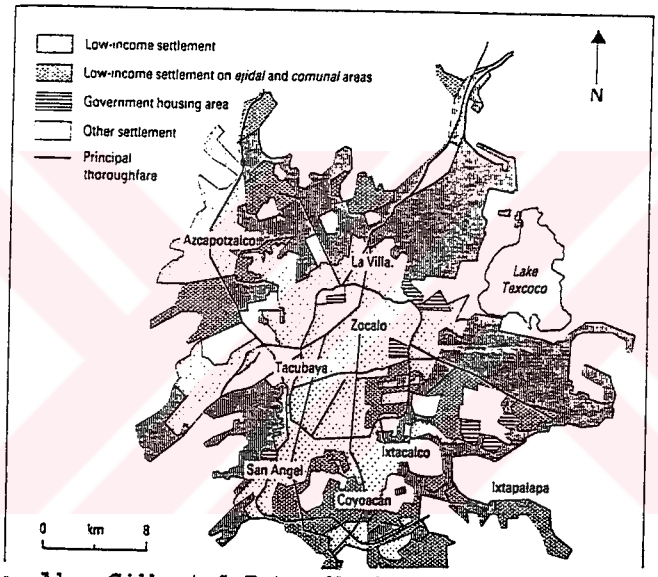


Redrawn from the original

(BURGESS 1925, S.55)

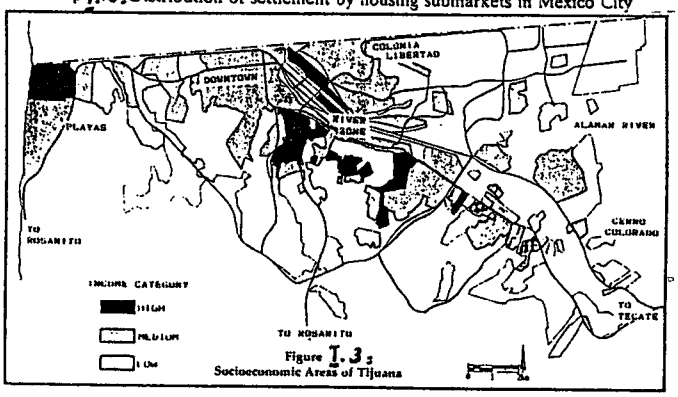
Source: Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977, p.14.

FIG. I.1 : Skizze des BURGESS-Modells: (am Beispiel Chicagos)



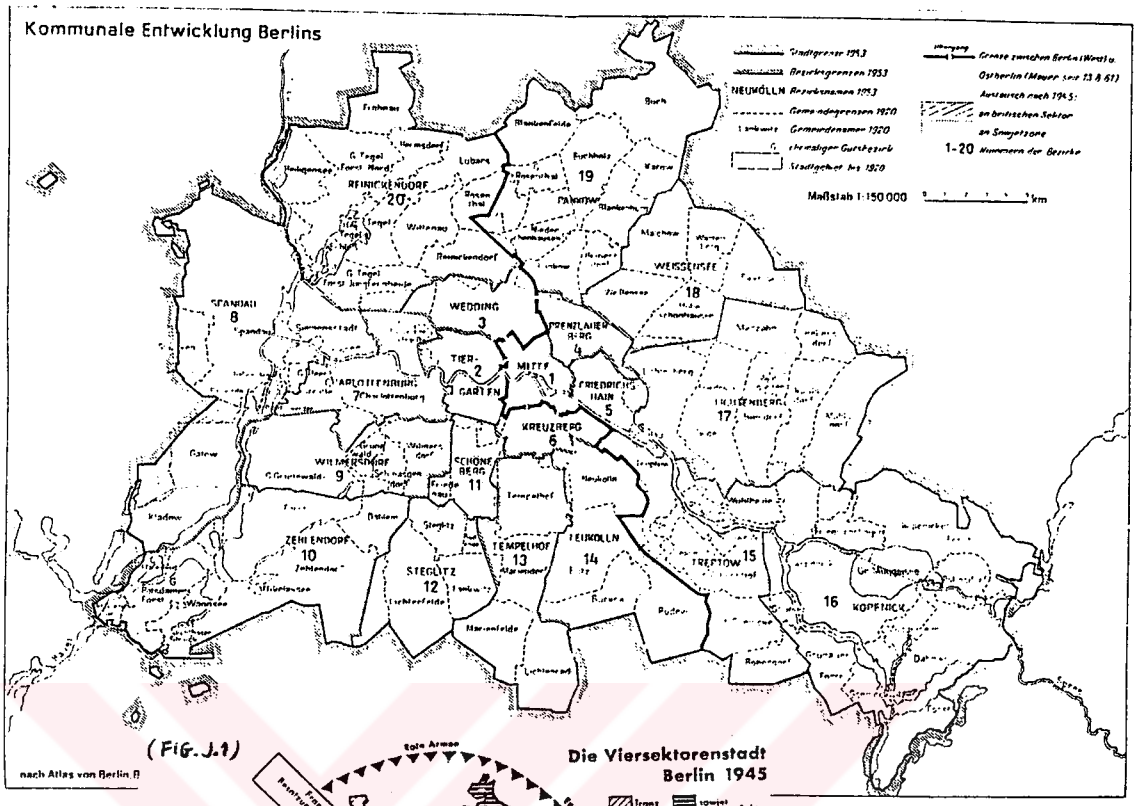
Source: Alan Gilbert & Peter Ward, "Land for the Rich, Land For the Poor", (in) The Urbanization of the Third World (Ed.: Josef Gugler), New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.131 (Map 8.2.).

Map I.2: Distribution of settlement by housing submarkets in Mexico City

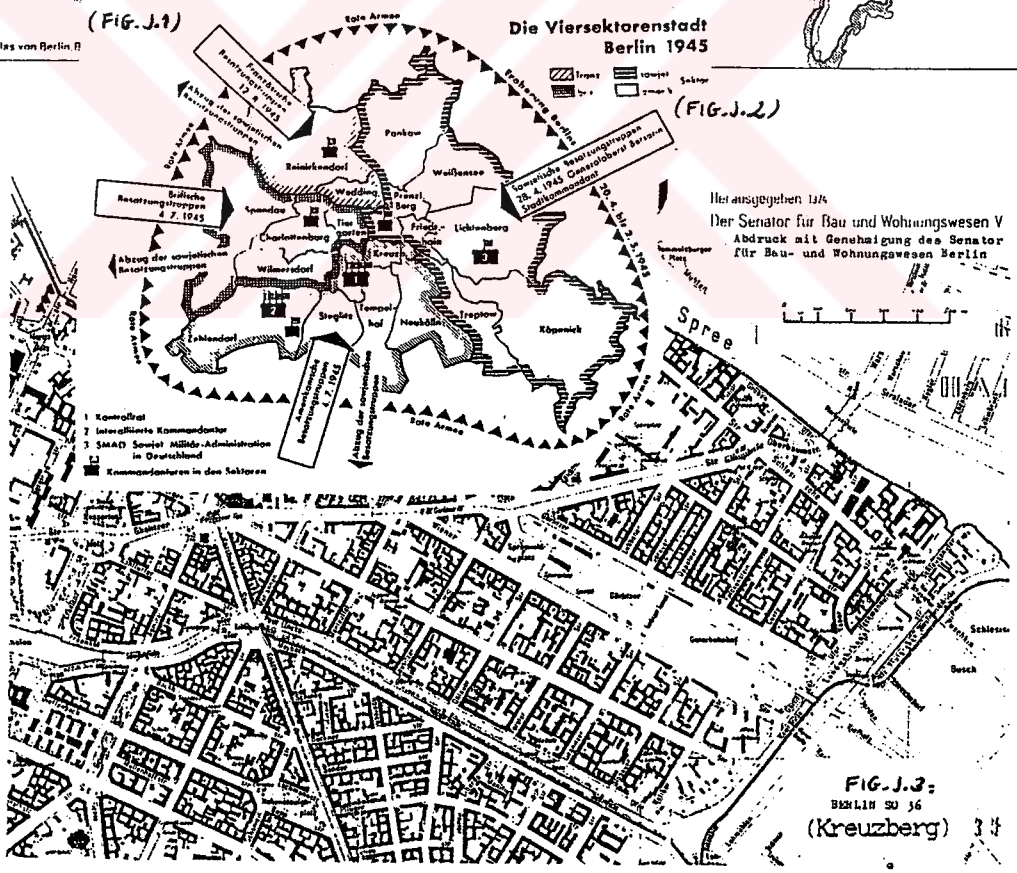


Source: Lawrence Herzog, "Tijuana: State Intervention and Urban Form in a Mexican Border City", (in) Housing and Land in Urban Mexico(..) op.cit., p.123 (Fig.5).

Appendix J: Berlin



(FIG. J.1)



(FIG. J.2)

FIG. J.3:

Source: Jürgen Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Gastarbeiter im Sanierungsgebiet: Das Beispiel Berlin-Kreuzberg, Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1977, pp.174-175.

Appendix K: Strict Socio-Spatial Order in Germany

Fig. K.1: Application For A "Work Permit"

Fig. K.2: Geographical (Intra-City) Mobility Ban in Germany For the Foreigners ("Zuzug in die Bezirke Wedding, Kreuzberg und Tiergarten nicht gestattet".)

Fig. K.3: The Early Application On the Way to A "Residence Permit"

Appendix L: Examples of the Announcements Made in Turkish For the Turkish Inhabitants by Local Authorities in Berlin

Şehir yenilemesi

Yenileştirilmesi kesinleşen bölgeler üzerine bilgiler

Eylül 1985

Yenileştirme bölgesinin resmen kabul edilmesine yol açan nedenler

Yenileştirme bölgeleri:

Tiergarten-Kurfürstenstrasse, Schöneberg-Kolonnenstrasse, Wedding-Exerzierstrasse/Bleseniter Strasse/Stettiner Strasse/Neue Hochstrasse/Schulstrasse/Kolonnestrasse/Spandauer Platz, Kreuzberg-Mariannenplatz-Nord

Oturanlara, mülk sahiplerine ve müteahitlere!

Bundan birkaç yıl önce oturduğumuz bölgelerde Senatonun aldığı karar gereğince araştırmalar yapıyoruz, arasından bölgenizin şehir imarı bakımından kusurlu bulunan yörelerinde yenileştirme çalışmalarının gerekli olup olmadığı konularında bilgi sahibi edilmiştiniz.

Bu amaçla da Kent Yenileştirmesini Teşvik Yasası'nın ikinci adı StBauFG) 4. maddesi gereğince binaların yapısal durumları, kent imarcılığı ve de bölgede yaşayan kişilerin sosyal ve ekonomik durumları özel raporlar tarafından incelenmişti.

Bölgenin yeniden düzenlenmesi ve bu yönde çalışmaların sonucularıyla bir de önen tartışılmıştı. Yapılan incelemeler sonucunda, dinlazanız ve önerilerinizi de göz önüne almarak planlarda gerekli değişiklikler yapılmıştır.

1981 yılı hükümet programında kent yenilemesi çalışmalarında esas olarak "yeni bina yapılmasından önce modernleştirmenin, ondan önce de onarımın geldiği" dile getirilmişti. Bu öncesik sıralaması işğında da planlar üzerinde yeniden gereken değişikliklerin yapılması zorunlu olmuştu.

Alınan tüm bu sonuçlara göre Berlin Senatosu ara nindeki düzensizliğin bir an önce ortadan kaldırılması amacıyla, bu işin uygun bir şekilde yürütülebilmesi amacıyla, bölgemen yenileştirilmesi gereken yerler olmasına karar verdi.

StBauFG'ün 5. maddesine uygun şekilde yenileştirilen yerler, yasalarda belirtildiği şekilde çıkartılarak Gazetede yayınlanarak yürürlüğe girmiştir. Resmi bölgeler üzerine ayrıntılar parlamento raporlarında.

Ana dilinizde yaptığımız bu açıklama ile yenileştirilecek bölgede yaşayan sizlere, bilgi vermeyi gerekli gördüğümüz ilgili konular üzerine açıklamaları ve de yöneticilerin adresinin (Almanca olan) informasyonlarını ilişikte sunuyoruz.

Dostça selamlar

Kuşath

İnşa ve Konut Senatörlüğü
Şehir Yenilemesi İkinci Bölüm Müdürü

Berlin 31, Württembergsche Strasse 6–10

BERLIN

Stadterneuerung

im Sanierungsgebiet
Schöneberg – Bülowstraße
Planungsennnet VI
Block 85

Sayın Hemşerilerim!

Biz, Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen (İnşaat ve Konut Senatörü) ve Bezirksamt Schöneberg (Schöneberg belediyesi), sizlerin oturmuş olduğunuz çevrede şehir yenilemesi ile ilgili, "Şehirciliği Teşvik Yasasının" 9. maddesinin, 1. paragrafın gereğince düzenlenecek açıklama toplantısına davet ederiz.

Açıklama toplantısının amacı siziere blok 85'in yeni düzenleme planlaması ve şehir yenilemesinde iştirak imkanlarınız hakkında bilgi vermektir. Açıklama toplantısına hazırlanabilmeniz için sizlere ilişikteki broşürü gönderiyoruz.

Açıklama toplantısı

8. Aralık 1983, Perşembe günü, saat 19.00'da

"Gemeindehaus der Lutherkirchengemeinde" Bülowstr. 71–72 salonunda düzenlenecektir.

Toplantıya katılacağınıza ümidederiz. Lütfen, ilişikteki enformasyonları beraberinizde getirmenizi rica ederiz.

Der Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen

Der Bezirksstadtrat für Bauwesen

Kreuzberg'in Çöküşü

Kreuzberg'in çöküş nedenleri

Yaşlı ve uzun süre ihmal edilmiş, yoğun yapılanmaya ve kullanmaya uğramış, ayrıca aşırı aşırı kurulu ve işletmeye çeşitliliğinin de zararlarına uğramış bir bloğu da kapsıyor.

- Dünya Savaşının zararları
- Daha önce şehrin merkezinde olan bölgenin 1961 yılında Berlin Duvarı'nın çıkılmasıyla kenarda kalması, bölgeye şehir ve iş merkezlerine bağlayan yolların bölgesindeki dinlenme yerlerine giden yolların kesilmesi
- 50 ve 60'lı yıllarda tüm Berlin'i kapsayan trafik planlaması büyük bir otoyol ağı öngörüyor ve mahallenin güney ve doğu tarafından Lunenstadt'la kesiyordu
- Trafik planlamasının şehir yenileme planları tarafından kıp etti. Otoyolların yıkılıp yerlerine çift katlı yemeci ve eski blokların yıkılıp yerlerine yeni binaların yapılmı öneriliyordu
- İlgi gelecek planları eski evlerin yıkım beklentisi içinde bakımsız bırakılmalarına, kamu ve özel inşaat şirketlerinin de satın almalarının başlattı. Semt sakinlerinin büyük bir kısmı yerlerinden oldu. Gücü olanlar başka bölgelere göç etti. Yaşlı, fakir, ücreti çok uzaklı yabancı gerdik kalıb. Yabancılar geçici süre için kullanan amacıyla bu eski evlere yerleştirdiler
- 70'li yıllarda da sonundan itibaren Kreuzberg'e sahiplenmiş gençler yerleşmeye başladılar. Bu küçük isletmeler, komutlar, bulaşıtlı yerleri ve kültürel aktivitelerin oluşturduğu bir sosyal ağı geliştirdiler.

1981 yılında Federal Almanya ve ve kişiler çeşitlenen sorunlarla Berlin ilçesinin ...

Yıkım ve Yeni Umut

1965 – 1975 "

1. "Kırsal kalıplar" ile benzetmeler

Tam yıkıp yeniden geliştirme

Yeniden geliştirme ilkelerinin kuruluşlarına evleri satın alarak bunlarıyla ... yerleşmeye ... nın için kiralar yerleşmelerin plantanmış alanlarının kenarlarında yapılan büyük yerleşme ... nekleri çok onarılıp tekrar kullanılabilecek konutların yıkılması. Kötülüler Caddesi ndeki köye evin dinamitlenmesinden ... önce

2. İlk kıyım

Protestan kilisesinin şehir yenilemesine ilişkin bildirisi

1970 – 1975

3. Şehrin yeniden inşası

Yeni Kreuzberg Merkezi'nin inşası

4. Bölgeden ayrılmak zorunda bırakılanların ölüm

1972 – 1979

5. Kentin dış görünümünün güzelleştirme ve blok iç kısımlarının yıkımı

Şehrin dış görünümünün korunması. Blok iç kısımlarının yıkılması. Bellı sayıda evlerin yeniş kapsamlı bir biçimde yeni insan sakinlerinin gereksinimlerine göre modernleştirilmeleri

Yeni binalarla eskilerin yerlerinin doldurulmasına çalışmak.

Appendix M: Excerpts From A Periodical ("Ekin") (Dated June/July 1987) Published With Support of the Local Authorities in Kreuzberg/Berlin by Some Turks in Turkish Language

Sayfa 3

'KREUZBERG'Lİ OLMAK'

Zor meslek olda Kreuzberg-lılık

Berlin'i 750 yaşında görmek için akın eden turistler pencerelerimizden bovnunu uzatır. Ne mahallemizle, ne sorunlarımızla, ne de uzaktan yakından politik bilinçle ilgisi olmayan şımarık horozlar kırıp dökme hevesleri gidermek için buraya gelir. Sözüm ona düzeni sağlamak için gönderilen askerimsi polisler kendi halinde halk üzerine gözyaşartıcı bomba yağdırır, insan haklarını hiçe sayar, üstüne üstlük bahçeleri genel helaya çevirir...

1 Mayıs şenliği, veya panik konseri, Reagan'ın 3-4 saatlik ziyareti, veya her ne ise: Her defasında ceremeyi Kreuzberg halkı çekiyor. Polisin vatandaş haklarını hiçe sayması ırmak-arkeen, 12 Haziranda semte giriş-çıkış trafiğinin kesilmesi, otobüs ve trenlerin işlememesi, kendi halinde yayaların itilip kakılıp hüviyet kontroluna tabi tutulmaları tuz biber ekti. Nedir bu mahalle? Bu polis "yerleri"sinin ağzından kaçırdığı gibi, "Almanya nın sınırları dışında bir yer" mi gerçekten? Tülkün girip çıkması yasaklanan bir getto'da mı yaşıyoruz, yoksa Beyrut'un kuşatmaya alınmış bir mütteefi kampında mı? Insana aklına, Kreuzberg çevresine ne zaman duvar örülecek diye sormak geliyor.

Semt belediye başkanının haberi yokmuş trafiğin kesildiğinden. Okulara okullara 12 Haziranda erken payıdos etmeleri için talimat veren eğitim sendikası, belediye başkanına haber vermeyi unutmuş olabilir. İnsanlık hali. İlgililerin ne şaşırdıkın aşkın, ilgilenmiyorlar bizim mahallelerle. Ne yapacağız? Biz ilgilenecağız. Zor meslek.

Zor mur. Burada yaşamaz olda diyenleri duyuyor, tek tak gençlerlere tank oluyoruz. Ama bir mahalle toptan göç edemez, nereye edecek? Bu diyardan gitmek yok, o halde gideceğiz bu devleyi Kreuzberg'imiz, renkli basın için sansasyon kaynağı, kibar semtlerde oturup hükumet edenler için ne sıkıştırılması gereken cansıkıcı bir yuva olabilir. Uniformalı ve uniformasız horozlar burayı kendilerine doğuş yoğluğu yapmak isteyebilir. Bütün bunlara izin vermemek bize düşer. Zor meslek.

İzin vermeyelim ya, nasıl yapalım bu işi? Kendi "güvenlik örgütü"mü mü kuralım? Bunu önerenler, o işin yaka olmadığım aklda tutmalı. Kreuzberglılık zor meslek derken, daha zorunu beceriyoruz sonra. Ama başka bir iş gelir elimizden. Mahalleye karşıgalık çıkarmaya gelenlere, semt yaşamına birer parçası olan küçük dükkanlara ve hepimize yararlı kurumlara zarar verenlere, başka çoğulukte olmaları gerektiğini, anlayılır bir dille söyle nek. Eğer söylemeyecek olursak, çocuklarımız yarın onlara özenecektir. Başladılar bile bunu.

Zor meslek, ama, Kreuzberg'i manevra sahası yapan uniformalılara da yetkililerin nerede sona erdiğini hatırlatmak gerek. Birbirimizden haberdar olarak, Alman komşularımıza elele vereceğiz. Haklarımız çiğnendiğinde bunu belgeleyip kamuoyuna duyurarak, hesap sorarak.

Onyıllardır Kreuzberg'i bir yuva iten yönetim, bu ihmalin faturasını ödemek istemiyor. Genleyen ekonomik faaliyet, yarısından fazlası işsiz gençlik, bu faturanın birbirini tamamlayan parçaları. Polis zorbalığı mahalleliye sindirip bu faturadan tenzilat yaptırmak istiyor. Faturayı ödeyecek mi yukarıdakiler, ödemeyecek mi, belirsiz. Tekrar tekrar istemek bizim görevimiz. Ödemeyen kişini bizim üzerimize yıkılacak çünkü. Şu veya bu şekilde biz ödeyecek, çöken deveyi biz ayağa kaldıracağız. Öyle veya böyle: Deveye sahip çıkmak gerek.

Kolay veya zor: Kreuzberg'li olmuşuz artık bir kere, sahip çıkacağız. Herşeyden önce bunu görmeli

* Kreuzberg, [illegible] senatörü sor[illegible] şıkıren, Kreu[illegible] araştırıyor. B[illegible] komisyonu, tartışmada üçüncü kez SO 36 Semt Komisyonu ve Göçmenler Komisyonuyla ortak toplantı yaptı. »Sayfa 4 ve devamı

* Oranienstraße 14'te Türk-Alman Kültür ve Buluşma Evi'ne yeşil ışık yandı. »Sayfa 9

* Berlin Parlamentosundaki ilk "yabancı" Sevim Çelebi, Türkiye'deki eşlerin getirilmesinde kolaylık sağlama çabasında. »Sayfa 14

* 750. yıl şenliklerinde "Berlin'de Turk Kulturü" programında yüzumuzü ağartan ve karartanlar: Ayhan Bakırdoğen ve İlhan Tomanbay'ın izlenimleri »Sayfa 16 ve devamı

* Video. "Asıye Nasıl Kurtulur?" ekranlarda. »Sayfa 21

Kreuzberg'in 12 haziranda abluka altına alınması ve kamu ulaşım araçlarının çalışmaması yüzünden birçok kişi işine gidemedi ve kayba uğradı.

Kayba uğrayan kimseler tek başlarına hareket eder, avukat tutarlarsa sonuç alma şanslarının fazla olmayacağı bildiriliyor. Daha iyisi topluca başvuruda bulunmak.

Bu yüzden 12 haziran günü öğleden sonra işinden kalan ve zarara uğrayanların, kiracı danışmanlıklarına veya KOTTİ Komşuluk Birliğine başvurmaları ve başvuru sırasında uğradıkları zararı gösterir belgeleri de birlikte getirmeleri isteniyor.

Inhaltsangabe

3) Kommentar: Kreuzberger sein wird schwer 4) SO 36: Ereignisse der letzten Woche. Polizeipräsenz, Sperrung, Verkehrssperrung zur Jugendarbeitslosigkeit 8) EK: gemeinsame Sitzung mit dem Stadtteil- und Immigrantenausschuß 9) EK: Grünes Licht für das Projekt Ora 34 10) EK: Kommunikationsprobleme bei der Moritzplatzplanung- Eigentümerabhängige Sozialplanung an der Wissestorstr.? 12) Ausstellung unter dem Schlesischen Tor 13) Mietprozessbindung: Abstimmungsergebnisse, Gesetz vor Verabschiedung 14) 15) Berichte und Nachrichten zu Vietnam für nachzuholende Ehegatten, Volksabstimmung, Bewährungsentwicklung bei Ausländern, Kriminalität unter ausländischen Jugendlichen etc. 16ff) Türkische Kulturaktivitäten unter- und außerhalb der 750-Jahr-Feier 19) Buchbesprechung 20) Ernährung im Arbeiterleben 21) Video, Film des Monats 22) 24) Sport

Änderungen vorbehalten

KAZA MI OLDU?
AYDIN ARABA HASAR Tesbit Büroları
Merkez Büro: Kreuzberg/Heukölln Sanderstr.20 Berlin 44 Tel.: 6249284
U-Bahn Kottbusser Damm yakınında Büro: Wedding/Moabit Tel.: 4623096
Luxemburger Str.30, 1 Berlin 65
U-Bahn Leopoldplatz

BeWeGe [illegible] Waldemarstr 87-94 ☎ 6144060
Pazartesi 9.00-14.00, Perşembe 14.00-17.00 arası
Gesa [illegible] Mariannenstr 8 ☎ 6531 94
Pazartesi ve Perşembe 10.00-12.00, Çarşamba 16.00-19.00 arası
GSO [illegible] Dresdener Str 20 ☎ 6143077
Pazartesi ve Cuma 10.00-12.00, Çarşamba 16.00-18.00 arası
GSW [illegible] Naunynstr 73 ☎ 6143011
Pazartesi 10.00-12.00, Çarşamba 16.00-18.00 arası
GSW (Yıkık binalar için) [illegible] Kottbusser Str 11 ☎ 6146023
Çarşamba 16.00-18.00 arası
Stattbau [illegible] Naunynstr 68 ☎ 6142030
Randevu alarak veya Salı 14.00-17.00, Perşembe 10.00-14.00 arası
KİRACI DANIŞMANLIKLARI
Mieterladen [illegible] Dresdener Str 12 ☎ 6143053 • 6145017
Pazartesiden Cumaya 16.00-18.00 a kadar (Perşembeleri avukatlar)
Mieterrat [illegible] Wiedenerstr 29 ☎ 651252
Pazartesiden Cumaya 14.00-18.00 arası (Perşembe 18.00-20.00 avukatlar)
Mieterrat Block 100,77,97 [illegible] Mariannenstr 50 ☎ 6183152
Çarşamba 18.00-20.00 arası
SPAS - Mieterberatung [illegible] Luckauer Str 2 ☎ 654336 • 654337
Salı 17.00-19.00 Perşembe 10.00-13.00 arası
Mieterrat Luckauer Straße [illegible] Luckauer Str 14 ☎ 6149786
Perşembe 18.00-19.00 arası
Mietergruppe Mariannenplatz Nord [illegible] Mariannenplatz 20
Salı 16.00-19.00, Perşembe 10.00-12.00 arası
VEREIN SO 36 [illegible] Wrangelstr 40 ☎ 6126030 • Wiener Str 25 ☎ 6113085
Güney Kreuzberg Yeniden Bölgesi (SKS)
Kiracı temsilcisi Horst SCHATTNER [illegible] Kottbusser Str 42 ☎ 6148032
DİĞER DANIŞMA KURULUŞLARI
KOTTİ (Kottbusser Tor Komşuluk Birliği) Dresdener Str 17
Pazartesi ve Perşembe 16.00-18.00
TUWAT (Komşuluk Derneği) [illegible] Mittenwalder Str 6 ☎ 6937107
Pazartesi 18-19.30 kıra, Perşembe 19-20.30 avukat, Cuma 16-18 sosyal ve iş sorunları
Otur ve Yaşa [illegible] Wrangelstr 49 ☎ 6124123
JU-DROG [illegible] Skalitzer Str 50 ☎ 6118042
(Uyuşturucu madde kullananlar ve ailesi için danışma merkezi)
KREUZWERK (Meslek kursları) [illegible] Gneisenau Str 40 ☎ 6182018

Schöneberg
Halk Köşesi [illegible] Erdmannstr 7, 1 Berlin 62 ☎ 7813021
Perşembe 13.00-15.00, 16.30-18.30, Salı 12.00-14.00, Cuma 16.00-18.00
Treffpunkt Langer Erdmann [illegible] Langenscheidtstr 6 ☎ 7813021
SPAS [illegible] Crellestr 25 ☎ 7828446 • 7828364
Salı ve Çarşamba 15.00-18.00, Cuma 11.00-13.00 arası

Wedding
BfsS [illegible] Perşembe 16.00-19.00 arası [illegible] Buttmannstr 6 ☎ 4652093
Salı 17.00-19.00 arası [illegible] Müllerstr 155 ☎ 4622041

Charlottenburg
BTT (Eşit Haklar İçin Batı Berlin Türk Topluluğu) Seelingstr.32, Berlin 19
Pazartesiden Cumartesiye 14.30-18.30 arası ☎ 321 1000

IMPRESSUM
EKİN [illegible]
Verantwortlich im [illegible] Ali Ortaç, [illegible]
Sorumlusu ve yazışma adresi
Mitarbeiter dieser Ausgabe [illegible] A. Ortaç, I. Tomanbay
Bu sayıya yazanlar A. Bandoğan, C. Kara, M. Koç, A. Ortaç, İ. Tomanbay
Druck Contrast Druck, Hauptstr 159, 1 Berlin 62

'ABLUKADA BİR SEMT'

Polisin semt çevresine kurduğu kordonu -yaya olarak- geçmek isteyenler yeşil üniformalı turistlerin alayı ve kına davranışlarıyla karşılaştılar. "Nereye böyle bakalım, ha?" "Hey, gel buraya, göster bakalım hüviyetini!" Bir ara SPD başkanı Momper'in görüldüğü yerlerde polis garip bir biçimde kibarlaşıyordu: "Lütfen yolu boşaltır mısınız?" "Lütfen buradan ileriye gitmeyiniz!" Milletvekili ortalıktan kayboluv olmaz tavırlar değişiyor, itip kakmalar başlıyordu yine.

Kadın-erkek, genç-yaşlı demeden bütün halkın karşılaştığı bu davranışlar, "şüpheli" görünüşe sahip kişilere karşı daha da sertleşiyordu. Motosikletliler araçlarından inmeye ve miğferlerini çıkarmaya zorlanıyor, sakallı-bıyıklı veya deri ceket giymiş kim varsa hüviyet kontrolüna tabi tutuluyor. Kottbusser köprüsü üzerinde hüviyet kontrolü yüzünden uzun kuyruklar oluşuyordu.

Kamu ulaşımı durdu

Öğle saatlerinden itibaren Hallesches Tor'dan öteye otobüs işlemediği anlaşıldı. Kreuzberg'e gelen metro hatları da kesilmişti. Otobüs işletmesi, telefonla gelen sorulara "1 ve 8 numaralı metro hatlarında teknik arıza olduğu" açıklamasını yapıyor, daha sonra hatların kesilmesinin "yüksek yerden" gelen emir üzerine olduğunu itiraf etmek zorunda kalıyordu. Prinzenstraße ötesine taksiyle bile geçilemiyordu.

Karşaşalık noksansızdı. İnsanlar işlerine gidemiyor, mütevazı kazançlarından oluyor, okul çocukları evlerine dönemiyor, ne yapacaklarını şaşırıyor, veliler merak ve telaş içinde kalıyorlardı. "Hüviyet kontrol kuyruğuna takıldım, geç kalıyorum" diye eve telefon eden bir çocuğa "beni kandırmaya çalışma" diye çıkışan büyükanne, tarif edilen yere geldiğinde duruma bizzat tanık oluyordu.

Birçok kişi, kilometrelerce yolu yaya olarak katetmek zorunda kaldı. Ertesi günlerde gençlik senatörü Bayan Schmalz - Jacobsen bile şöyle konuşuyordu: "Gleisdreieck ötesinde kamu taşıtlarıyla yolculuk etmek isteyenler neye uğradıklarını anlayamadılar. Gençler için bu o kadar büyük bir zorluk değildi. Ama alışverişten dönen anneler ve yaşlı kimseler çok güçlük çekti. Batı Almanya'dan Berlin'e ziyarete gelen 70 yaşında bir bayan, kendisini savaşta cepheyi ziyaret ediyor sandı."

"Burası Almanya değil"

Ortada bir neden olmaksızın 150.000 nüfuslu bir semti kuşatmak üzere toplanan "yerli" ve "ithal malı" polisler, yabancı bir ülkeyi işgal etmiş gibi idler. Evlere, balkonlara, kendi halinde yayalara gözyaşartıcı gaz bombaları atıldı. Bir defasında, "boşa giden" iki gaz bombasından sonra üçüncü hedefini bulunca, polislerin sevinçle birbirlerini tebrike giriştikleri görüldü.

Birçok yerde halk polislerle tartışmaya girdi, "önlem"lerin haksızlığını ve anlamsızlığını dile getirmeye çalıştı. Kimi polis yetkilisi "Şey, öyle mi, gaz bombası atılan binada yaşlı insanların oturduğunu bilmiyordu, bilemezdik, zaten şimdi vaktim yok," deyip ortalıktan kayboluverdi. İki saat geçmeden ayrı yere yine yağıyordu gaz bombaları. Bir diğer polis yetkili "Sizin o rahatlarda bahçeye işemek adetten midir? Memurlarımız ortalığı batırdı," şikayetini "Ne olacak, burası Almanya'dan sayılmaz ki," diye cevap verebildi.

Yetkililer hesap vermeli

Appendix N: Some Very Popular Professions For Turks in Germany

BZ Immobilien

BERLIN-OBJEKTE

Baugrundstücke Wohn-/Geschäftshäuser

Becker Vermögensanlagen

Büroräume

Ladenlokal · 2-ZL-Wohnung

Geschäftsverbindungen

HörZU Auf allen Seiten volles Programm

Figure N.1: Announcements of Turkish "Business-Women" Performing the "Oldest Profession" in "Berliner Zeitung" (of 06.07.1991. p.29).

Figure N.2: "Living Together", However Only in Football?

Appendix O: Police Records of An (Racist) Attack By A German Youngster to the Thesis Writer Happened As Early As 21.09.1987!

STRAFANZEIGE

Aufnehmende Dienststelle/lfd. Nr.
6. Polizeirevier
Polizeidirektion Hannover
EBl.-Nr.: 2109871150

lfd. Nr. der sachbearbeitenden Dienststelle

Sachbearb. Dienststelle

Anzeigerstattung XXX Aktenzeichen/Bemerkungen
EDV 1 — gefertigt, Speicherung veranlaßt / gefertigt zur Ergänzung am Vorgang belassen / noch nicht gefertigt

Pol. Dienst. Stunde der Anzeigenerstattung
Hannover, 21.09.87, 11.50 Uhr

Name Unterschrift des zuletzt Eingetragenen Beamten
Kilian/ Kilian, PM

GESCHÄDIGTER (Zahl weiterer Geschädigter)
Beruf: Stadtplaner
Staatsangehörigkeit: XXXXXXXXX
Name/Geburtsname: Bostanoglu
Vorname(n): türkisch
Geb. Tag und Ort: Özer
24.08.55 in Konja/
Anschrift/Wohnort: Olbersstr. 4
3 Hannover
Tel. 1682511

ANZEIGEERSTATTER / oder 2. GESCHÄDIGTER

STRAFTAT: Körperverletzung
§§ 223 StGB

Ich stelle STRAFANTRAG / Ich stelle KEINEN STRAFANTRAG — Datum — Unterschrift des/der Anzeigeerstatters

TATZEITPUNKT oder TATZEITRAUM
Bo 20.09.87 16.00 bis

TATORT
3 Hannover 81, Hildesheimer Str.

ANREISEWEGE

TÄTÖRLICHKEIT
Stadtbahnlinie 1

BEVORZUGTES/ERLANGTES GUT

SCHADENSHÖHE DM

SPURENSICHE

BESCHULDIGTER (Erw./Heranw./Jugendl./Kind)

DEWAFFNUNG — aufgefunden / gefunden / benutzt / nicht aufgefunden benutzt

TATAUSFÜHRUNG — unter Alkoholeinfluß / unter Drogeneinfluß

Zahl der folgenden Beschuldigten | Täter unbekannt, aber beschrieben | Beschuldigte(r) später festgestellt

PD 164

2./3. GESCHÄDIGTER / oder 2. BESCHULDIGTER (Erw./Heranw./Jugendl./Kind)

DEWAFFNUNG — aufgefunden / gefunden / benutzt / nicht aufgefunden benutzt

TATAUSFÜHRUNG — unter Alkoholeinfluß / unter Drogeneinfluß

GESETZLICHER VERTRETER (Vormund)

DATEN BEI VERKEHRSSTRAFTATEN

BEI STRAFTATEN UNTER VERWENDUNG VON FAHRZEUGEN

WEITERER SACHVERHALT

Zur Tatzeit bestieg ich an der Ustra-Haltestelle Peiner Str. die Stadtbahn. Ich setzte mich auf den hinteren Sitz des Beiwagens. Auf einem der vorderen Sitze saß ein junger Mann, der spätere Täter. Ich habe aus dem Fenster geschaut. Plötzlich stand der Mann vor mir und schlug mir mit der rechten Faust auf den Mund.
An der nächsten Haltestelle ist der Mann ausgestiegen (Haltestelle Fiedeler Platz). Ich bin ebenfalls ausgestiegen und habe den Mann bis zur Salzburger Str. verfolgt. Dort ist er zwischen 2 Wohnblöcken verschwunden. Die Wohnblöcke befinden sich zwischen Klagenfurter und Innsbrucker Str.
Den Mann kann ich wie folgt beschreiben, ca. 25 Jahre alt, ca. 180 cm groß, helle Augen, nackenlanges braunes Haar, kurzer Vollbart. Bekleidet mit einer Jeans und einem grauen oder blauen Pullover.

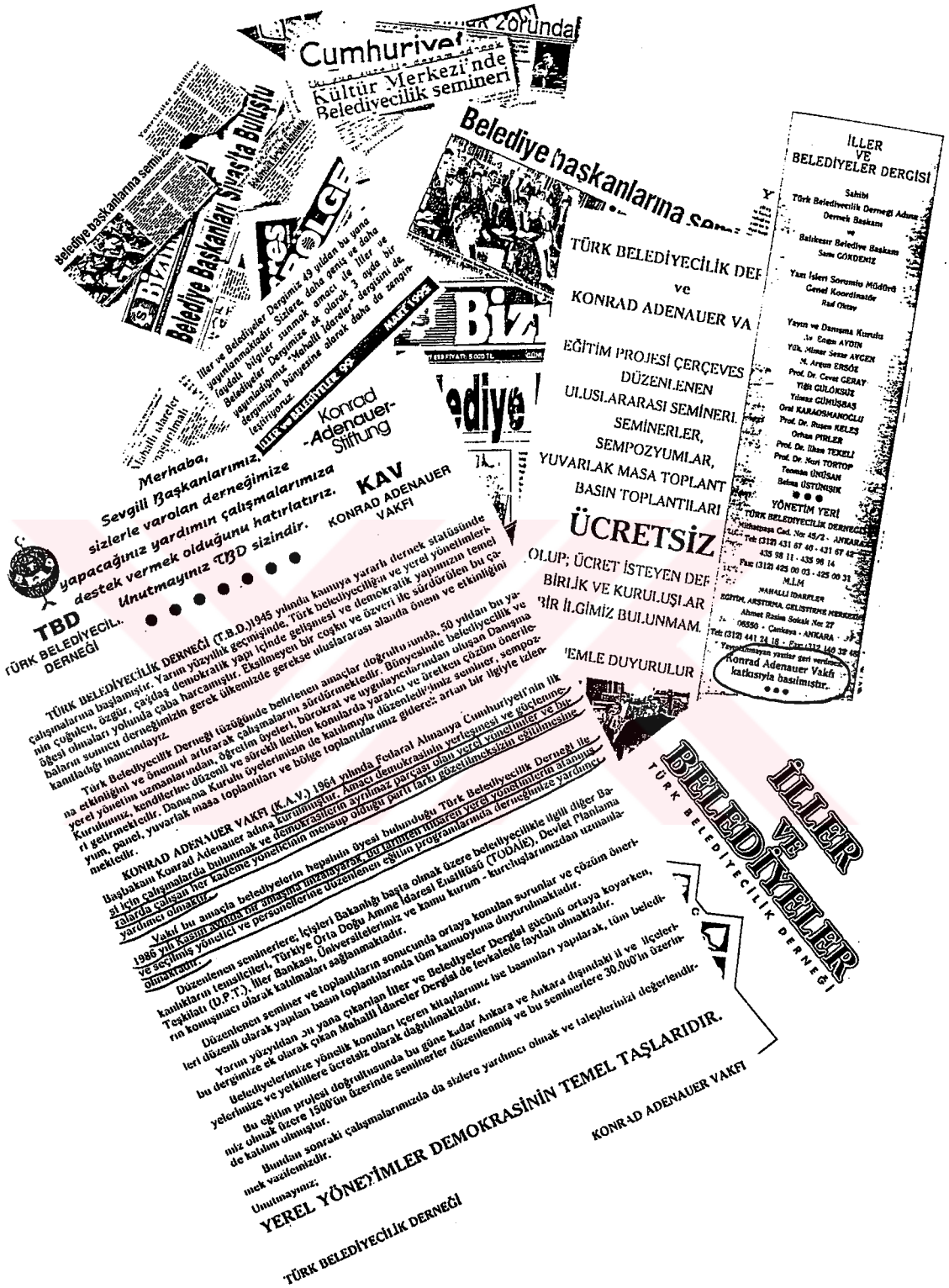
Einen Arzt werde ich nicht aufsuchen, weil ich nicht ernsthaft verletzt wurde.
Ich stelle hiermit Strafantrag gegen unbekannt.

Weitere Angaben zur Sache kann ich nicht machen.

Geschlossen: Kilian/Kilian, PM

selbst gelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben:

Appendix P: Some of the KAS' Activities in Turkey



Appendix Q: Questionnaire to be Given to Turkish Workers Living in W.Berlin (in Turkish)

Özer BOSTANOĞLU Berlin,08-07-1991.

BERLİN'DE YAŞAYAN TÜRK İŞÇİLERİNE VERİLECEK ANKET:

1-Anket numarası:

2-Görüşme tarihi:

3-Görüşme yapılan kişinin adı-soyadı:

4-Cinsiyeti:

1-Erkek ( ) 2-Kadın ( )

5-Oturduğu konutun adresi:

6-(Yaşadığı) Konutun hanehalkı hakkında bilgi:

Hanehalkı No:	Hanehalkı içindeki konumu ve cinsiyeti	İşi	Eğitim düzeyi (okul/sınıf) (M:Mezun; T:Terk; O:Okuyor;OY:Okur--yazar; OYZ:Okumaz--yazmaz)	Ortalama aylık geliri (varsa) (D.M./ay)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

7-Görüşülen kişinin:

	Nereden geldiği					Ne zaman geldiği (ay/yıl)
	Ülke	İl	İlçe	Bucak,mahalle	Köy	
Almanya'ya						
Berlin'e						
Oturduğu semte						
Kreuzberg'e						
Bu konuta						

8-Almanya'ya geliş nedeniniz neydi?

1-Topraksızlık ( )

2-İş olanakları çok ( )

3-Eğitim ( )

4-Sağlık ( )

5-Akraba-tanıdıklar çağırdı ( )

6-Ebeveynimin yanına geldim ( )

7-Almanya'yı ("dünyayı") görmek ( )

8-Para yapıp, Türkiye'de iş kurmak ( )

9- Aile birleşmesi ( )

10-Başka ( )

9-(Gelmeden önce) Ne iş yapardınız?

1-Toprakla uğraşırdım ( )

2-Esnaf, zanaatkârdım ( )

3-Askerdim ( )

4-Memurdum ( )

5-İşçiydim ( )

6-Hayvancılık yapardım ( )

7- Öğrenci ( )

8- Başka ( )

10-Almanya'ya ne olarak geldiniz?

1-İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu (İ.İ.B.K.) aracılığı ile işçi olarak ( )

2-İsmen çağrı yapılmış işçi olarak ( )

3-Turist olarak ( )

4-Ailemin/yakınlarımın yanına yerleşmek için ( )

5-Öğrenci olarak ( )

6-Başka ( )

11-İ.İ.B.K. aracılığı ile gelmişseniz, gelmek için ne kadar beklediniz? (Ay olarak)

12-Almanya'ya kiminle geldiniz?

1-Evlenmeden önce tek başıma ( )

2-Evli iken tek başıma ( )

3-Ailemle ( )

4-Arkadaşlarla ( )

13-(Evli ise) Eşinizle Almanya'da ne zaman (tekrar) buluştunuz/tanıştınız?

(Ay/yıl)

14-Almanya'ya gelmeden önce, burada ne kadar kalmayı düşünüyordunuz?

(Yıl)

15-Şimdi ne kadar süre daha kalmayı düşünüyorsunuz?

1-(Yıl)

2-Hemen döneceğim ( )

3-Hiç dönmeyeceğim ( )

4-Çocukların okulu bitince/onlar işe yerleşince ( )

5-Emekli olunca ( )

6- Belli değil ( )

16-Almanca'yı ne kadar biliyorsunuz?

1-Mükemmel okur-yazar, konuşurum ( )

2-Derdimi rahatlıkla anlatabilirim ( )

3-Okur-yazarım da; yeterince konuşamam ( )

4-Çok az biliyorum ( )

5-Hiç bilmiyorum ( )

17-Alman vatandaşlığına geçmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? Başvurdunuz mu?

1-Evet, başvurdum ( )

2-Evet, başvuracağım ( )

3-Kararsızım ( )

4-Hayır ( )

5- Çifte vatandaşlığım var ( )

18-Evetse, niçin?

1-Buranın olanaklarından daha fazla yararlanmak için ( )

2-"İkinci sınıf insan" muamelesi görmemek için ( )

3-Vize derdinden kurtulmak için ( )

4-Avrupalı serbest işçi dolaşımından yararlanmak için ( )

5-Çocuklarım burada ( )

6-Türkiye'de yaşama koşulları daha zor ( )

7-Başka ( )

19-(Almanya'da) Oturma izniniz ("Aufenthaltsgenehmigung") var mı?

1-Var ( )

2-Yok ( )

20-(Varsa) Ne tür bir oturma iznidir bu?

1-"Aufenthaltsbefugnis" ( )

2-"Aufenthaltsbewilligung" ( )

3-Süreli oturma izni ("befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis") ( )

4-Süresiz oturma izni ("unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis") ( )

5-"Aufenthaltsberechtigung" ( )

6-Bilmiyorum ( )

21-Çalışma izniniz ne kadar süre daha geçerli?

1-(Ay)

2-Çalışma iznim yok ( )

22-Almanya'da şimdiye dek hangi işlerde çalıştınız?

İşkolu	Çalışılan işler (birinciden sonuncuya)
1-Tarım	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
2-Sanayi	( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )
3-Madencilik	(İşkolu kod numaraları, her iş için, boşluklara yazılacak)
4-Hizmet	
5-Ticaret	
6-İnşaat	
7-Başka	

23-İşyerinde konumunuz neydi?

Konumu	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)
1-Düz işçi	( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )
2-Kalfa	(Konum kod numaraları, her iş için, boşluklara yazılacak)
3-Usta	
4-Ustabaşı (Vorarbeiter)	
5-Memur ; 6- Sahip	

24-(Şu anda işsiz ise) Ne kadar süredir işsizsiniz?

(Ay)

25-İşsizlik parası alıyor musunuz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

26-(Varsa) Çocuklarınızın hepsi burada mı?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır; Türkiye'de ( )

3-Hayır; başka ülkede ( )

4- Başka ( )

27-(Dönecekse) Türkiye'de nerede oturmak istiyorsunuz?

1-Büyükkentte ( )

2-Kentte (il,ilçe) ( )

3-Kasabada ( )

4-Köyde ( )

5-Deniz kıyısında bir yerleşmede ( )

6- Belli değil ( )

28-(Dönecekse) Türkiye'de ne iş yapmak istiyorsunuz?

1-İş yapmayıp dinleneceğim ( )

2-Ticaret yapacağım ( )

3-İmalathane, atölye açacağım ( )

4-Fabrika kuracağım ( )

5-Gayrimenkul, para piyasasında yatırım yapacağım ( )

6- Sağlık sektörüne yatırım yapacağım ( ); 7- Belli değil ( ).

29-Buradaki tasarruflarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?

1-Türkiye'de toprak, konut aldım/alacağım ( )

2-Almanya'da konut aldım/alacağım ( )

3-Türkiye'deki işe yatırıyorum ( )

4-Almanya'daki işe yatırıyorum ( )

5-Ev eşyası, dayanıklı tüketim mallarına harcadım ( )

6-Başka ( )

7- Birikim yapamıyorum ( )

30-Berlin'de tanıdığınız ve/ya da görüştüğünüz Türkler çoğunlukla nerede oturuyorlar?

1-Oturduğum blokta ( )

2-Kreuzberg'de ( )

3-Wedding ve Tiergarten'da ( )

4-Berlin'in değişik semtlerinde ( )

31-Oturduğunuz binadaki komşular (ençok) hangi ulustan?

1-(Ençok) Türkler ( )

2-(Ençok) Almanlar ( )

3-Türk-Alman karışık ( )

4-(Eski) Doğu bloku ülkelerinden (doğu Almanlar dâhil)

5-Başka ( )

32-Komşularla görüşüp, anlaşıyor musunuz?

1-Görüşmüyorum ( )

2-Türklerle görüşüyorum ( )

3-Hem Türk, hem Almanlarla görüşüyorum ( )

4-Sadece Almanlarla görüşüyorum ( )

5-Hepsiyle görüşüyorum ( )

33-Oturduğunuz çevrede, evinizin her türlü âcil alışveriş ihtiyacını karşılayabiliyor musunuz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

3-Kısmen ( )

34-Bu semtte oturmaktan memnun musunuz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

35-Niçin?

1-Kendi içine dönük, tanıdık bir çevre ( )

2-Dışarıya kapalı ( )

3-Çok Türk var ( )

4-Çok Alman var ( )

5-Her türlü insan var ( )

6-Başka ( )

36-Yaşadığınız çevrede, sayılan (belediye) hizmetler(i) yeterli düzeyde mi?

	Evet	Hayır	Kısmen
1-Park ve yeşil alanlar	( )	( )	( )
2-Çöp toplama, temizlik	( )	( )	( )
3-Okul	( )	( )	( )
4-Çocuk yuvası, anaokulu	( )	( )	( )
5-Gençlik merkezleri	( )	( )	( )
6-Polis, güvenlik hizmeti	( )	( )	( )
7-Yetişkinler için toplumsal-kültürel merkezler	( )	( )	( )

37-Berlin'de kaç kez konut değiştirdiniz? (Taşınma sayısı)

38-Oturulan konutlar(da):

Hangi konut	Oturulan süre (ay)	Konuta tasarruf biçimi (E:Evsahibi; K:Kiracı; AK:Altkiracı) ve (varsa) kira miktarı (D.M./ay)	Konutu nasıl bulduğu (Gİ:Gazete ilânı; T:Tanıdık, arkadaş; K:Komisyoncu ("Makler"); KD:Kiracı danışmanlık kurumu ve/ya da yenileme kurbanı ("Sanierungsbetroffene"); İ:İşveren; KŞ:Konut şirketi ("Wohnungsbaugesellschaft")
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

39-Konutun tipi:

Hangi konut	Büyüklüğü (oda sayısı ve/ya da yüzölçümü (metrekare)	"Eski" konut (1948-öncesi konutu)	Kamu konutu (Sosyal konut)	Özel (piyasa konutu)	Yurt (Heim)	İşyeri lojmanı
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						

40-Niçin (sık) konut değiştirdiniz?

1-Konut küçüktü ( )

2-Semt iyi değildi ( )

3-Kira çok yüksekti ( )

4-Konut sıhhi yönden yetersizdi ( )

5-İşyeri değişikliği nedeni ile ( )

6-Ailevi değişiklik (birleşme-dağılma) yüzünden ( )

7-Yenileme-modernleştirme, yık(ıl)ma yüzünden ( )

8-Başka ( )

41-Konut ararken/değiştirirken, evsahipleri tarafından geri çevrildiniz mi?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

42-Evetse, kaç kez?

1-Bir kez ( )

2-Bir-iki kez ( )

3-Üç-beş kez ( )

4-Beş-on kez ( )

5-On kezden fazla ( )

43-Konut isteminizi geri çevirmelerinin nedeni neydi?

1-Türk olmam ( )

2-İşçi olmam ( )

3-Türk işçisi olmam ( )

4-Çok-çocuklu olmam ( )

5-Fazla kira veremeyişim ( )

6-Başka ( )

44-Konutunuzda şu donatılardan hangileri var?

(Kodlama anahtarı: 0-Yok; 1-Kira/konut içinde; 2-Kendisi sağlamış.)

1-Mutfak (konutun içinde) ( )

2-Elektrik ( )

3-Soğuksu ( )

4-Sıcaksu ( )

5-Tuvalet (konutun içinde) ( )

6-Tuvalet dışarıda (sahanlıkta, koridorda) ( )

7-Tuvalet dışarıda (başkasının evinde, dükkanında) ( )

8-Banyo (duş) (içeride) ( )

9-Banyo (duş) (dışarıda; binanın içinde) ( )

10-Havagazı ( )

11-Merkezi ısıtma ( )

12-Gaz sobası ( )

13-Havagazı sobası ( )

14-Kömür sobası ( )

15-Elektrik sobası ( )

16-Lavabo ( )

17-Mobilya ( )

18-Buzdolabı ( )

19-Otomatik çamaşır yıkama makinesi ( )

20-Otomatik çamaşır kurutma makinesi ( )

21-T.V. ( )

22-Video ( )

45-Konutunuzdan şikâyetçi misiniz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

46-Evetse, nelerden?

1-Küçük ( )

2-Kirası ve/ya da giderleri çok fazla ( )

3-Rutubetli ( )

4-Karanlık ( )

5-Eski ( )

6-Uzak ( )

7-Evsahibini sevmiyorum ( )

8-Semti sevmiyorum ( )

9-Komşuluk yok ( )

10-Türk çok ( )

11-Türk az ( )

12-Çok gürültülü bir çevre ( )

13-Başka ( )

47-(Son) Konutunuzda yapıldığına tanık olduğunuz tamirat ve yenileme girişimleri nelerdir?

1-Duvarlar (konutun içindeki) ( )

2-Duvarlar (bina) ( )

3-Binanın cephesi ( )

4-Merdivenler ( )

5-Döşemeler ( )

6-Pencereler ( )

7-Çatı ( )

8-Tuvalet ( )

9-Mutfak ( )

10-Su tesisatı ( )

11-Elektrik tesisatı ( )

12-Pissu tesisatı ( )

13-Banyo ( )

14-Başka ( )

15-Bir girişim olmadı ( )

48-Yakın bölgenizde yenileme-modernleştirme faaliyetleri oldu mu?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

49-Evetse, size gereken açıklama ve bilgiler verildi mi?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

50-Kent yenileme faaliyetlerini ilk kez nereden öğrendiniz?

1-Arkadaşlardan ( )

2-Gazetelerden, radyo-T.V.'den ( )

3-Bezirksamt'tan (yerel belediye örgütü) ( )

4-Kiracı danışmanlık kurumlarından ( )

5-Evsahibinden ( )

51-Çevrenizdeki kent yenileme faaliyetleri ile ilgili olarak, yerel planlama örgütlerinin düzenlediği toplantılara katılıp, görüşünüzü bildiriyor musunuz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

52-Hayırsa, niçin?

1-Biz Türklere bilgi bile verilmiyor ( )

2-Katılsak da, bizim sözümüzü dinlemezler ( )

3-Almanlar kendi bildiklerini okurlar ( )

4-Oy hakkımız yok ki, bizi dinlesinler ( )

5-Almancamız yetersiz, dert anlatamıyoruz ( )

6-Başka ( )

53-"Konut parası" ("Wohngeld") konusunda bilginiz var mı?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

54-Evetse, bunun için gereken yerlere başvurdunuz mu?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır, çünkü kazancım çok ( )

3-Hayır, çünkü nereye ve nasıl başvurulacağını bilmiyorum ( )

4-Hayır, çünkü nasılsa Türklere vermezler ( )

5-Başka ( )

55-"Kamu konutları"na ("sozialer Wohnungsbau") ilişkin bilginiz var mı?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

56-Böyle bir (kamu) konut(un)a taşınmayı düşündünüz/denediniz mi?

1- Evet, oturuyorum ( )

2-Evet, denedim, olmadı ( )

3-Evet, denedim, sıradayım ( )

4-Hayır, çünkü biz Türklere sıra gelmez ( )

5-Hayır, çünkü başvuru yöntemini bilmiyorum ( )

6-Hayır, çünkü (doğulu ve batılı) Almanlardan yabancılara yer kalmaz ( )

7-Hayır, çünkü (eski) Doğu bloku vatandaşlarına öncelik verirler ( )

57-Şu anda herhangi bir kuruluşun, örgütün ya da derneğin üyesi misiniz?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

58-Evetse, kuruluş şunlardan hangisi?

1-Spor klübü ( )

2-Kültür derneği ( )

3-Hemşehrilik derneği ( )

4-Kiracı derneği, yurttaş örgütü ("Mieterinitiative","Bürger-initiative", v.b.) ( )

5-Politik dernek ( )

59-İşyerinizde sendika üyeliğiniz var mı?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

60-Boş zamanlarınızda neler yaparsınız?

1-Sinemaya, tiyatroya, diskoya giderim ( )

2-Arkadaşlarla buluşup, sokağa çıkarız, dolaşırız ( )

3-Arkadaşlarla kahvede, dernekte toplanırız ( )

4-Arkadaşlarla kâğıt/konken/taş oynarız ( )

5-Arkadaşlarla parka gider, top oynarız ( )

6-Arkadaşlarla/ailemle piknik yaparız ( )

7-Evde oturup, kitap okur, müzik dinlerim ( )

8-Başka ( )

61-Berlin'in ne kadarını tanırsınız?

1-Her tarafını ( )

2-Yarısını ( )

3-Dörtte birini ( )

4-Oturduğum ve çalıştığım semtlerini ( )

5-Kreuzberg'i ( )

6-Türklerin oturdukları semtleri ( )

7-Başka ( )

62-Sizce Almanya'daki Türkler, Almanlar tarafından aşağılanıp, küçümseniyorlar mı?

1-Evet ( )

2-Hayır ( )

63-Evetse, niçin?

1-Almanlar, yabancıları sevmiyorlar ( )

2-Almanlar Türkleri sevmiyorlar ( )

3-Türkler Almanların işlerini ellerinden alıyorlar ( )

4-Türkler giyim-kuşam farklılıkları (başörtüsü, v.b.) nedeni ile, (Alman) toplum(un)dan soyutlanıyorlar ( )

5-Türkler Almanlara göre daha "geri" oldukları için ( )

6-Almanlar işveren, Türkler işçi olduğu için ( )

7-Türkler Almanca bilmediklerinden ( )

8-Almanlar ırkçı oldukları için ( )

9-Başka ( )

64-Türklerin Almanya'da ayırımcılığa uğramamaları için neler yapılmalı?

1-Türkiye, gurbetçi işçilere her yönden destek olmalı ( )

2-Türk işçilere Almanya'daki yerel seçimlere katılma hakkı verilmeli ( )

3-Türk çocuklarına daha iyi eğitim koşulları hazırlanmalı ( )

4-Türk ulusunun yüceliği Almanlara anlatılmalı ( )

5-Türk gençleri atak ve gerektiğinde vurucu güç olarak yetişmeli ( )

6-Türkiye ile Almanya arasında bu konuda bir anlaşma imzalanmalı ( )

7-Türkler ile Almanlar aynı komşuluk ve konut çevrelerinde yaşamalı ( )

8-Türkler ile Almanlar, birbirleri ile mümkün oldukça az temas etmeli ( )

9-Başka ( )

65-Sizce Almanya'da yaşayan Türklerin en büyük sorunu nedir? (Önemliden önemsize doğru üç tane sayınız.)

1-Vize ( )

2-İşsizlik ( )

3-Konut ( )

4-Çocukların yetersiz eğitimi ("Sonderschule") ( )

5-Yabancı düşmanlığı ( )

6-Dil yetersizliği ( )

7-Doğu Almanların rekabeti ( )

8-(Eski) Doğu bloku vatandaşlarının buraya gelecek olmaları ( )

9-Türkiye'nin sorunlarımıza yeterince sahip çıkmaması ( )

10-Kültürel kimlik ( )

11-Ne Türkiye, ne Almanya tercihini yapabilmemiz ( )

Appendix R: Questionnaire to be Given to Turkish Workers Living in W.Berlin (in English)

Özer BOSTANOGLU (Berlin, 08-07-1991.)

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE GIVEN TO TURKISH WORKERS LIVING IN W.BERLIN

1-Number of the Questionnaire:
2-Date of Interview:
3-Name of the person interviewed:
4-Sex
1-Male 2-Female
5-Address of the person:

6-Information about the household (HH):

HH No:	Position within family and sex	Job	Education level (School/Class) (G:Graduated; L:Left; C:Continues; LI:Literate; ILL:Illiterate)	Average Income (DM/month)
1				
2				
.				

7-The person interviewed:

(to:)	From where s/he came: Country	City	District	Neighborhood	Village	When (month/year)
Germany						
Berlin						
This district						
Kreuzberg						
This house						

8-Reason for coming to Germany:
1-Land scarcity
2-Jobs available
3-Education
4-Health
5-Relatives called
6-Parents called
7-Seeing Germany ("World")
8-Saving money for establishing job in Turkey
9-Family Reunification
10-Other

9-Former job (prior to coming):
1-Agriculture
2-Small business, artisan
3-Military
4-Public servant
5-Worker
6-Animal raising
7-Pupil/student

8-Other

10-In what status did you come to Germany?
1-Worker through the channel of the Work- and Worker Provision Agency
2-Invited Worker
3-Tourist
4-Joining my family here
5-Pupil/student
6-Other

11-If (10.1), how long did you wait? (Months)

12-With whom did you come?
1-Single, unmarried
2-Single, married
3-With my family
4-With friends

13-(If married) When did you know/meet anew your partner in Germany? (Month/year)

14-What was your time projection prior to coming here?
1-(Year)
2-Undetermined

15-How long more will you stay (here)?
1-(Year)
2-Return immediately
3-Never return
4-Until children start their schools/jobs
5-When retiring
6-Undetermined

16-What is the degree of your German (language)?
1-Perfect
2-Can easily communicate
3-Reading, writing okey; can't speak
4-Very little
5-None

17-Do you think/did you apply for German citizenship?
1-Yes, applied
2-Yes, will apply
3-Decision not made yet
4-No
5-Have already double citizenship

18-If yes, why?
1-Benefitting from resources here more
2-Not being accepted as "second class human beings"
3-Getting rid of visa
4-Benefitting from "free movement" of European worker
5-Children here

6-Living in Turkey more difficult
7-Other

19-Do you have "residence permission" ("Aufenthaltsgenehmigung")?
1-Yes 2-No

20-If yes, what kind?
1-"Aufenthaltsbefugnis"
2-"Aufenthaltsbewilligung"
3-"befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis"
4-"unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis"
5-"Aufenthaltsberechtigung"
6-Don't know

21-How long is your work permit usable?
1-(Month)
2-Don't have

22-Which jobs did you do in Germany?

Job sector	Jobs (from the first to the last)
1-Agriculture	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)
2-Industry	
3-Metallurgy	
4-Service	
5-Commerce	
6-Construction	
7-Other	

23-Position at workplace?

Position	
1-Unqualified worker	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)
2-Journeyman	
3-Craftsman	
4-"Vorarbeiter"	
5-Public official	
6-Owner	

24-(If unemployed yet) Since when unemployed?
(Months)

25-Do you get unemployment allowance?
1-Yes
2-No

26-(If exist) Are all your children here?
1-Yes
2-No; in Turkey
3-No; in another country
4-Other

27-(If returns to Turkey) Where do you want to live in Turkey?

1-Metropolis
2-City (province, district)
3-Small town
4-Village
5-Settlement close to the sea
6-Undetermined

28-(If returns to Turkey) What jobs will you do in Turkey?
1-No jobs; will rest
2-Commercial business
3-Production plant, atelier
4-Establish fabric
5-Invest into real estate, money speculative market
6-Invest into service sector
7-Undetermined

29-What are you doing with your savings?
1-Buying land in Turkey
2-Buying housing unit in Germany
3-Investing into business in Turkey
4-Investing into business in Germany
5-Buying housing furniture and durable consumer items
6-Other
7-Can't save

30-Where do the Turks whom you know good live in Berlin ?
1-In my block where I live
2-In Kreuzberg,
3-In Wedding and Tiergarten
4-In different parts of Berlin

31-From which nationality are your neighbours in the building to most extent?
1-(Mostly) Turks
2-(Mostly) Germans
3-Mixture of Germans with Turks
4-Nationals of the East Block
5-Other ( )

32-Are you in contact with the neighbors?
1-Not at all
2-Only with Turks
3-Yes, with Turks and with Germans, as well
4-Only with Germans
5-Yes, with everybody

33-Can you find every type of consumer goods within your immediate environment?
1-Yes
2-No
3-Partially

34-Are you happy that you live here?
1-Yes
2-No

35-Why?
1-Homogeneous. familiar environment
2-Closed to the outside
3-Many Turks around
4-Many Germans around
5-Every type of man
6-Other

36-Is the provision level of the services counted below satisfactory in your environment?

	Yes	No	Partially
1-Parks and green areas	( )	( )	( )
2-Waste collection. street cleaning			
3-School			
4-Kindergarten			
5-Youth centers			
6-Police, security			
7-Socio-cultural centers for grown-ups			

37-How many houses did you change in Berlin?
(Number of movings)

38-In the flats occupied before:

Which flat	Time period (months)	Tenureship (O:Owner; T:Tenant: ST:Subtenant) and rent amount (DM/Month)	How did he find the flat? (NA:Newspaper announcement; F:Friend; RED:Real Estate Dealer ("Makler"); RV:Renewal Victim; E:Employer; HF:Housing Firm. (TO:Tenant Organisation and HD: Housing Department ("Wohnungsamt") counted under RV.)

39-House type:

Which house	Floor area (room number and/or area(sqm))	"Old"-housing (pre-1948 house)	Public housing	Private housing	Hostel (Heim)	Work House (Lodgement)

1————
2————
3————
4————
5————

40-Why did you change house so often?
1-It was small
2-District was not good
3-Rent was too high
4-House was not satisfactorily healthy
5-Due to occupational mobility
6-Due to change in family composition (reunion: dissolution)
7-Due to renewal-modernisation, destruction
8-Other

41-Refused by the landlords while searching for housing?
1-Yes
2-No

42-If yes, how many times?
1-Once
2-One - or two times
3-Three - five times
4-Five - Ten times
5-More than ten times

43-Reason for your refusal?
1-That I'm Turco
2-That I'm worker
3-That I'm Turkish worker
4-That I have many children
5-That I can't pay higher rents
6-Other

44-Which one(s) dou you have in your house?
(Key for coding: 0: Not present; 1: Included in the rent/house;
2: Provided by himself)
1-Kitchen (within the house)
2-Electricity
3-Cold water
4-Hot water
5-WC (within the house)
6-WC outside (on the floor)
7-WC outside (in someone else's flat, shop)
8-Bathroom (shower) (inside the flat)
9-Bathroom (shower) (outside; inside the building, however)
10-Naturalgas
11-Central heating
12-Gas stove
13-Naturalgas stove
14-Coal stove
15-Electricity stove
16-Washbasin

17-Furniture
18-Refrigerator
19-Automatic washing machine
20-Automatic wash drying machine
21-T.V.
22-Video

45-Are you complainant of your house?
1-Yes
2-No

46-If yes, because of what?
1-Small,
2-Rent is too high
3-Damp
4-Dark
5-Old
6-Distant
7-Don't like the landlord
8-Don't like the district
9-No neighborly deeds
10-A lot of Turks
11-Few Turks
12-A very noisy environment
13-Other

47-What are the renewal/modernisation attempts in your (last) house?
1-Walls (inside the house)
2-Walls (of the building)
3-Facade of the building
4-Stairs
5-Floors
6-Windows
7-Roof
8-WC
9-Kitchen
10-Water installation
11-Electricity installation
12-Waste-water installation
13-Bathroom
14-Other
15-Not any attempt

48-Have renewal/modernisation attempts been realised within your nearby environment?
1-Yes
2-No

49-If yes, have you been informed on that?
1-Yes
2-No

50-From where did you first learn urban renewal attempts?
1-From my friends: I've seen personally

2-From the mass-media
3-From the district municipality ("Bezirksamt")
4-From tenant organisations
5-From my landlord

51-Do you participate in the meetings organised by the local district municipalities within the framework of urban (renewal) activities and say your opinion about?
1-Yes
2-No

52-If no, why?
1-We, the Turks are not given any information
2-They don't listen to us, even if we participate
3-Germans do what they want
4-We don't have the right to vote; therefore they don't listen to us
5-Our German language capacity isn't enough for formulating our views
6-Other

53-Do you have any idea about the "housing allowance" ("Wohngeld")?
1-Yes
2-No

54-If yes, did you apply for getting it at the fitting instances?
1-Yes, I already get it
2-No, because my income is high
3-No, because I don't know where and how to apply for
4-No, because they don't give it to the Turks anyway
5-Other

55-Do you have any idea about "public (social) housing" ("sozialer Wohnungsbau") schemes?
1-Yes
2-No

56-Did you think/apply for moving to such a public housing unit?
1-Yes; I've moved already
2-Yes; I've tried, but couldn't succeed
3-Yes, tried; I am on the waiting list
4-No, because the turn never comes to Turks
5-No, because I don't know how the application procedure
6-No, because there will be no place left from (eastern and western) Germans
7-No, because they will prefer citizens from the (old) Eastern Bloc

57-Are you to the moment being a member of a foundation, organization or association?
1-Yes
2-No

58-If yes, what is that foundation of type counted below?

1-Sports club
2-Culture association
3-Urbanites' association
4-Tenant organization; citizen initiative(s)
5-Political association

59-Are you a member of the syndicate at your workplace?
1-Yes
2-No

60-What do you do in your free-time?
1-Go to the cinema, theatre, disco
2-Go around with friends in the open air
3-Come together with friends in the coffee-house, association
4-Play with friends cards, pieces, etc.
5-Go to the park with friends and play football
6-Picnic with friends/my family
7-Read books, listen to music; and watch TV at home
8-Other

61-To what extent do you know Berlin?
1-Everywhere
2-Half of it
3-One fourth
4-Only the districts where I do live and work
5-Kreuzberg
6-Districts where Turks are living
7-Other

62-Are the Turks being discriminated against by the Germans?
1-Yes
2-No

63-If yes, why?
1-Germans don't like foreigners
2-Germans don't like Turks
3-Turks do get the the jobs of Germans
4-Turks are segregated from the (German) society (at large) due to their dress habits' differences (like scarf, etc.)
5-Turks are more "underdeveloped" as compared to Germans
6-Germans are bosses while Turks are workers
7-Turks don't know German
8-Germans are racist
9-Other

64-What should be done for the Turks not being discriminated against in Germany?
1-Turkey should support Turkish guestworkers in every field
2-Turkish workers should be given the right to participate in local elections
3-For Turkish children should be provided better education conditions
4-The respectful height of the Turkish nation should be (better) told to Germans

5-The Turkish youngsters should be raised reckless and as a reserve iron feast if necessary
6-An agreement between Turkey and Germany should be signed with regard to the very topic
7-Turks and Germans should live in the same neighbourhood and housing environments
8-Turks and Germans should contact with each other as least as possible
9-Other

65-What is in your opinion the biggest problem of the Turks living in Germany? (Please cite three problems as starting from the most important one.)
1-Visa
2-Unemployment
3-Housing
4-Insufficient education of the children ("Sonderschule")
5-Xenophobia
6-Insufficient knowledge of (German) language
7-Competition of the Eastern Germans
8-The (future) flow of the (old) Eastern Block citizens here
9-The inertia of Turkey (The fact that Turkey does not interest for our problems to a satisfying extent)
10-Cultural identity
11-The situation of indecision for us between Germany and Turkey

— 0 —

Appendix S: Photographs

Photo.No.1: New York. 3rd Str.; 25.04.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

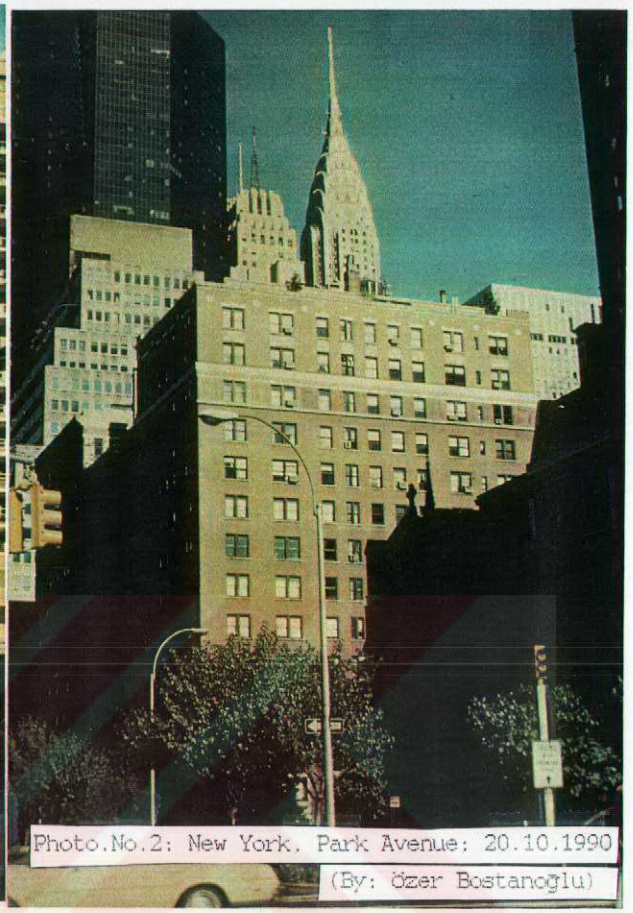


Photo.No.2: New York. Park Avenue: 20.10.1990 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.3: New York. Tompkins Square Park (i.e. the "Eden of the Homeless People"): 05.05.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.4: A "Shack" in New York. Lexington Ave. ("El Barrio"): 24.05.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.5: A "Homeless" in New York's "Lower East Side" (LES): 08.12.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

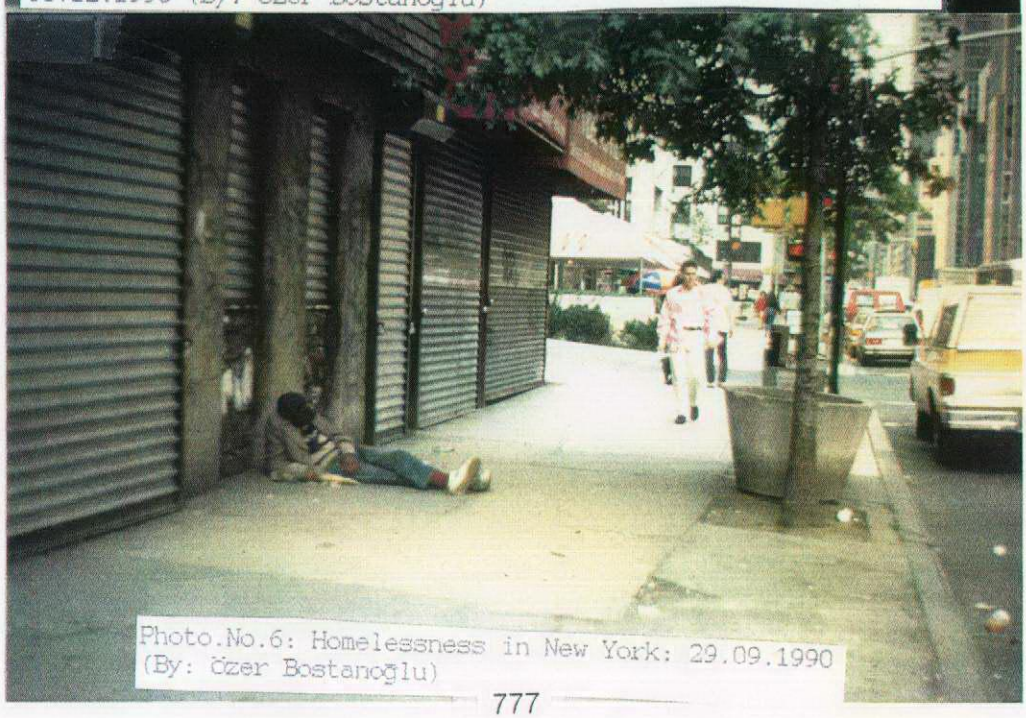


Photo.No.6: Homelessness in New York: 29.09.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.7: "Mobile Homes" for the Homeless People on the way to Tennessee; April 1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.8: "Poverty" in Appalachia, Tennessee; 10.04.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

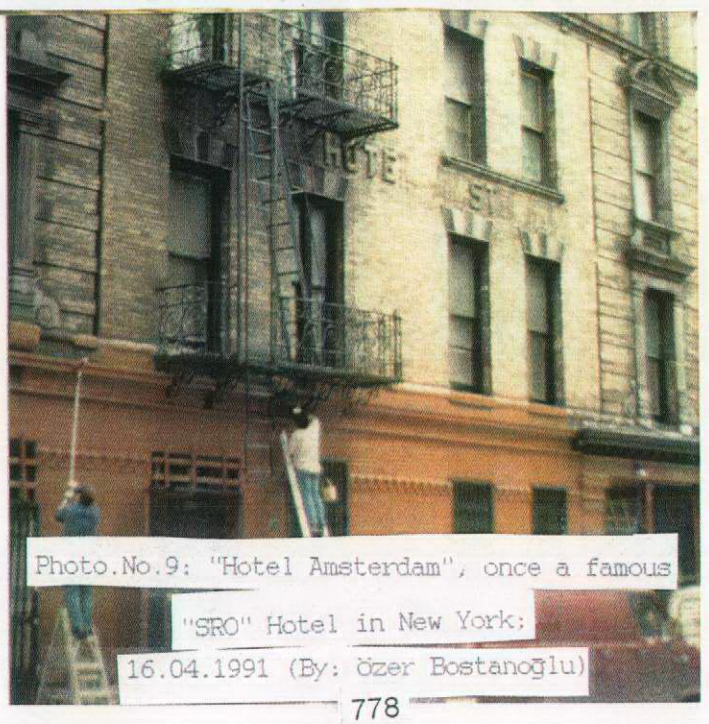


Photo.No.9: "Hotel Amsterdam", once a famous "SRO" Hotel in New York; 16.04.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.10: Still "No Colors Please!" Practice in the U.S.: Minneapolis, June 1991; (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.11: A "Homeless" in the Capital of Europe, i.e. Bruxelles - Belgium; 18.02.1994 (By: Burcu Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.12: A "Homeless Shelter" ("Obdachlosenheim") in W.Berlin: 27.07.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.13: "They" Are Coming From (e.g.) "Çiğdemtepe" Squatter Settlement Area in Ankara/Turkey; March 1986 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.14: "Çiğdemtepe Gecekonduları (Squatter Houses)" - Ankara/Turkey; September 1985 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

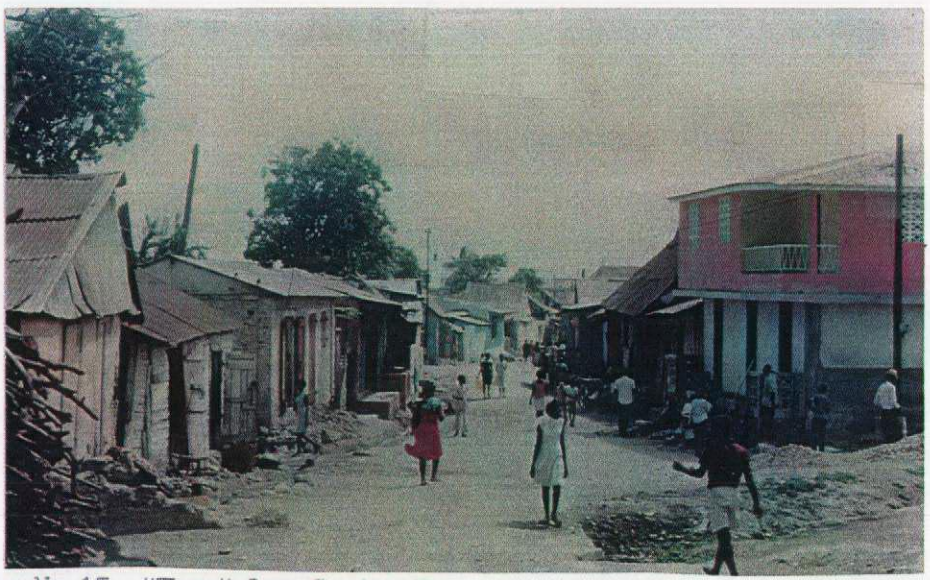


Photo.No.15: "They" Are Coming From (e.g.) the City of "Cap Haitien"/ Haiti; February 1979 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.16: Mexico City's Park; March 1985 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.17: "City Model" in Mexico City; March 1985 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

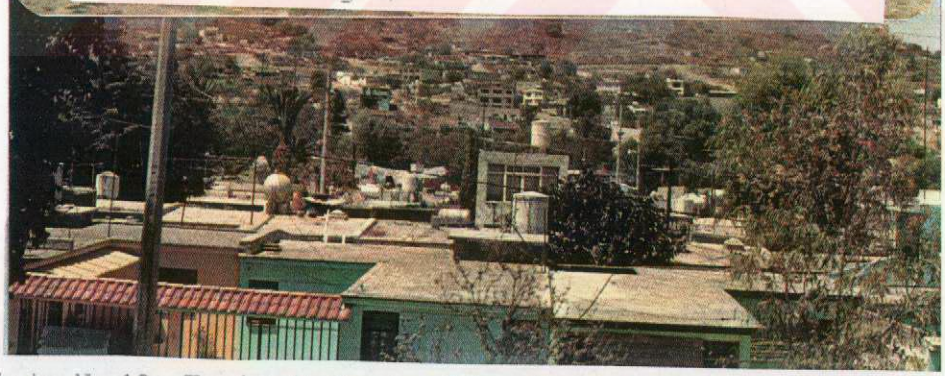


Photo.No.18: Shacks in Mexico City; March 1985 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

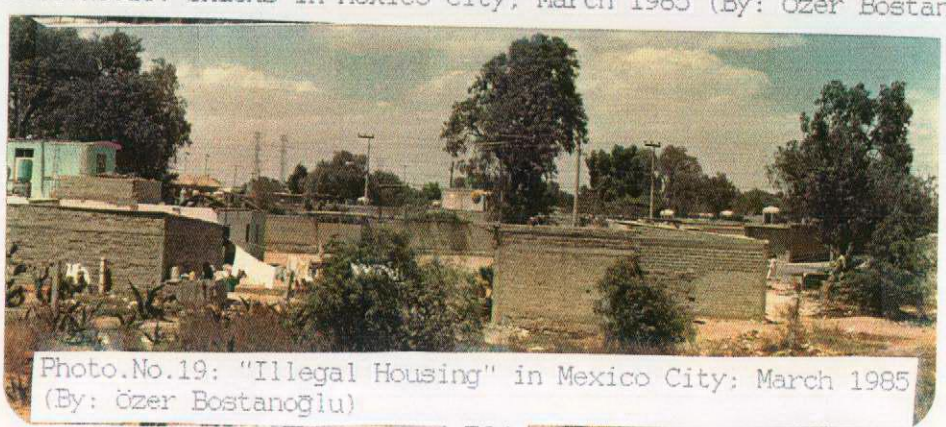


Photo.No.19: "Illegal Housing" in Mexico City; March 1985 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

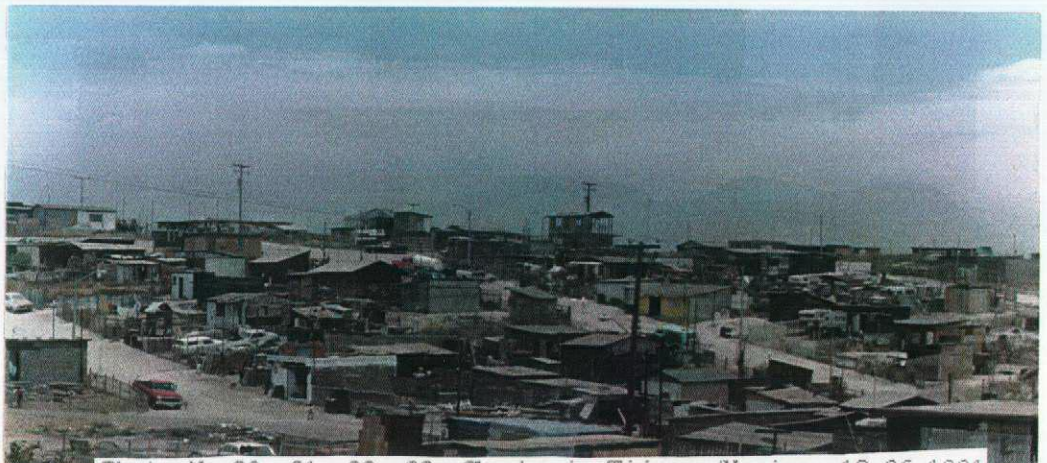


Photo.No.20, 21, 22, 23: Shacks in Tijuana/Mexico; 18.06.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

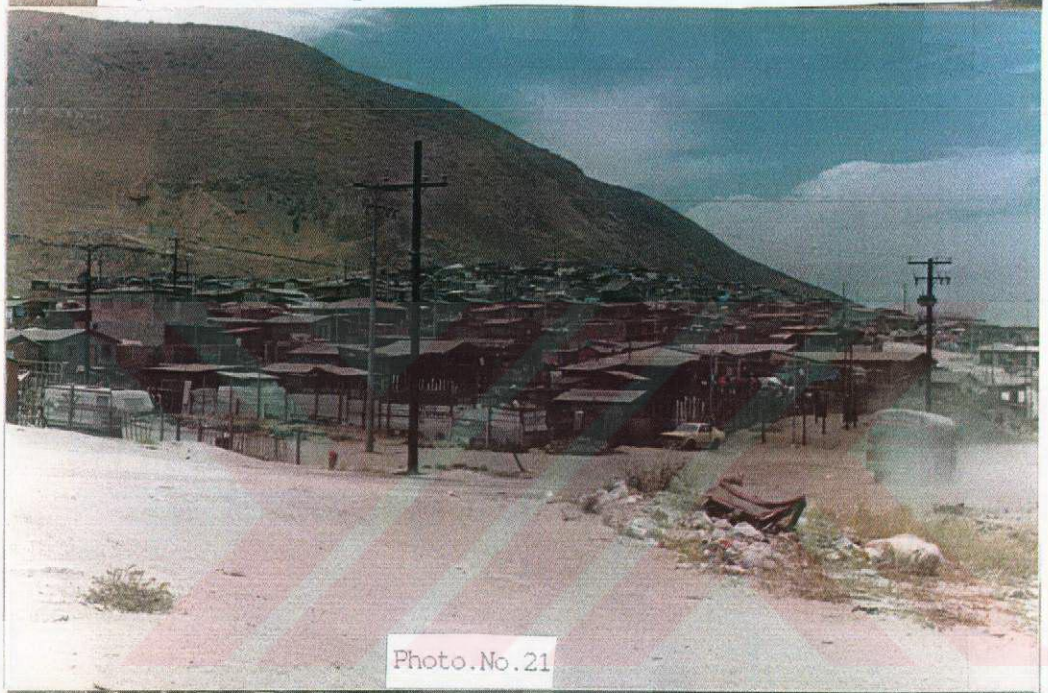


Photo.No.21

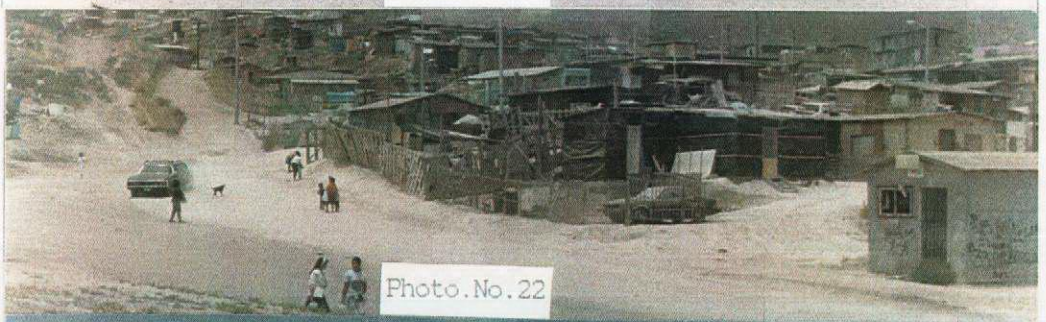
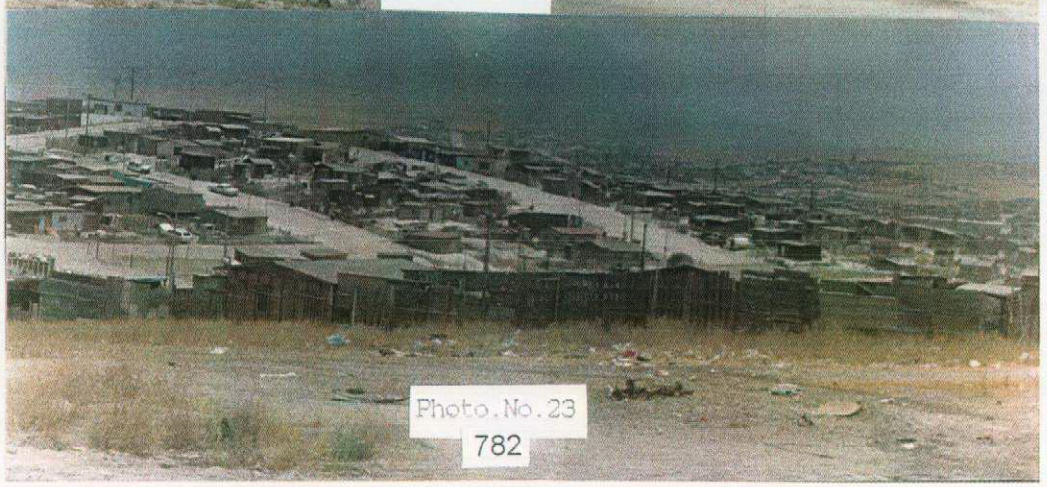


Photo.No.22



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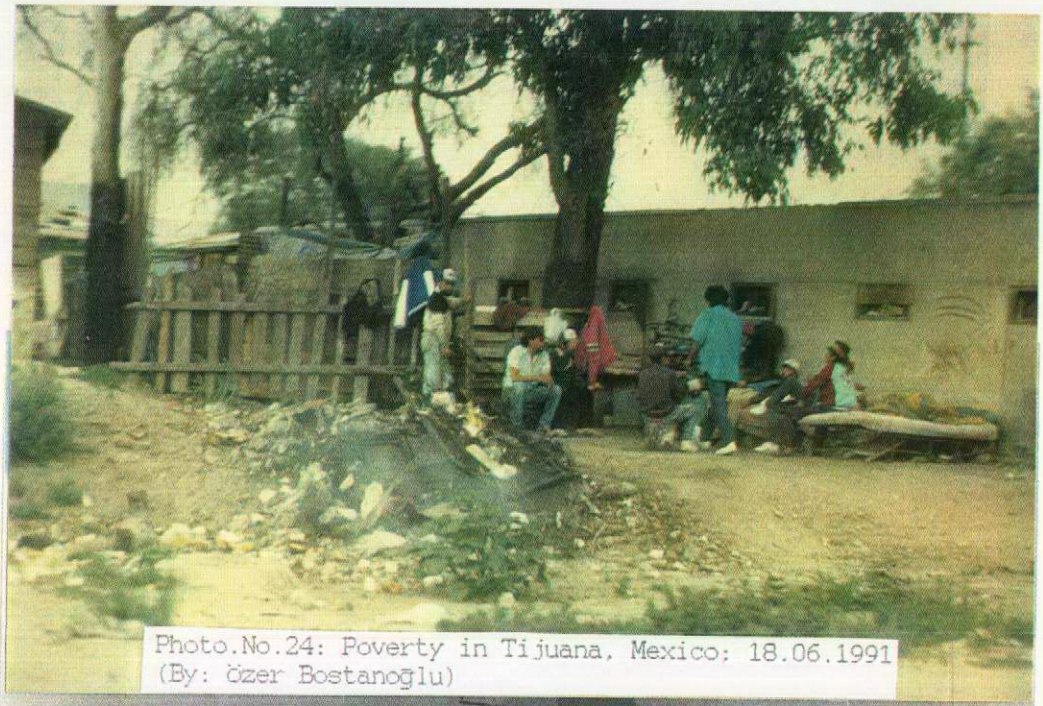


Photo.No.24: Poverty in Tijuana, Mexico: 18.06.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

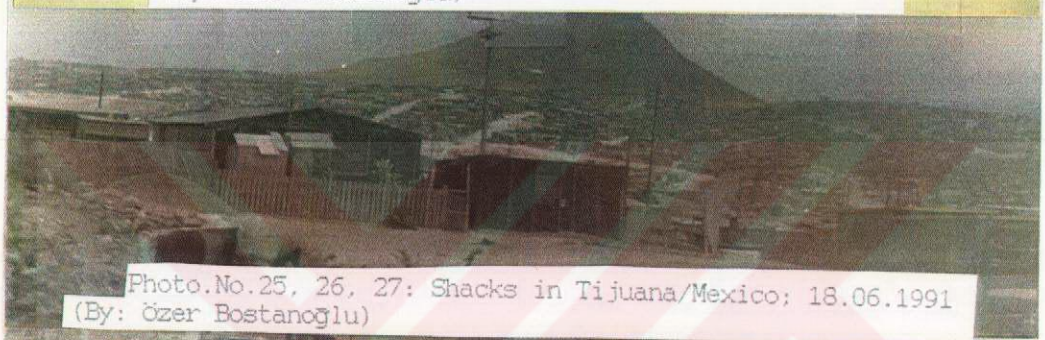
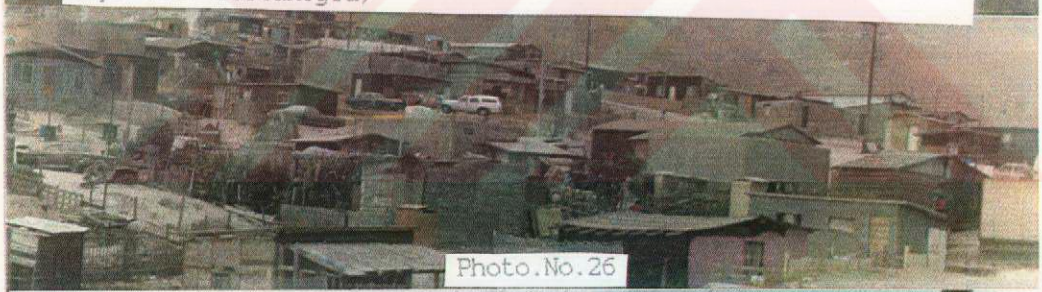


Photo.No.25, 26, 27: Shacks in Tijuana/Mexico: 18.06.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)



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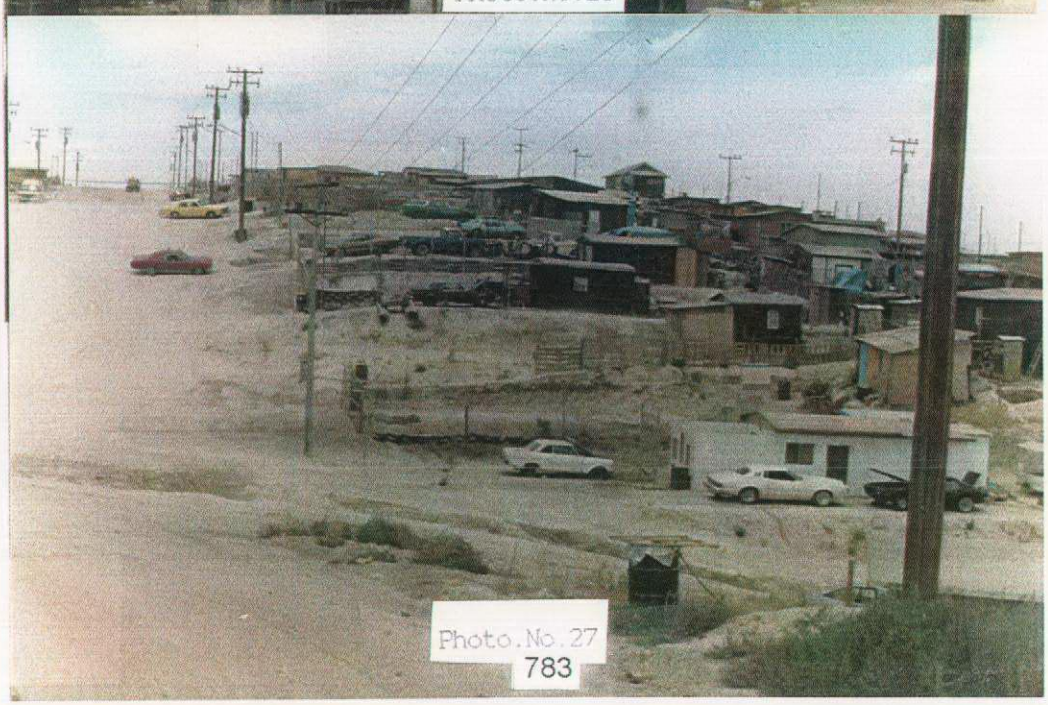

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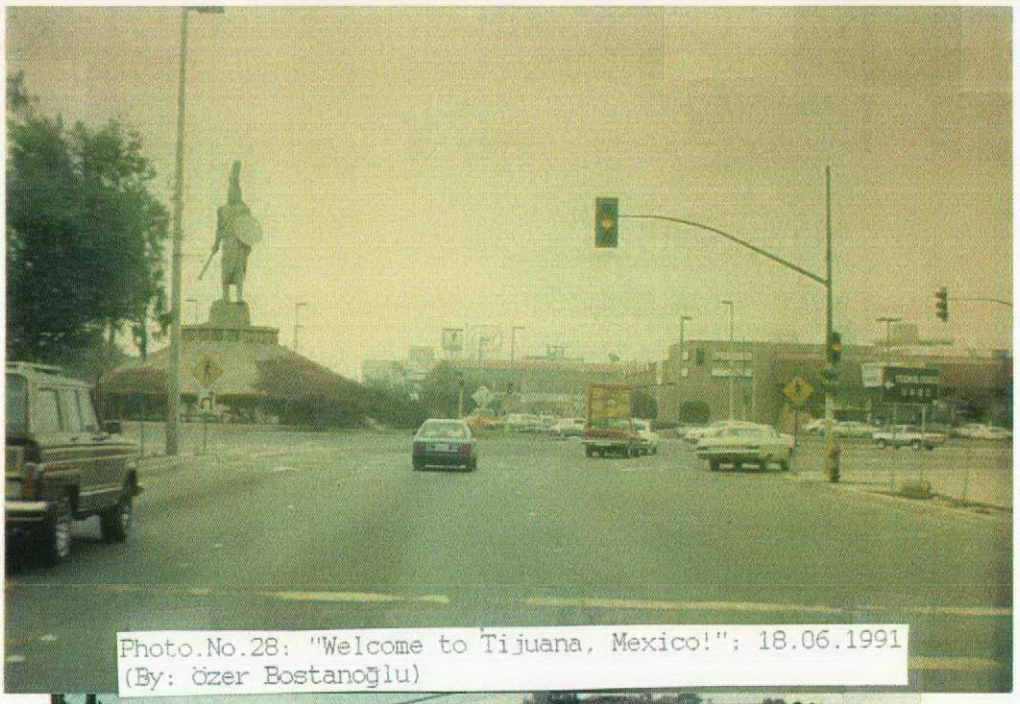

Photo.No.28: "Welcome to Tijuana, Mexico!"; 18.06.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

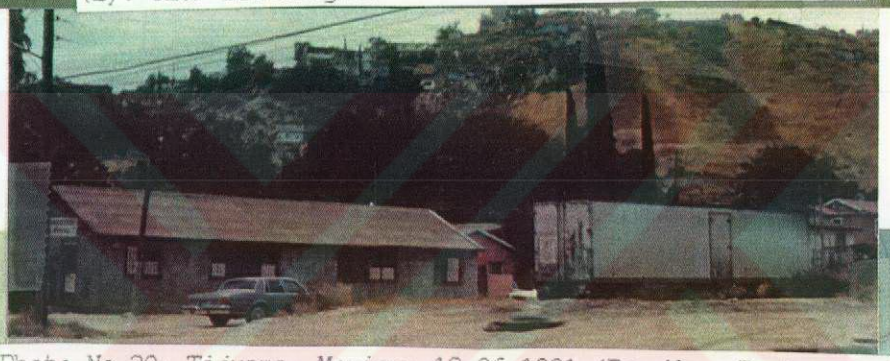

Photo.No.29: Tijuana, Mexico; 18.06.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.30: Tijuana, Mexico; 18.06.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.31: The "Centro Industrial Limon Maquiladora" in Tijuana/ Mexico; 18.06.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.32: San Diego; 18.06.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.33: The "Indians" in Minneapolis/ the U.S.: June 1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.34: "Santa Fe Railway Station" in San Diego; 18.06.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.35, 36, 37: "Illegal River Settlement" in "Oceanside". San Diego: 17.06.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

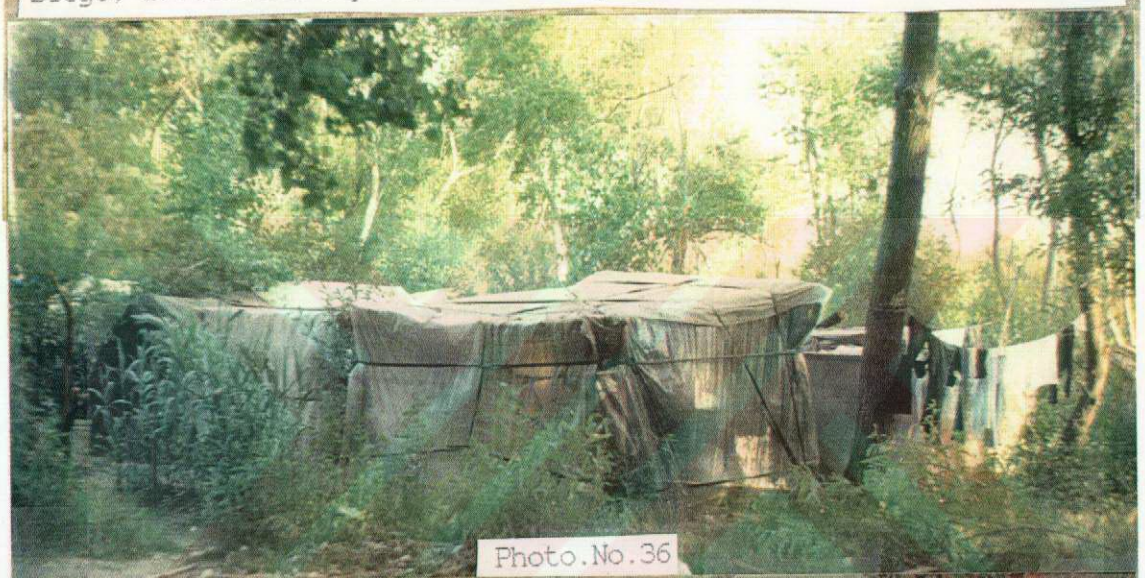

Photo.No.36

Photo.No.37

Photo.No.38, 39, 40, 41: A Tomato Farm in San Diego (Near "Carlsbad City") and the Mexican "Illegal"(!) Workers Living in Their Shacks There (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.39

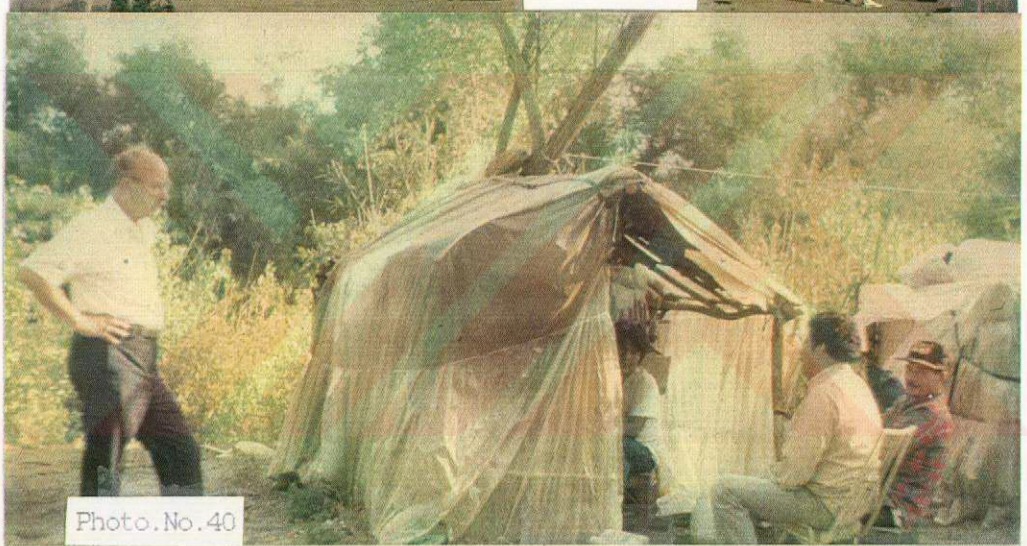

Photo.No.40

Photo.No.41

Photo.No.42: Brooklyn Bridge and Lower Manhattan in New York: 08.12.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.43: A View From the 2nd Str. to the West, New York: 25.04.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.44: Street Vendors (Like in Any Third World Country) on New York's 14th Str.: 31.03.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.45: "Chinatown" (in LES) in New York City: 08.12.1990
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

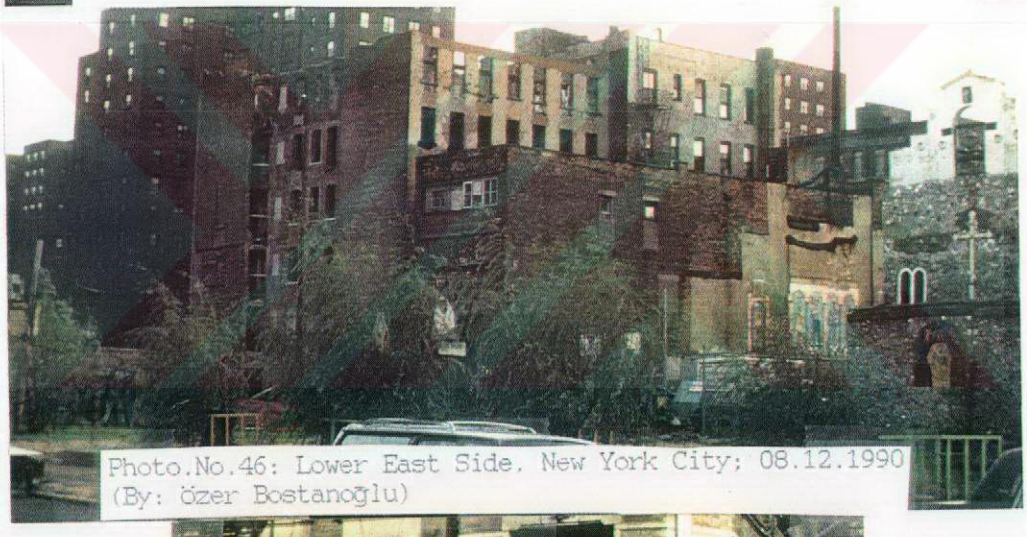
Photo.No.46: Lower East Side, New York City: 08.12.1990
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

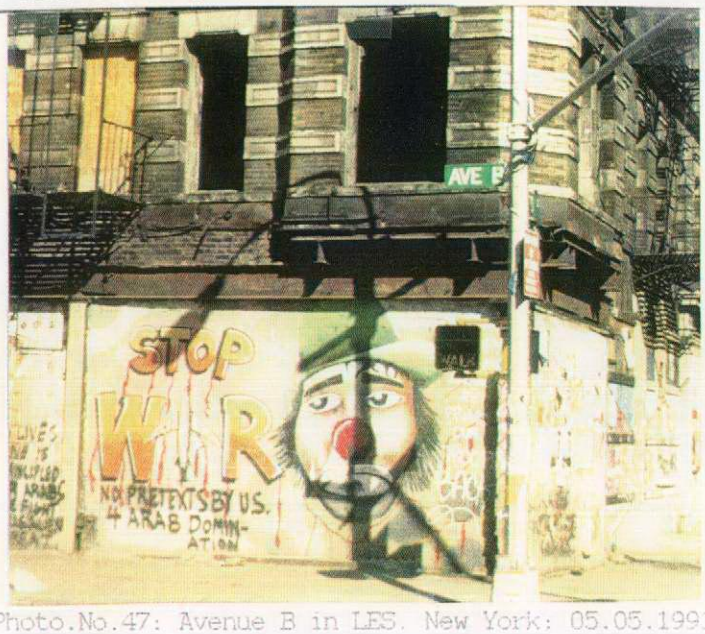

Photo.No.47: Avenue B in LES, New York: 05.05.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.48: "Modernization" in LES. New York: 08.12.1990
(By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.49: Lower East Side. New York City: 22.02.1991
(By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.50: Harlem, New York City: 02.11.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

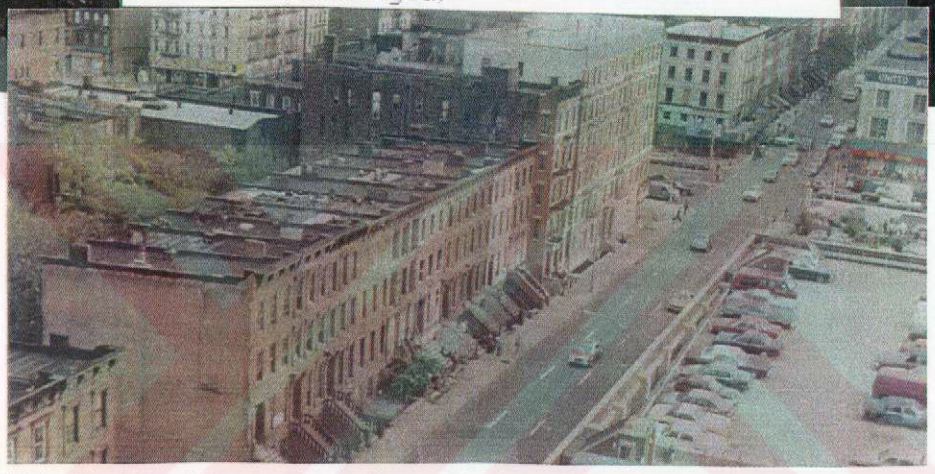

Photo.No.51: "Brownstones" in Harlem, New York City: 02.11.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

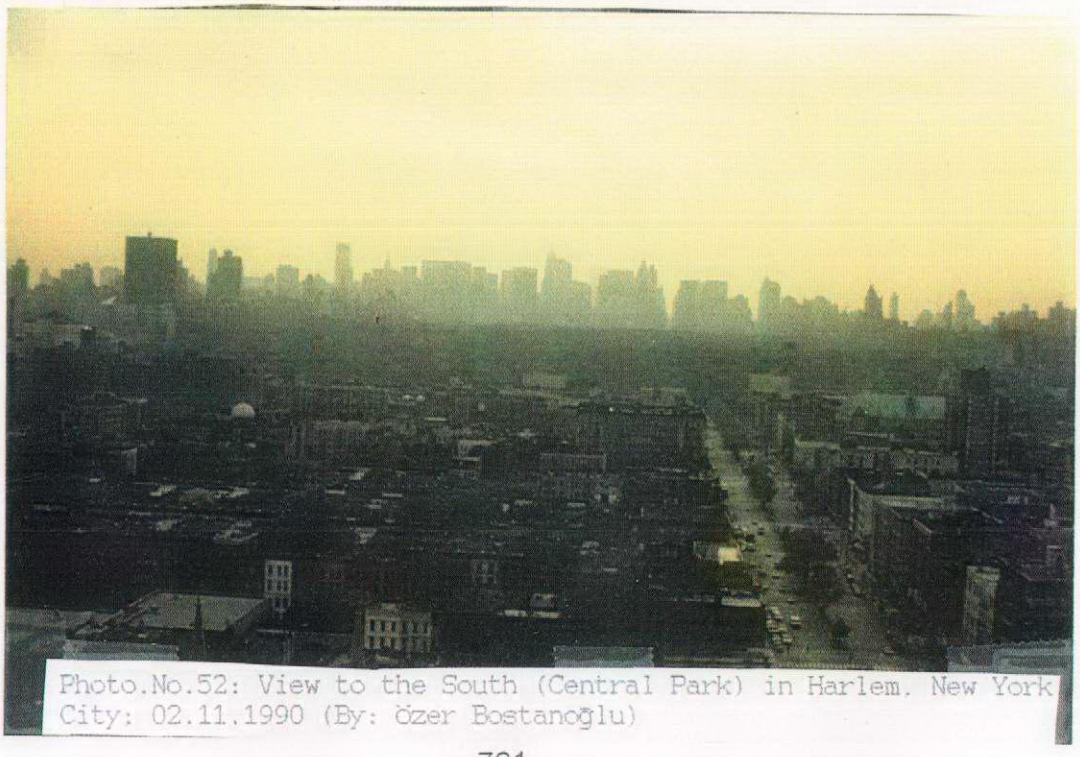

Photo.No.52: View to the South (Central Park) in Harlem, New York City: 02.11.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

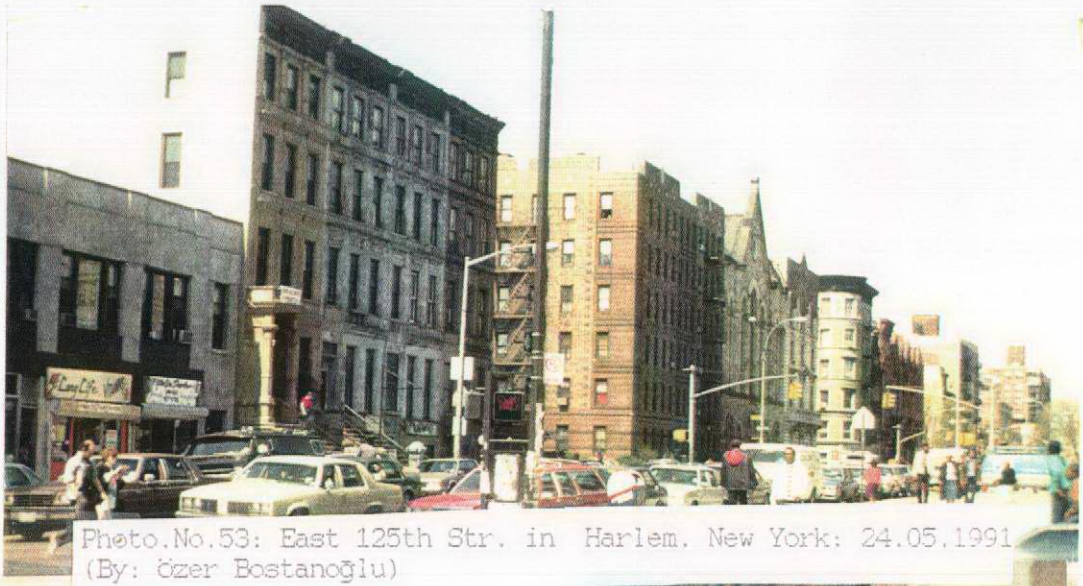

Photo.No.53: East 125th Str. in Harlem. New York: 24.05.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

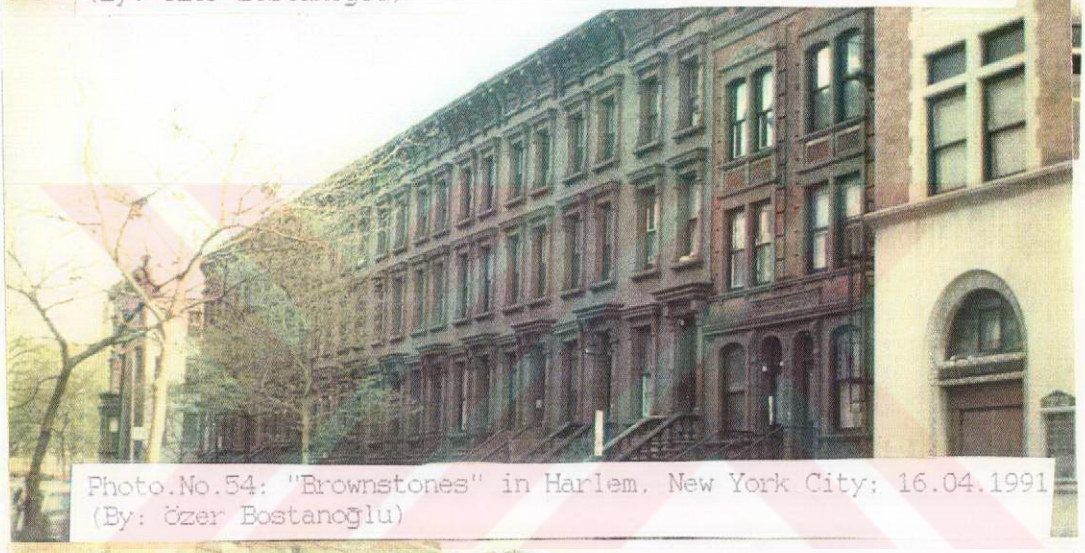

Photo.No.54: "Brownstones" in Harlem. New York City: 16.04.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.55: "Sealed Buildings" on Lenox Ave. in Harlem. New York City: 24.05.1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.56: Lenox Ave. in Harlem. New York: 24.05.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.57: Harlem. New York: 02.11.1990 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.58: "Turkish Baths" in Harlem. New York City: 24.05.1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.59: A View From the 3rd Ave. to the West in "El Barrio", New York City: 24.05.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.60. 61: "El Barrio" in New York City: 24.05.1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.61

Photo.No.62, 63, 64: South Bronx in New York City; 08.06.1991
(By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.63

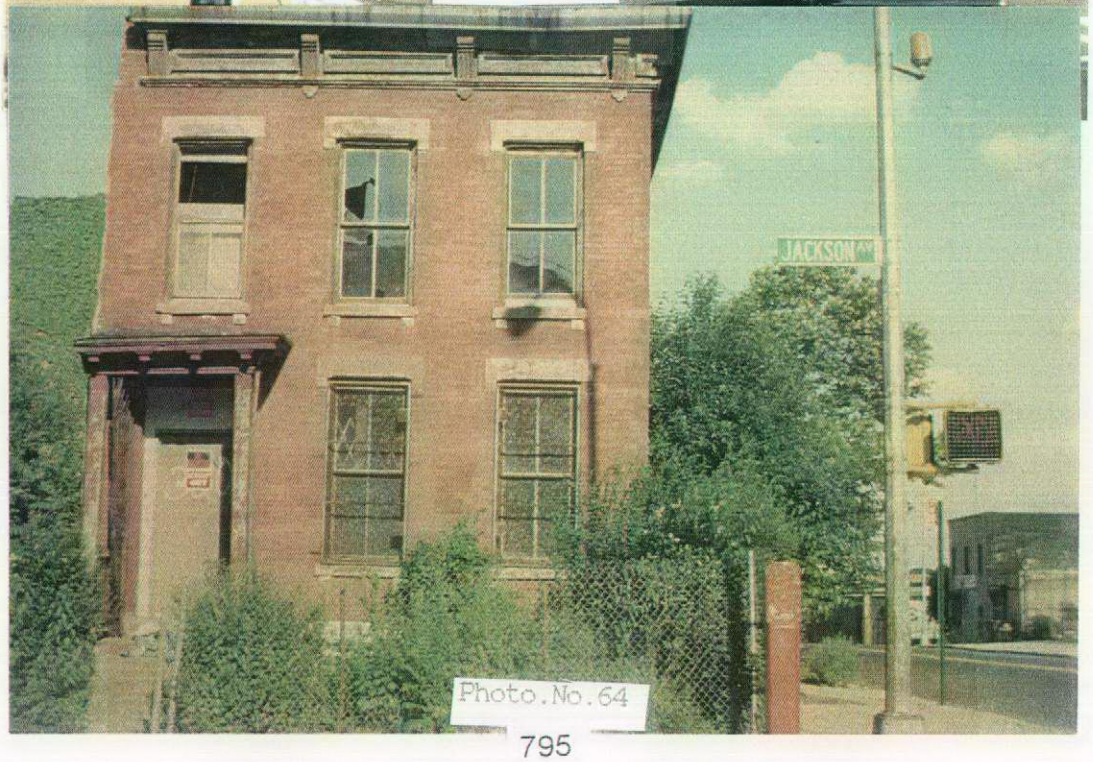

Photo.No.64

Photo.No.65: W.Berlin. July 1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.66: Budapester Str.. W.Berlin: July 1987
(By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.67: "IBA - New Building", Potsdamer Str., W.Berlin; July 1987 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.68: An "Old Building" in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1987 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.69: "House Occupation" in Kreuzberg, (By: Özer Bostanoğlu) W.Berlin: July 1987

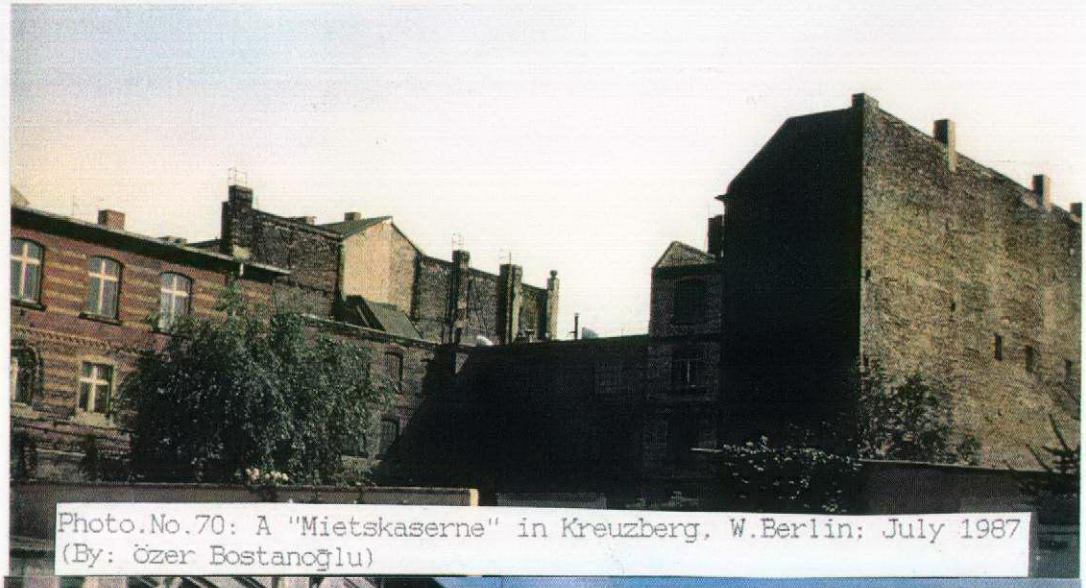

Photo.No.70: A "Mietskaserne" in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1987
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.71: "Modernization" in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: June 1987
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.72: "Modernization" in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1987
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.73: Kreuzberg, July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.74: Kreuzberg, July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.75: The "Berlin Wall" in July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.76: Kottbusser Tor. Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.77: "Kreuzberger Mischung"; July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.78: "Kreuzberger Mischung"; July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.79: Turks in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.80: A Public (Tenant) Information Bureau on Wrangelstr. in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.81: A Turkish "Translation" Bureau in W.Berlin, July 1991
(By: özer Bostanoğlu)

T.C. YÜKSEKÖĞRETİM KURULU
DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ

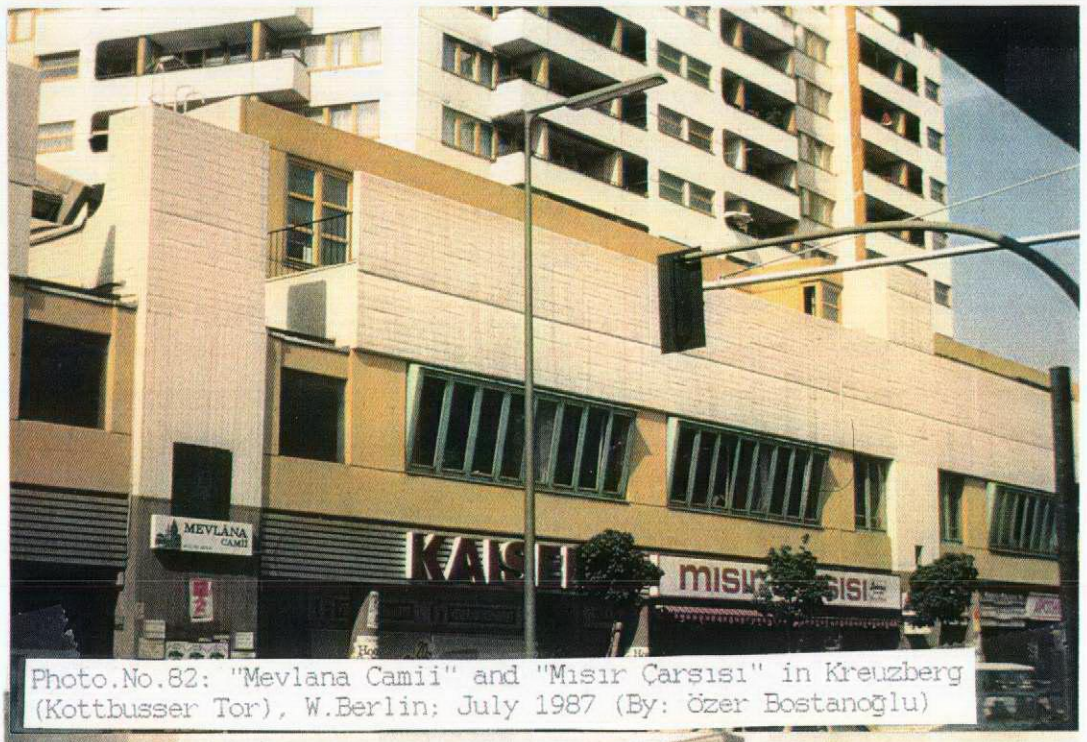

Photo.No.82: "Mevlana Camii" and "Mısır Çarşısı" in Kreuzberg (Kottbusser Tor), W.Berlin: July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.83: A Turkish "Imbiss" Shop on Wrangelstr. in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin: July 1987 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.84: A Turkish Greengrocer in W.Berlin: July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

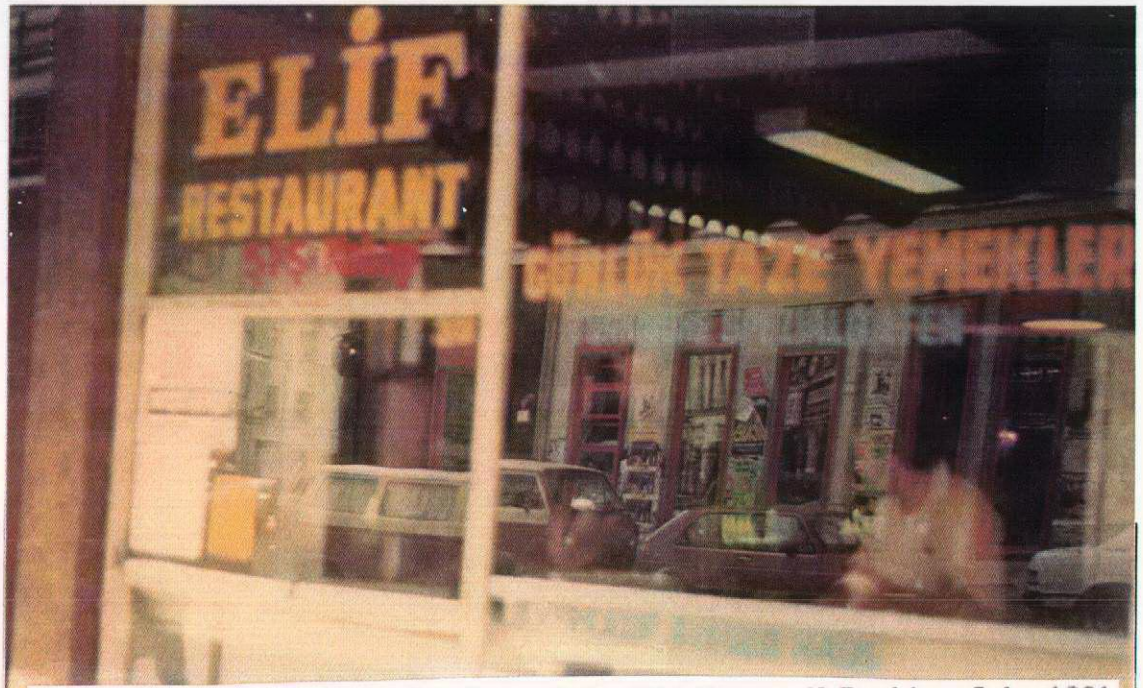

Photo.No.85: A Turkish Restaurant in Kreuzberg, W.Berlin; July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

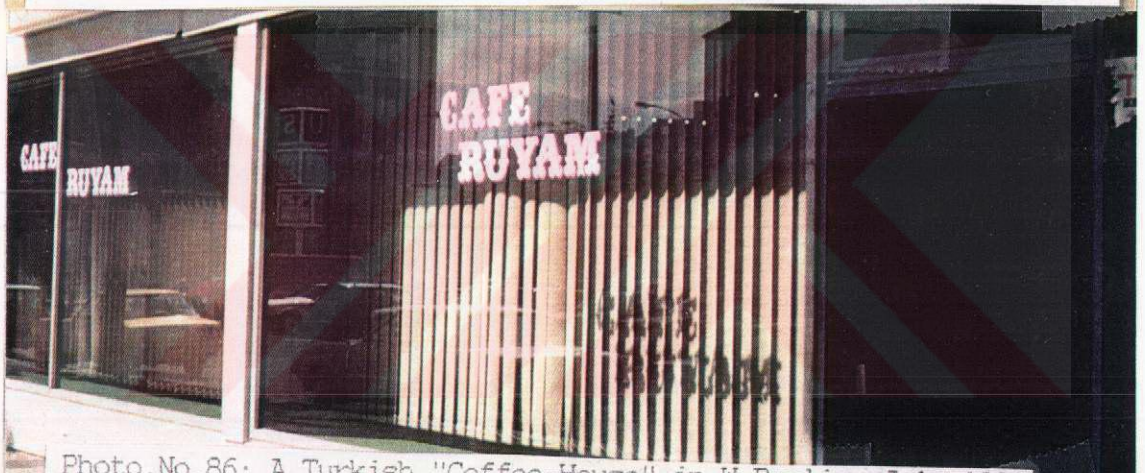

Photo.No.86: A Turkish "Coffee-House" in W.Berlin; July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

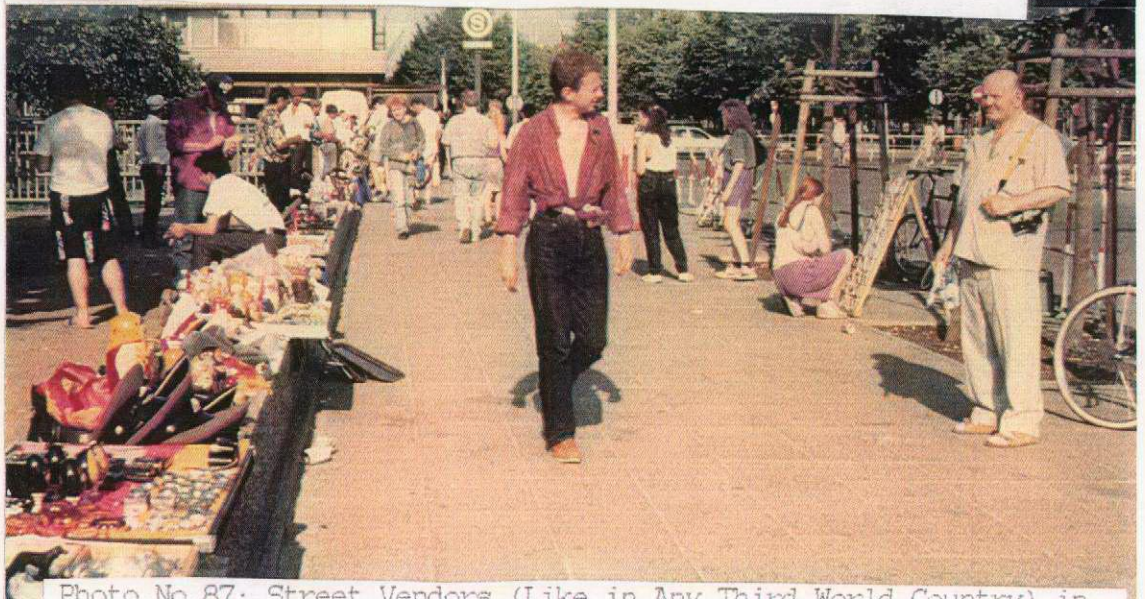

Photo.No.87: Street Vendors (Like in Any Third World Country) in W.Berlin (Near Brandenburger Tor); July 1991 (By: özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.88, 89, 90: East Berlin: July 1991 (By: Özer Bostanoğlu)

Photo.No.89

Photo.No.90

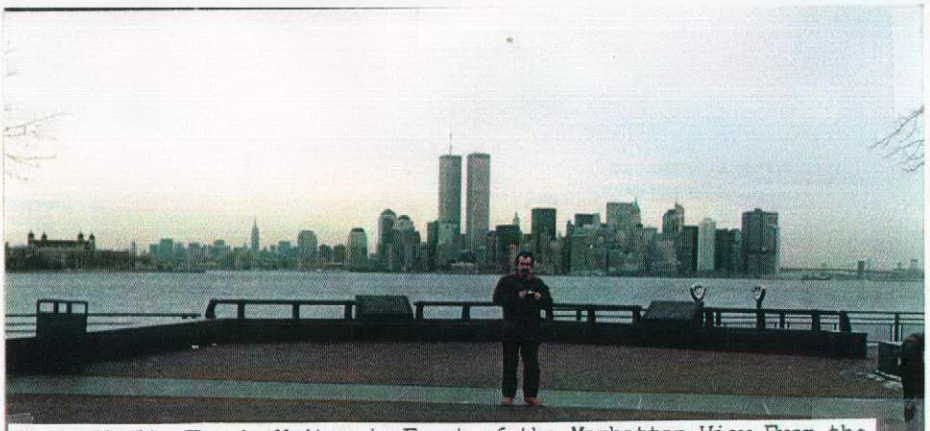

Photo.No.91: Thesis Writer in Front of the Manhattan View From the (Statue of) Liberty Island (Middle-Left: The Ellis Island, i.e. the Place of Entry For Immigrants to America); 24.01.1991 (By: Olca Bostanoğlu)

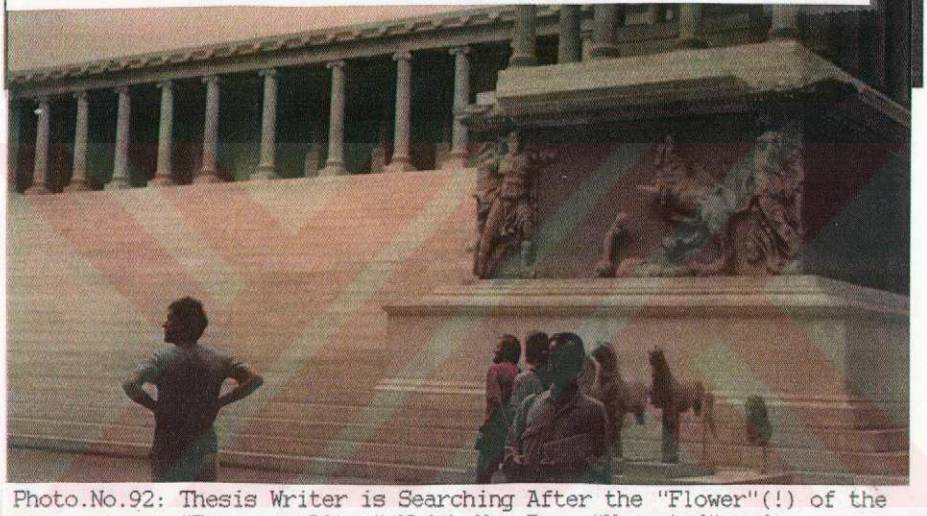

Photo.No.92: Thesis Writer is Searching After the "Flower"(!) of the "Pergamon Altar" Which Has Been "Uprooted" and "Transplanted" From Pergamon Citadel (in Western Anatolia) to (East) Berlin (in Exchange For 20,000 Marks!) in the 1870/1880s By a German Road Engineer (Carl Humann) Working For the Berlin Museums; 04.07.1991 (By: Saim Yıldız)

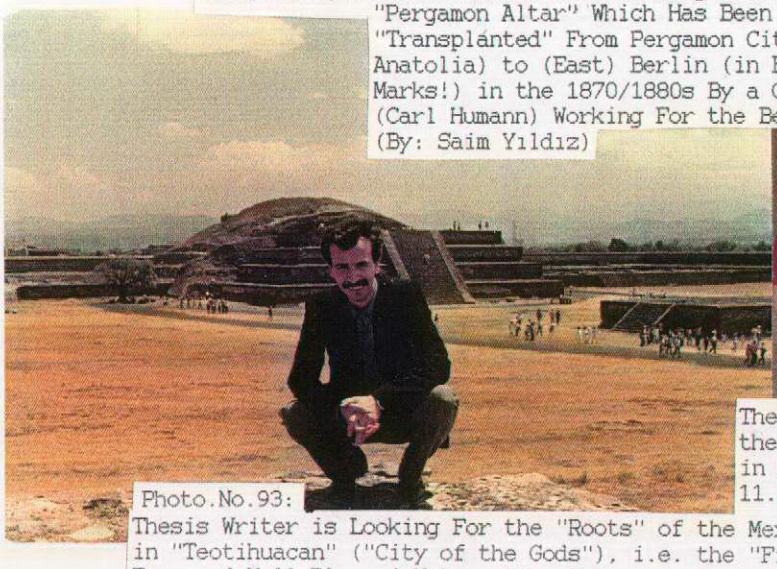

Photo.No.93: Thesis Writer is Looking For the "Roots" of the Mexicans in "Teotihuacan" ("City of the Gods"), i.e. the "First True and Well-Planned Metropolis of Mesoamerica" and the "Mecca" For Pilgrims of the Classic Period Located in the Valley of Mexico; March 1985 (By: Rafet Güney)

Photo.No.94: Thesis Writer With Alex Haley, the Author of the "Roots" in His Farmhouse (Tennessee/the U.S.); 11.04.1991 (By: Sou-Lin Chou)

CURRICULUM VITAE

ÖZER BOSTANOĞLU
(CITY PLANNER)

He was born in Konya/TURKEY on 24.08.1955. (As the second child of Saffet Cumbul (1930) (Housewife) and Lütfi Bostanoğlu (1925) (Forest Ingenieur & Jurist, an (ex-)expert of the UN-FAO) and as the brother of Özen and Burcu.) He has graduated from the İstanbul Erkek Lisesi (1974) and the Middle East Technical University (M.E.T.U.) (Department of City and Regional Planning) (1979). After being employed at the Ministry of (former Reconstruction) Public Works and Settlement in January 26, 1981, and after finishing of his short term military duty in Denizli in 1982, he was sent to the Institute for Housing (and Urban Development) Studies -BIE in Rotterdam with a stipendium obtained from the Dutch Government and has got a post-graduate diploma there in 1983. He has completed his MS study at the same department (of the M.E.T.U.) in 1986. In the year 1987, he has obtained a stipendium from the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in F.Germany for making practice at the Urban Development Department of the Hannover Municipality and at the Berliner Senat for Construction and Housing Affairs. He has conducted his studies at the Department of Urban affairs and Planning of the Hunter College of the City University of New York (in the academic year of 1990-1991) and at the Urban Development Corporation in Harlem (New York) with a stipendium obtained from the Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowship Program. His Ph.D studies which had begun in 1986 at the M.E.T.U. are expected to be finished in February 1996. He is still employed at the Department of Investment Projects and Foreign Relationships of the General Directorate for Technical Research and Implementation of the (cited) Ministry. Being married to Olca Çalıkoğlu (1960) (Education Psychologist) since 1989, he has a son, Bener (1993). His foreign languages are English and German.

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(2) --------, "An Introduction to (Low-Cost) Infrastructural System Planning With the Help of Remote Sensing (Aerial Photography)" (Unpublished Report No:1024 for the Post-Graduate Diploma), Rotterdam (/The Netherlands): Institute for Housing Studies (IHS) -BIE, December 1983; (98+vi pp).

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(4) --------, "Türkiye'de (Planlı ve Gecekondu Alanlarda) Kira Politikası", Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol.XI, No:82, September 1986, pp.49-59.

(5) -------- & Rafet Güney, "Meksika ve Brezilya'da (Düşük Gelirliler İçin) Konutlandırma Etkinlikleri", Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı -Bülten, Vol.18, No:94, December 1986, pp.89-102.

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(7) --------, "Mimar Sinan, Mimarlığımız ve Şehirciliğimiz", Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı -Bülten, Vol.19, No:96, March- April 1987, pp.41-44.

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(9) --------, "Türkiye'den Federal Almanya'ya Yönelen Dışgöç Hareketi ve Yarattığı Mekansal Oluşumlar", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.20, No:4, December 1987, pp.89-106.

(10) --------, "Türkiye Örneğinde Uluslararası İşgücü Göçü Üzerine Bir Kitap Tanıtımı (Kitap: "Göç ve Gelişme: Uluslararası İşgücü Göçünün Boğazlıyan İlçesi Üzerindeki Etkilerine İlişkin Bir Araştırma" (Yazarlar:N.Abadan-Unat, R.Keleş, R.Penninx, H.van Renselaar, L.van Velzen, L.Yenisey, (Türkçesi: Ü.Oskay), Ankara: Ajans-Türk, 1976)", Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı -Bülten, Vol.20, No:100, Jan.-Feb. 1988, pp.72-77.

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(12) --------, "(Ankara-Çiğdemtepe) Gecekondular(ın)da Halk Katılımı", Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Vol.XII, No:97, July 1988, pp.24- 26.

(13) --------, "Federal Almanya'da Halk Katılımı", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol.22. No:2, June 1989, pp.41-52.

(14) --------, "Atatürk ve Şehirciliğimiz", Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı -Bülten, Vol.21, No:104, Dec.-Jan.1989, pp.46-47.

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