The Immigrant Second Generation in North America and Europe

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Processes of Integration and Exclusion. Second Generation Turkish Migrants in Hanover

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1. Introduction*

This paper summarizes the preliminary results of a research project which examines the question which subjective and objective factors influence the processes of integration and exclusion with respect to Turkish migrants of the second generation. Migrants of Turkish origins have been examined as they are the largest migrant group in Germany. Members of the second generation have been investigated being, in comparison to those of the first generation, more strongly confronted by the alternative being integrated or excluded. We define the members of the second generation as those either born in Germany or who have absolved the greater part of their schooling there.

With the concept of social exclusion a new form of social inequality is asserted which older terms such as poverty can no longer sufficiently describe (Kronauer 2002). The older form of social inequality, which had more to do with the question of being placed between lower and upper levels in society, has been superimposed by the question of whether one belongs at all or not. The increase of precarious employment conditions, wide-spread unemployment, weakening of the social networks and growing residential segregation have led to the danger of some relevant groups being excluded from a life of *"current social standards"* (Marschall). A *"marginal position within the labour market"* and a *"loss of connection" in the social network* to the point of social isolation are, according to Kronauer´s (2002: 72) summary of the international debate, the distinctive features of exclusion.

The consequences of these social and economic changes are most readily noticable in the large cities. Here, as a result of increasing segregation, *areas of disadvantage* have established themselves. And it is feared that they will have *disadvantaging effects* for the inhabitants (Gestring/Janssen 2002).

Social segregation resulting from forced economic causes is to be differentiated from a voluntary ethnic segregation. (Häußermann/Siebel 2001). While in *social segregation* the danger is present that exclusion practices might increase, *ethnic segregation*, when voluntary, can give rise to integration of migrants by assisting the development of social networks, self-aid and self-organization. In discussions concerning the integration of migrants this difference between social and ethnic segregation is not often carried out. Ethnic segregation is placed on the same level as (self) exclusion.

When considering such criteria as unemployment, income, education and the housing

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situation, Turkish migrants of the second generation belong to the groups in Germany most threatened by exclusion. The migrants of the *first generation* recruited for the purpose of work as the so called guestworkers were thus integrated into the labour market. They led lives on the edge of the society tolerating as much with the perspective of one day returning to their native country. For the *second generation* of Turkish migrants the question of migration is another completely as they have relinquished the perspective of returning and have instead orientated themselves to the standards of German society. However, in most of the cases, due to their legal position, they are discriminated against as foreigners.

In this work we will focus on three dimensions: the labour market, the housing market and the social network. As the educational system is not a part of this study, we examined only as an homogenous group those who have completed the lowest secondary school degree (Hauptschulabschluss).[1] For this group the question of integration versus exclusion remains relatively open, while this is another matter for migrants without secondary school degree or with high school education (Dietz et al 1997). As the effects of ethnic segregation and the different types of living areas will also be investigated, the empircal research was carried out in *two typical housing areas* of migrants: one functionally mixed old inner city quarter (Hanover Linden-Nord) and one large social housing estate (Hanover Vahrenheide-Ost). In such a way it is possible on the one hand to investigate the effects of ethnic segregation and on the other to check the thesis that functionally mixed living areas offer better conditions to counter disadvantageous living situations than do mono-functional settlements (Herlyn et al 1991).

Integration and exclusion are disputed terms used not only in the social sciences but also in politics and the public sector in connection with different concepts and for different purposes. We hold four aspects for the characterization of integration and exclusion to be essential (Bremer/Gestring 2003 and Siebel 1997 as well as the exclusion debate Kronauer 2002):

Firstly, we are dealing with *relational* terms which in different societies and epochs mean something different. Today they take their meaning from the context of possibly an unique phase of longer economic prosperity, social security and social integration. In this period of fordism a *"social conciousness"* (de Swaan) was developed where accepted social standards included a measure of successful integration.

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[1] In Germany's three-tiered school system, there are three different secondary school diplomas: "Abitur" the equivilant of the British A-levels (13 years), "Realschulabschluss" (10 years) and "Haupschulabschluss" (9 years).

Secondly, integration and exclusion are *multidimensional* terms which contain economic, social, cultural, legal and spatial dimensions and their interactions. Should these interactions be considered, research cannot be focused solely on one dimension such as employment possibilities or the living situation. Instead, the functions of the familiar and social network, the life style and the self-definition of those involved, legal rights, new forms of state regulations and concerning the spatial dimension the cumulative effects of disadvantage through residential segregation must all be considered.

Thirdly, we understand integration and exclusion not to be conditions but *processes* whose vanishing points could be described as the poles of an axis. Poles of integration in the labour market are, on the one hand, long-standing, qualified employment and, on the other, a needlessness on the labour market. Accepting things as such, exclusion on the labour market does not begin with long time unemployment but rather with precarious employment practises such as forced part-time employment and temporary work contracts. Exclusion from the housing market does not begin with homelessness but rather with an increasing segregation imposed by economic or discriminatory factors. Hence, it has to do with the processes of careers within the different dimensions.

Fourthly, integration and exclusion are influenced by *social and subjective factors* and are therefore *two-sided processes.* Social conditions and the way in which *gatekeepers* carry out their work, as well as the qualifications, behavioral patterns and self-definitions of the individuals decide how the process will run its course.

Based on this understanding of integration and exclusion, the objective course of the biographies of Turkish migrants of the second generation and their own interpretations are examined in three dimensions: social networks, the labour market and the housing market. Important are the careers within these dimensions and their interactions. To get an idea of the social conditions for these processes, the dealings and perspectives of *gatekeepers* in the labour and housing markets are a second main emphasis of this study.

Due to a preliminary study (Bremer 2000) having been made in Hanover based along the same lines and with interviews from experts and a secondary statistic evaluation of available data, this project can concentrate on *qualitative methods: open, thematically structured interviews* with migrants in both parts of the city and with *gatekeepers* from the labour and housing markets.

The *sample of interviewed migrants* differs slightly from what was planned due to the extreme difficulty of recruiting interviewees. Instead of the 60 planned interviews only 55 could be performed. Of the 55 interviewed, 15 women and 13 men live in the large housing

estate Vahrenheide-Ost and 15 women and 12 men in the old inner city quarter Linden-Nord. They are between the ages of 25 and 40, whereby the larger group is between 30 and 35. Altogether, 49 are married. Of the interviewees, 32 have secondary school (Haupschul) diplomas, 18 (Realschul) diplomas and 5 have not completed secondary school.

The *gatekeeper sample* from the housing market includes in total 20 employees from five housing associations, six housing co-operatives, the association for housing finance and the urban department of housing.

This paper relies on the first evaluation of the interviews with migrants and with the *gatekeepers* of the housing market. Interviews with *gatekeepers* from the labour market have not yet been evaluated. In the following three sections the preliminary results concerning integration and exclusion of Turkish migrants of the second generation within the dimensions of social networks, the labour market and housing market will be presented. The fourth section will then summarize the most important results.

2. Social Networks

The characteristics of the social networks of migrants will be described according to their quanitity, quality and location. Afterwards, an explanation for these characteristics will be presented. Finally, the *consequences* of these network characteristics for integration and exclusion processes will be given.

Characteristics of Social Networks

Quantity: The social nets of migrants are based around the family. They are small and with time have grown smaller. Apart from parents and siblings and their husbands or wives, there are few relevant contacts which extend beyond superficial aquaintance. Membership in organizations or clubs, working for the same firm or the neighborhood itself hardly play a role at all as a basis for social relationships. With marriage, friendships acquired during the time at school are also lost.

Quality: The networks of migrants are ethnically and socially very homogeneous regarding educational standards and the employment situation. Accordingly small is the cultural and economic capital which can be mobilized for these networks. With some exceptions, there are no clues as to people who can act as bridgeheads to gatekeepers.

Location: The networks of migrants are locally centralized. Here the proximity to the original family plays the most significant role. Relationships between migrants are extremely sensitive to distance. Relationships in other city areas are seldom and only maintained with difficulty.

If at all it is necessary to change living places a great deal of effort is invested in finding an apartment near the parents and siblings.

Explanations

Family centralization, homogeneity and locality of the social nets are typical for members of the lower class (Young/Willmott 1957, Elias/Scotson 1993, Wagner 2002). In the case of migrants they are much more pronounced (Nauck 2002). For this there are four explanations which present themselves:

i) *Migration Destiny:* In the course of large scale migration, even when it follows the pattern of a chain migration, the social net inevitably shrinks. Distant relatives, neighbors and, depending on the age of those immigrating, school friends are left behind. As a result, the migrants are left only with the closest family core of parents, siblings, and children.

ii) *Family as Support System:* The immense importance of the family is the result of Turkish migrants being from a society where there is no developed welfare state. Therefore, all social achievements and support must be borne by the family.

iii) *Distance to Germans:* The ethnical homogeneity of the network is maintained by many to be based on an existing cultural distance to Germans. Those interviewed reproduce the classical stereotypes about the unemotional authoritative and cold Germans: *"We cannot suppress another person so easily. When we say something we cannot say it as an order. And then, when we are eating something, we are not at all able to eat, when someone is standing there beside us, without saying 'come eat with us'." (Zafer E.)*[2]

iv) *Marriage Conduct:* The closeness and homogeneity of their social network is based on the marriage strategies of the migrants. Only one of the interviewees was married to a German (they have since been divorced), the others all having Turkish partners. With but a few exceptions, this choice of partners is voluntary. Indeed, many could not imagine having a German husband or wife. Some Germans are as strange as Africans: *"What would you do if he now came with a German, what would you do, when he came with a black African?"* worried Zeycan T. when considering her unmarried brother.

In most cases the married partner is arranged for by parents or relatives. And, in the majority of cases, Turkey is visited. Almost two thirds of those asked got their partner from Turkey. On top of that, of the 55 interviewed (at least) 15 married a cousin. For these marriage strategies, four explanations may be assumed:

i) *Opportunities* on the marriage market: In a relationship of 7:10

[2] All names of migrants are pseudonyms.

(women/men) in the age group of 25 to 30 (Statistisches Bundesamt 1995) almost every third Turkish man is forced to find a marriage partner from Turkey, if he wants to marry a Turkish woman (Nauck 2002: 320). This, however, does not explain why far more than a third of Turkish men, and certainly not why Turkish women, despite an over abundance of Turkish men from their generation, get their partners from Turkey. In fact, from our sample, more women than men have found their partners in Turkey.

ii) Marriage can improve the *status* of both sides. Accordingly, by marrying someone out of higher social class from Turkey they are able to enhance their own status (Nauck 2002). There is not such a case in our sample. Marriage partners from Turkey had at their disposal if at all only a lower social or cutural capital.

iii) *Economic interests:* In this connection, Nauck (2002: 54)speaks of an *"exchange marriage"* within the original family. As a rule, the partner from Turkey has little capital which can be used in Germany (qualifications). On the other side, the migrants have at their disposal an extremely valuable capital, the permission to enter the country for the marriage partner from Turkey. This dowry is valuable however only for those who still live in Turkey. Hence, this would explain the large number of migrants who travel to Turkey to marry there and why they would be especially attractive marriage partners for those there. The frequency with which cousins intermarry meets the original family's strategy to secure the dowry within the family.

iv) *Moral Ideas* (Strassburger 2001): As a result, the marriage partners who have been raised in Turkey are considered from a moral perspective to be better than those spoiled by the damaging influences in Germany. Likewise, it is believed that there is less chance of a marriage failing between relatives than with others outside the family. Usually there is not much time available for the search for a partner in Turkey. When an appropriate partner is found the marriage often takes place before the journey home. The more familiar the circle from which the partner has been taken, the easier it is to calculate the risk of a quick decision.

Effects on Integration and Exclusion Processes

Family centralization, homogeneity and locality of the social net have ambivalent consequences. They are at once a net and a cage. All of the interviewees believed that they could unconditionally rely upon their families. The assistance both material and immaterial is varied and intense. This assistance includes emotional support, aid to combat everyday life, child support extending to loan assistance to help the brother or son finance his marriage.

The family network offers *reliable yet limited resources*. Social and ethnical homogeneity results in members of the network being able to assist each other for the most

part only in similar ways: the unemployed have little money to lend; those with precarious jobs are only familiar with other jobs in similar precarious job segments; and Turks only have information about the segment of the housing market to which Turks have access. The sensitivity concerning distance within the social network limits the options available in the housing market.

The lack of options is most easily seen with respect to *marriage practices*. Those requirements considered to be functional by Turkish standards are proven to be dysfunctional in Germany:

i) One marries at a very young age. This leaves little time for further education or professional training, especially among young women.

ii) Due to marrying young, women often bear children at an early age. The first child usually marks their exit from the labour market, which is not always voluntary. Even if, due to her qualifications, there were good chances in the labour market, she cannot often work, either because she must take care of the children which her partner, despite perhaps having the time will not do, or because the men directly refuse to allow their wives to apply for positions.

iii) Marriages occur for the most part within the Turkish community. This results in a strengthening of the ethnical homogeneity and impedes the development of bridgeheads in the German society.

iv) Two thirds get their marriage partners from Turkey. Hence, these partners have no social contacts in Germany, are unable to speak German, seldom have any professional qualifications and are legally unable to work for two years. As a result, they put more pressure on the social networks than do they strengthen it.

3. Labour Market

To begin with we describe two cases from our sample which enable us to comprehend the processes of one man's exclusion career and the integration career of one woman. Thereafter, we will discuss five explanations.

The Exclusion Career

Aziz O. entered the country at twelve years of age. He does not complete school, leaving after the ninth class, when he attends vocational school to learn welding. Afterwards, he does complete secondary school ("Hauptschulabschluss") and could have learned to become a roofer. However, at this time, Aziz is convinced, as are his parents, about returning to Turkey after a couple of years of earning money. As a result, he starts to work immediately. Being the

eldest, he is forced to help his parents financially who invest as much money as possible in their homeland. Aziz O.'s father encourags him to earn money early: *"My father said, my son, when you are old enough, then they will give you the permission to work and then you can find a good job and start to work."* Aziz, however, does not find a "good job" and ends up working for a temporary work agency where he does smaller repair and help jobs earning 1,600 DM (800 €) monthly.

Despite the poor wages, Aziz remains at this job four years until an acquaintance arranges work for him with a street construction firm. The *"work with asphalt"* is hard and physically exhausting but well paid and Aziz remembers the time fondly. Due to the poor situation concerning orders, after four years the firm must let some employees go. Those for whom the firm must pay the least in compensation are let go and Aziz, not being with the company such a long time, is one. Unemployed, Aziz applies for several positions in person but is sent away. His written applications are also proved unsuccessfully. The jobs which he could get pay less than he receives from unemployment benefits and therefore, married now and father of two children, he refuses them. Unemployment weighs heavy on him: *"To be unemployed is really difficult [..] when you stay at home, you can't really, when you go out, that's also not any good."* Finally, after six years of unemployment, he goes for career advice and is given a temporary job in a work project (ABM). He collects the trash in Vahrenheide-Ost for two years and receives 2,200 DM (1,200 €) monthly. At the time of our interview he had been unemployed again for six months. His plans of self-employment with a kiosk or a small food stand seem illusory and he regrets deeply his decision to enter the unqualified labour segment without professional training: *"If I had known then what I do now, I would have chosen a good profession."*

From the men in our sample, there is no case of classical integration in the work field as, for example, from the apprentice to journeyman to master craftsman. Even those few who are successful, doing qualified work in the middle segment of the service industry, have very discontinuous employment careers. For exclusion in the labour market the following stages are typical: entering the labour market without qualification, changing precarious work situations within temporary work agencies and smaller food chains and long phases of unemployment. Careers of exclusion run beneath the classical careers of unqualified manufacturing labour and with that beneath the typical career models of first generation migrants as well. Such careers often included repetitive manufacturing work (assembly line) under extremely strenuous work conditions. However, this model still plays an important role for the second generation. For the broad middle group of our interviewees, industrial work is

still of great importance, many are precariously integrated in this segment.

The Integration Career

Cigdem B. was eight years old when she came to her parents in Hanover. Although her parents were not interested in her success at school, she is able to complete her secondary school degree (Hauptschulabschluss). She is highly motivated and at all costs wants occupational training. She manages to succeed against the will of her parents who advised her instead to look for a job and earn money. Eventually, Cigdem's parents support her, helping to finance her training. *"My father can't say 'no', he's that kind of guy".* She enjoys the theoritical and practical training to become an instructor for children, which lasts three years: *"I really began to blossom out there."* A higher secondary school diploma (Realschulabschluss) was linked with the successful completion of the training. However, Cigdem is unable to find work after the training and is unemployed. Then she finally gets work limited for one year through a work program (ABM) of the Office of Employment. It is in a children's group of a union charity organization (Arbeiterwohlfahrt [AWO]). This chance enables Cigdem to get an unlimited work contract: a colleague resigned and the head of the children's group offered Cigdem B. the position. Two years after her marriage to a Turkish fellow from Turkey which her parents arranged, she has her first child and takes maternity leave for one year. She returns to her full-time job afterwards. As she is able to bring her son with her to the children's group, she does not take maternity leave after the birth of her second child but returns to work after a short pause. In 1998, Cigdem B. changed to another AWO children's group located in Linden-Nord where she also lives. She earns 2,700 DM (1,350 €).

Of the women from our sample, Cigdem B. is an exception: she has learned a profession and works full time in that profession. The process of the career of a woman within the labour market is greatly influenced by their early marriage and the birth of their first child. Most women are precariously integrated, working part time in unspecified segments of the service industry (cleaning jobs, hair dresser etc). For some, the role of mother and housewife offers an alternative to waged work – at least until the children go to school.

Explanations

Five explanations present themselves for the course of careers within the labour market and the positioning of Turkish migrants in the work force. These describe for the most part restrictions to which the migrants are subjected.

i) *Discrimination*: Discrimination in the labour market can appear at different stages: in the first place, as blocking the way to vocational training and in the second, as blocking entrance to the labour market itself; furthermore, as impairing one's career within the labour market by

firing or reducing opportunities for promotion. The comments of the interviewees concerning discrimination can be divided in two lines. They either report about a diffuse feeling of disadvantage or about concrete experiences with discrimination outside the working place. Few of the interviewees have had direct experiences with discrimination in their work careers and if, then during the first phase, when looking for training possibilities. No one gave discrimination as the sole reason for the complete course of their careers and their present situation. At the present state of our investigation and contrary to our expectations, from the point of view of the migrants, discrimination plays a subordinate role. However, with one exception: women wearing headscarves who are unwilling to take them off during work, have extreme difficulties to find a job at all.[3]

ii) *Restructuring of the Labour Market*: The migrants we interviewed mainly began their careers in the labour market at the same time, when a lack of available training places predominated: from the beginning to the middle of the 80's (ANBA 1991). Such a competition for places results in a process of suppression downwards, if you like, where those with the lowest school degrees have the smallest chances.

The overall possibilities to gain a foothold into the labour market have become increasingly worse since the 70's: *"At that time there was a lot of work, [...] if you don't want it, you can stop at midday and start again elsewhere in the evening [...] Now it's as if someone drops a grain of sand on the beach and says look for it, that's the work situation today."* (Zafer E.) There are fewer work places in manufacturing-industry and to secure such a place is becoming more and more difficult. At the same time, work conditions are becoming more precarious. The time when one begins industrial work is the deciding factor. Larger companies such as Volkswagen only offer a security which is generation dependant. Older industrial workers belong to those *"secluded from the moderization process"* with *"heavily standardized, content empty, low qualified jobs"* (Schumann 2002: 35). Nevertheless, they have a comparably secure workplace which they could achieve without too much effort. Contrarily, the younger generation who wants to work in this segment has to overcome a number of obstacles: entrance into manufacturing companies is made possible only through temporary work agencies, controlled by their proper firms when, after repeated extensions, it is possible to be hired by the firm directly but again only with a limited contract and, finally, at the end of this long process a permanent position might offer itself, but dismisal might just as well. The young migrants who have entered the labour market in the late 80's belong to that

[3] The role which the ethnical heritage of applicants or employees plays for the employers is a subject of the interviews with gatekeepers of the labour market. These interviews have yet to be evaluated.

group in precarious employment situations *"threatened by modernization"*.

iii) *Family*: The family influences the work careers of migrants in two ways, firstly by offering limited resources and secondly, by reducing the migrants' options. Turkish parents are hardly able to assist their children with respect to school success. Most often they are unable to speak the German language and, for work reasons as well, often have little time. Moreover, they do not often see the need for school or vocational training, as they themselves only needed limited training to find work here. If the father does aid in helping to find training places, he could enable entrance for their children only into those labour market segment where he himself is. Such employments are most often precarious.

The social network is very tight and homogeneous. Within the family there are hardly any alternative role models. Taking this into account, the behaviour of those persons outside the family, teachers or training instructors, take on immense importance: *"When a teacher lets you fall, actually there's nothing worse that can happen."* (Oemer U.)

The restrictive influence of parents for the careers of their children in the labour market may be seen in different ways:

- through an *early*, in part forced *marriage*; the obligation of the men to feed their wives and families causes them to need to earn wages instead of entering into a training program; the early birth of the first child often leads to women remaining absent from the labour market for a long period of time and then, without training or experience, making it difficult for them to re-enter the market,
- through *financial obligations* owing the parents due to illness or death of the father; in this case, the child takes over the function of the breadwinner for the family, a role reversal which is quite common among migrant families even in everday situations (cf. Portes/Rumbaut 2001: 53),
- through the *parent's orientation to return home*; often the children are expected to earn as much money as possible and as quickly as possible which then is often in part uselessly invested in Turkey,
- through *forced temporary residence* as children or young adults in *Turkey*; a number of reasons are given for these stays: Coskun P. describes them as his father's *"conflict solving"* stategy after a series of disagreements and Erdinc's father is afraid that otherwise his son would not learn the Turkish language. The children are torn from their school connections and the consequences are re-integration difficulties both in school and in the labour market.

iv) *Traditional Roles*: For both men and women an understanding of roles is predominant

where the man provides for material things and the woman for the household and children. Almost all of the housewives and mothers in our sample identified with their role. Should a conflict arise between the demands of work and the family, the role of mother and housewife takes precedence. They have a low orientation concerning the labour market and believe their husbands have the main responsibility for maintaining the family. Therefore, women pursue part-time employment.

v) *Chance orientation*: In looking for work, chance orientation is predominant. Most of the employment situations occur purely by chance and not as the result of target orientated dealings. One takes what is offered at the moment. Stategic considerations and long term vocational planning hardly exist at all. The only exception is the goal of men of achieving security by finding employment at Volkswagen.

"*Work is the main thing*" or "*training is the main thing*" these are typical behavioural patterns of those leaving secondary school (Dietz et al. 1997, Huebner-Funk 1988). They are aware of their poor chances and any personal needs or skills quickly vanish when looking for work. They orientate themselves to realizing the opportunities available. Especially pupils of secondary school (Hauptschule) who end up in a kind of "bridging scheme", have hardly any demands at all concerning work and find the wish for vocational training an obstacle to getting their foot in door of the labour market: *"Having work is the desired occupation"* (Wachtveitl/Witzel 1987: 29).

This behavioural pattern is not only specific to a particular social class but *origin* also plays a role. Chance orientation is much more prevelant with migrants leaving secondary school than it is among Germans. According to Nowey (1983) foreign pupils leaving secondary school (in 1979/1980; of which 50% were of Turkish origins) were much less able to define concrete occupational wishes than were Germans of comparable groups. The economic situation in Turkey and the Turkish labour market are both extremely insecure and do not permit long-term planning. Instead, they demand flexibility and an appropriate orientation to the labour market which the migrants of the second generation have taken over from their parents. Pries (1998) noticed a similar behavioural pattern concerning chance orientation with Mexican migrants in the United States' labour market.

This temporary and opportunistic orientation is, on the one hand, *functional*: as the group we examined has little chance on the German labour market, commitment to a definite, occupational goal can be counter-productive. Coskun, for example, wanted to be an electromechanic but failed his entrance exam. He refused other vocational trainings and eventually ended up without any education in a precarious labour market segment. Only the

ability to relinquish almost completely all demands concerning vocational trainings makes it at all possible to gain a training place.

On the other hand, chance orientation increases the *risk of exclusion,* when no training has been made. To orientate oneself on short-term opportunities and quick earnings is in the long run disfunctional. Not only does it prevent one from entering a qualified and secure segment of the labour market, but also increases the danger of being completely excluded from the entire labour market.

Along with these five explanations, five restrictions will be noted which help us to understand the careers of those excluded and precariously integrated in the labour market. The requirements for lowly qualified Turkish migrants to find a decent job are extremely difficult. For those who have managed to achieve a career of integration despite these restrictions, *chance and character* play a major role.

4. Housing Market

The question of integration and exclusion in the housing market has first to do with housing provisions and secondly with the housing area. In other words, we have questioned concerning the quality of the living space and the effects of segregation and of differently structured housing areas (functional mixed old inner city quarter vs. monofunctional large social housing estate).

The Areas Examined

From the data at hand, segregation of Turkish inhabitants in Hanover increased upto the 80's but in the 90's fell.[4] Having considered one old inner city quarter and one social housing estate, we have examined for German cities two typical migrant quarters. Linden-Nord and Vahrenheide-Ost are the city quarters in Hanover with the largest portion of migrant inhabitants. Linden-Nord is a functionally mixed former worker's quarter from the 19th century. Vahrenheide-Ost is a mono-functional large settlement, enlarged in the 60's and 70's. Nearly 90% of the housing stock belong to the social housing projects. In both quarters the number of Turkish migrants has decreased in recent years. In Vahrenheide-Ost, the city quarter with the largest portion of Turkish inhabitants in Hanover, due out-migration of Turkish households, the percentage fell between 1994 and 1999 from 18% to almost 16% (estimations from data from Hanover's office of statistics). *"Ethnically homogeneous*

[4] The index of dissimilarity of Turkish inhabitants compared with Germans fell between 1989 and 1991 from 0,49 to 0,44. This data is relevant only for migrants who are Turkish citizens.

quarters" (Heitmeyer 1998: 450) are in Hanover as in other German cities, practically non-existent.

Discrimination

At best, Turkish migrants are as tenants second choice. They have hardly any access to the private housing market segment and limited access to that of housing co-operatives and housing associations. The housing companies (co-operatives and associations) follow a more or less rigid policy of quotation. When a building of twelve apartments already has two or three Turkish families, a further Turkish family will not be admitted. With one exception, all the gatekeepers interviewed tried to *"maintain ethnically balanced relationships"* in their buildings (gk 4).[5] How rigid the policy of quotation is practiced depends on the location and quality of the housing available and the demand within the housing market. In some co-operatives German tenants, as members of the co-op, can determine ho many non-German tenants are accepted. The housing market is at the moment relatively slack and, therefore, such a quotation process can hardly be carried through. Otherwise, the companies must accept buildings remaining empty. In fact, one co-operative which has a lot of apartments in Linden-Sud and Stoecken, both areas with a high rate of migrants, allows many apartments to remain empty to avoid a *"ghetto"* and *"to break open"* buildings and streets being predominately Turkish (gk 11).

Regarding the discrimination of Turkish tenants, *"social"* and *"economic-rational"* motives overlap (Eichener 1990). On the one hand, gatekeepers negotiate in the direct interests of their German clients who (too many) Turkish neighbors consider unreasonable and, during membership meetings of the co-operatives, express themselves freely (gk 4). On the other hand, housing companies are concerned about renting their apartments. This becomes more difficult when a building or a street becomes dominated by Turkish inhabitants: *"Germans do not want to move there."* (gk 1). Housing associations such as the GBH in Vahrenheide-Ost who have the major part of their property in larger social housing estates or other disadvantaged areas, cannot afford a quotation as too many properties remain empty.

Material Integration in the Large Social Housing Estate (Vahrenheide-Ost)

For most migrants, careers with respect to housing are long-term, sometimes over two generations *within the regulated segments of the housing market.* One can explain the first generation's moving into social housing in Vahrenheide-Ost with their discrimination within

[5] Citation from the interviews with gatekeepers of the housing market.

the private housing market. The careers of those second generation migrants interviewed living in Vahrenheide-Ost can, however, no longer be explained by the discrimination practices of housing companies. Only three migrants interviewed moved to Vahrenheide-Ost at the end of the 80's early 90's when the market was rather tight because they could not find an apartment in another quarter of the city.

The migrants live in their parents' apartment at least until they are married. There is no post-adolescent phase. In our sample we do not have one single in his or her own arpartment. That is partly a stategy of saving and, as well, so that parents are able to control their daughters. For the men, it is also for reasons of convenience. In many cases, married couples also live for a time with either their parents or parents-in-law. Normally, however, after a short time young couples move into their own apartments. Further movings occur when the apartment becomes too small after the birth of the second or third child.

Due to the importance of being near to eachother for the family network, migrants moved to Vahrenheide-Ost or simply remained there – a phenonomen which is well known from research on family networks (Wagner 2002: 240ff, cl. Elias/Scotson 1993: 118). Being within walking distance to relatives and foremost one's parents is the principal motive for choosing the location when looking for a place to live. The network is extremely sensitive to distances and grandparents for women with children are often the only possibility to have someone take care of their children every so often. Another reason for remaining in Vahrenheide-Ost is security, which social housing provides for the tenant: protection against wrongful dismissal and rent increases which one can calculate. Thirdly, one's demands for housing are relatively small. They are reduced to the basics such as size, a modern kitchen and bathroom; balconies, for example are seldon mentioned. The housing ideal is similar to that of the Germans but at a lower level.

Our preliminary results concerning the importance of *ethnical segregation* for the integration and exclusion process of Turkish migrants are unspectacular (Gestring et al 2003). Many Turkish migrants live in Vahrenheide-Ost and as a result, those interviewed spoke positively about the quarter. They like to have Turkish neighbors as there are fewer conflicts; one is happy to be able to live near their parents as this is a requirement for material support and everyday contact; the small Turkish infrastructure is hightly valued as it makes one's daily shopping that much easier. Some women complain about the social control present and the constant gossip but there is no evidence of an *"ethnic 'bench vise'"* (Heitmeyer 1998: 453), from which the second generation must liberate themselves. Nevetheless, there is no ethnic communtity in the sense of close companionship within the Turkish milieu. In single cases,

interviewees reported from neighbors who assisted with the integration of couples from Turkey but the positive effects of ethnic segregation are not easily found in the housing estate. An *"internal integration"* (Elwert 1982) in an ethnic community which is then a step towards complete integration does not exist.

The state regulated segment of social housing is essential for the material integration of these migrants in the housing market. The prevention of segregation through quotation endanger the material integration of this group of migrants in that segments of the housing market which is accessible to them. Voluntary segregation is a requirement for the support efforts of the family and maintaining of friendships.

Symbolic Exclusion

Large housing estates from the 60's and 70's have experienced a sharp decline in public opinion during the last few years. They are stigmatized as anonomous, unlivable spaces, home to all possible social evils. The symbolic exclusion of housing quarters through stigmatization can give or strengthen a sense of exclusion among those living there. A second disadvantaging effect arises when these 'bad addresses' influence one's chances of getting a training place or employment (cl. Gestring/Janssen 2002; Wacquant 1996).

The gatekeepers' opinions of Vahrenheide-Ost are clear: *"last rung on the social ladder" (gk 19), "the Bronx of Hanover" (gk 2), "a tendency towards slumming and the making of a ghetto" (gk 4).* The gatekeepers are in agreement that Vahrenheide-Ost has a poor reputation and that its negative image is one of the quarter's main problems. In most reports it is evident that they themselves have helped to create and maintain this image. The reasons for the negative image are firstly the social milieu, named by all of the gatekeepers, and secondly the actual building structure of the quarter which is seen by some as a problem.

The migrants are all aware of the stigmatization of the quarter and many have experienced situations where it has been made perfectly clear to them that Vahrenheide-Ost is a bad place to live. Derya was asked at her workplace: *"Vahrenheide, do you come from the ghetto?"* Ayse O. experienced the effectiveness of such a stigma when a friend of hers found an apartment in Vahrenheide-Ost where her husband, however, refused to move to: *"the husband said, no way, I don't want to live there. There are a lot of bums, alcohol and drug addicts."*

The rejection and stigmatization of the building structure of the quarter from the public and gatekeepers point of view is completely the opposite of the Turkish migrants' view. They see the constructional surroundings as positive – the infrastructure, shopping possibilities, little traffic (good parking availability) and the green area: *"ideal for children"*

(Osman U.). A migrant who recently moved into a flat of her own in a neighboring quarter is enthusiatic about Vahrenheide-Ost: *"I still love Vahrenheide"* (Semiha K.). The architectural and middle-class criticism of the buildings do not convince the migrants. On the contrary, their positive evaluation of the urban structure fulfills the intentions of the housing estate's concept (Häußermann/Siebel 2000: 131). The Turkish household with a working husband and wife who does not work or if so, part-time, and two or three children is exactly that type of household for whom the settlement was built (cl. Kronauer/Vogel 2002).

It is not the conception of the urban structure but the social milieu of the quarter which is problematic for the inhabitants. In the last two decades a social milieu of disadvantaged has developed in Vahrenheide-Ost, which is common among large social housing estates. A reason for such are negative careers of inhabitants who have become unemployed. A second reason is selective migration: integrated Germans, but also Turks who are able to afford it, have left the city quarter. A third reason is housing policy which, with the retreat from social housing, has led to the fact that those flats which the housing office has available to be used for disadvantaged groups are concentrated in the large housing settlements of the 60's and 70's.

The social milieu is very skeptically viewed from almost all of those interviewed. In dealing with this social milieu, three strategies can be differentiated (cl. Dubet/Lapeyronnie 1994; Hanhoerster/Moelder 2000; Tobias/Boettner 1992):

i) *Dissociation* of other social groups and areas. New arrivals from eastern Europe, Gypsies, Kurds, and Germans who drink alcohol and beat their children are the groups made responsible for the problems in the quarter and its poor image. Another variation of the dissociation stategy is then the division within the quarter of good and bad areas. Due to asylum seekers and criminal Germans, Zafer E. describes Vahrenheide-Ost as a *"burn mark"* by which, however, he means another area and not his own, which he refers to as *"one of the lovliest in Hanover."* In such a way one's own area can be saved and remaining there, justified.

ii) *Adoption of the outside image.* In this case, one is aware of the social problems as being threatening. Some migrants are worried, above all about the social conditions for their children who are confronted daily with crime and drugs. Nevertheless, the point has not yet been reached where those concerned have expressed the wish to move from the quarter. The problems still stop at the house door.

iii) While both of these stategies are prevelant with almost half of those interviewed, a third reaction is seldom: Selcuk *denies* the problems and refuses even to notice the stigmatization of the quarter.

Summary: The migrants who live in the social housing estate are materially integrated in the housing market. However, through the stigmatization of their quarter they experience a collective exclusion process which overrides the actual social problems.

What is Different in the Functionally Mixed Old Inner City Quarter (Linden Nord)?

We are not yet able to answer from the present stage of the evaluation of the interviews the question concerning the role of different housing areas for the processes of integration and exclusion. Nevertheless, we might note two differences:

i) Contrary to the large housing estate, there are both integration and exclusion careers in the housing market for the migrants in Linden-Nord. Exclusion processes in the housing market have been observed with almost half of the migrants, who find their housing situation noteably worsened. One can conclude a reason for such being that the migrants of Linden-Nord are more tightly tied to the private housing market than those migrants of Vahrenheide-Ost. In Linden-Nord there are clear signs of gentrification. As a result of higher rents, or in the case of loss of employment, some migrants are no longer able to afford their flats and must move into smaller and less expensive ones.

ii) Linden-Nord is not a stigmatized quarter. Judgements of the gatekeepers are ambivalent: it is referred to as having a *"dirty image",* or as being a *"Little Istanbul",* but also as having a *"student, comic flair"* and praised for its "*togetherness"*. According to the gatekeepers, the positive image is due to the multicultural milieu and a mixture of social structure (*"a doctor lives beside a student"*). Even among those who see the quarter more skeptically, they stress the fact that Linden-Nord is loved by a certain group (*"green socks")*.

The majority of migrants believe that the quarter has a poor reputation. As reasons they give the high percentage of foreigners, crime and Turkish youths who are involved in the drug scene. However, most migrants deal with the – assumed – stigmatization differently than those from Vahrenheide. The stigma is *confidently reversed* in that the positive aspects of the quarter are referred to: the functional and social mixture. There is an ethnic economy with a number of cafes, restaurants and shops, and living together with Germans and other ethnic groups is functionable. The social milieu plays an important role in the positive evaluation of the city quarter. Linden-Nord is not a quarter of disadvantaged groups but rather socially mixed. As a result, the migrants here meet different Germans than do their counterparts in Vahrenheide-Ost. Hence, the gentrification of the quarter does not only have a bad side, as not

only for students but for parts of the urban orientated middle class as well, it is an attactive inner city quarter to live in.

5. Conclusion

In our study we have investigated Turkish migrants of the second generation with "lower" secondary school diplomas. According to a representative study, about 50% of second generation Turkish migrants have a low level education while only 15% of Germans of the same age fall into this category (EU2001). With respect to secondary school education, the second generation has made progress in relation to the first generation but the distance behind the Germans remains great.

In the dimensions of social networks and housing, integration at a low level is the dominating pattern. In the labour market there are, however, considerable differences between those integrated, precariously integrated and excluded.

The core family is of paramount and yet highly ambivalent importance for the *social networks*. The family is, on the one hand, a well-functioning network as it offers reliable support for everyday needs. On the other hand, it is a constricting cage as the marriage strategies tighten the social and ethnical homogeneity of the social network and, as well, because family obligations are often considered to be more important than education or vocational training. Conditions for integration in the *labour market* are poor as one might imagine. The majority of those interviewed move within precarious segments of the market and run a high risk of being excluded. Chance, good luck and especially character permit one's rise into a comparably secure segment of the labour market. For integration in the *housing market*, social housing plays an important role. It manages to create a buffer between one's destiny in the labour market and the housing situation and thereby protects against exclusion from the housing market. Migrants who live in the private segment of the housing market are those who have experienced exclusion. Ethnical segregation is subjectively desired and objectively functional, as the social network is strongly dependant on spatial proximity.

The mode of incorporation of the first generation, the highly regulated labour market and the welfare state are all important general conditions for understanding our results. The parents of the second generation came to Germany as unskilled labourers and planned to remain only for a few years. They were accepted by the state and by the society as a work force but further integration was not desired. Many Turkish workers left Germany during times of economic recession. Yet those of the first generation who did remain never

relenquished their ties to Turkey and most of them never gave up the perspective of returning. Under these conditions, neither a quick educational climb of the second generation, nor a diversified ethnic economy can be expected. A second theme is the two-sided sword of welfare state regulations (Mollenkopf 2000). On the one hand, unemployment benefits and welfare aid even migrants without German passports and prevent their decline into absolute poverty. As well, the observed housing carrers of Turkish migrants are good examples for the positive functions of social housing – even though not in the form of large settlements. On the other hand, labour market regulations and German state and housing politics intended to prevent ethnic segregation make the development of an ethnic economy, which for some migrant groups in the U.S.A. have facilitated integration in the labour market (Portes/Rumbaut 2001), much more difficult.

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