

**Residential Histories of Munich's Turkish Population:
A Biographical Approach to Urban Residential Mobility**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the residential histories of Munich's Turkish population and evaluates the application of a biographical approach to the explanation of residential mobility. The analysis focuses on three different, but complementary, levels of analysis. The first examines the changing aggregate patterns of residential location and migration of Munich's Turkish population in the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, the analysis turns from the cross-sectional to the longitudinal and examines the residential histories of a cohort of 72 respondents. Thirdly, and moving further from the aggregate to the individual, the study explains residential histories by incorporating people's experiences, and evaluates the usefulness of a biographical explanation of residential mobility, based within a theoretical framework connecting identity and action.

The research adopts a 'mixed methods' approach combining qualitative and quantitative methods to address the three levels of analysis effectively. Analysis of population and housing data from the census examines aggregate patterns of location and migration for Munich's Turks. The results of a questionnaire survey outline movement through space and through the housing market for one particular cohort. Finally, in-depth biographical interviews examine people's residential histories in more detail by incorporating their experiences, focusing both on primary immigrants and their children joining them in Germany later (secondary immigrants). The in-depth part of the study also provides the opportunity of outlining and evaluating a biographical approach to urban residential mobility.

The research shows that, for both primary and secondary immigrants, residence has a significance that makes housing a crucial issue, important for feeling at home in Germany. Finding adequate places to live, however, has always been difficult for Munich's Turks as a result of their inferior position in the housing market. As a consequence, this population has undergone a marked sequence of movement through housing sectors, that has also resulted in processes of deconcentration and selective suburbanisation. These spatial patterns have not been the result of choice by the people concerned but are determined significantly by the structure and mechanisms of the housing market in Munich. At the level of migration theory, the research demonstrates that action (movement) and non-action (non-movement) are significantly located in people's biographies. Thereby, it is also shown that placing a biographical approach within a theoretical framework connecting action, narrative and identity is one way of addressing the demands of overcoming the structure/agency dualism, and contextualising migration and non-migration more fully.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

'We know very little about the housing histories of foreign families in Germany'.
(Günther Glebe at a seminar in Brussels, 15 November 1995)

1.1 Introduction

Immigrant minorities and their children from the countries around the Mediterranean have become a familiar sight in most countries of north-western Europe. Recruited originally to fill labour shortages during the long period of post-war economic growth, such people have now become an integral part of these societies, constituting a significant percentage of the population, particularly in the larger cities. Governments in the receiving countries have dealt with these 'guestworkers', 'foreigners' or 'immigrants' (the terminology often revealing the prevailing attitude) in various ways at various levels, from attempts at integration or demands for assimilation, to selective exclusion. In most countries, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, the attitude towards these 'foreigners' has been characterised by a high degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, economic necessity for them has always been acknowledged by most observers. On the other hand, their integration into German society has usually been seen as impossible and undesirable, the strength of these feelings depending on the particular 'group' under consideration, and their ranking in the ethnic hierarchy.

Behind these migrant 'groups' there are individuals who have passed through varying social, economic and legal frameworks, operating at different levels, through time. These individuals have their unique biographies, identities, fears and expectations. In short, there exists a variety of people and experiences, and a wide variation in the way these similar 'structural forces' have been dealt with by different individuals.

While the number of studies examining various aspects of the lives of 'non-Germans' is undoubtedly impressive, investigating very different problems at different levels of analysis, research in geography concerning the situation of these 'groups' in urban areas has been surprisingly limited and has become very sparse in recent years, usually concentrating on the 1970s and 1980s and stopping around the time of German

reunification (see Chapter 2). Most researchers (e.g. O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984a; O'Loughlin 1988) have relied on aggregate analyses based on official data, often focusing on aspects that have been singled out as matters of concern by policy makers - such as the likelihood of ghettoisation. These studies, usually taking a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal approach, have provided some valuable insights into the position of immigrants and their offspring in German cities, and yet geographical research in this area is characterised by significant 'absences' and 'silences'. In particular, and reflecting official discourses, these 'groups' have often been treated as undifferentiated wholes, and the individual has thereby been overlooked. As the statement by Günther Glebe suggests, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of residential issues affecting these minority groups.

The concern of this thesis is with these neglected dimensions of experience, individuality and subjectivity in a longitudinal context. This is not to deny the usefulness of aggregate approaches, which form an important part of the present thesis; instead the intention here is to supplement these approaches at a 'lower' (and, at the same time, deeper) level of analysis. The aim is thereby to contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes at work to shape residential histories. However, while the focus is on the individual, it is also on society and social forces. In Giddens' terms, it is about both 'structure' and 'agency' (Giddens 1979; 1984), and their significance in the sphere of residence.

The research is based in Munich, Germany, and focuses on one particular immigrant 'group' - the Turkish population. It examines their residential histories from an explicitly biographical perspective, as well as analysing aspects such as segregation, location, movement through space and movement through the housing market from an aggregate perspective, and in relation to the structure of the city's housing market.

In some ways, Munich represents 'the German city', while in other ways, it is significantly different through its historical evolution and its current place in the national division of labour, as well as its particular political structure. The research therefore examines both 'the general' (a minority group in a large German city, located within the political, social and economic structure of the Federal Republic) and 'the unique' (the

particular local social, economic and political forces as well as unique individuals within this general group of Turkish immigrants and their children) (Johnston 1991a).

Munich was chosen as the location of the research for a number of reasons. Firstly, the city has so far been largely excluded from the impressive number of studies researching immigrant minorities in German cities. This is surprising for a city that has one of the largest shares of non-Germans among its population (over 21%). Munich therefore clearly merits examination. Secondly, within a very severe housing shortage in most of Germany, Munich is known as the city with the tightest housing market, reflecting its attraction as a centre of economic buoyancy and cultural variety, as well as its high quality of life. The situation of stigmatised immigrants in an extremely tight housing market is particularly interesting.

My own background and interest have also influenced where I did my research and also what and who I wanted to research. From various visits to the city, as well as a short residential stay there in 1988, I had become more familiar with Munich than with most other German cities. This familiarity led to a certain degree of curiosity, and the desire to examine its structure, understand its spatial form and examine its social, economic and political life.

I was brought up in a small town in southern Germany, where I lived until I was 20 in a typical working-class district, characterised by post-war *Mietskasernen* (rental barracks) and company housing. The house opposite belonged to a large building company, housing mainly *Gastarbeiter* (guestworkers) from Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey. Being around these immigrants has been a feature throughout my life. From my early memories, I always had Turkish friends, and I think it is here that the roots of my interest in the situation of these people in Germany have to be looked for. An interest, that twenty years later was to turn into shame, anger and frustration when, almost fifty years after the end of the 'Third Reich', people of Turkish origin died *in their homes* in arson attacks in Mölln and Solingen. These events shook me as they shook most people in Germany, since they showed that behind every discourse, behind every action, behind every policy, there are always individuals affected by it. In this case, it was the Genç family who were almost completely wiped out through the arson attack by Neo-Nazis in Solingen, but one felt that it could have been almost any other Turkish family in almost

any other German city. I thereby felt that, despite the dearth of academic studies in the subject-area in the 1990s, residence as an issue was possibly more significant than ever for people of Turkish origin. Moreover, I started to think about the question of whether the meaning of residence changes over time, how residence is integrated in other aspects of people's lives and why and how decisions concerning 'the home' are reached.

1.2 An outline of the research

The broad objective of the thesis is to examine and explain the residential histories of Munich's Turkish population, set within a framework that focuses on both 'structure' and 'agency', on the aggregate and on individuals. The two broad 'groups' that will be examined here are first generation immigrants on the one hand (henceforth called 'primary immigrants'), and their children who came to Germany in order to join their parents (henceforth called 'secondary immigrants'), on the other. For reasons explained in chapter 4, 'second-generation' children born in Germany have been excluded from the study.

Integrated into this broad objective is an examination of the usefulness of an explicitly biographical approach to non-routine action, in this case migration/non-migration (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). This takes the form of applying and evaluating a theory based on the concept of 'narrative identities' for the explanation of action. This second objective has been stimulated to a significant extent by a recent debate in population geography on the atheoretical (and sometimes reductionist) nature of the subject-area, and has contributed to the particular theoretical and methodological direction of the study.

In order to arrive at a more comprehensive explanation of the constitution of residential histories, the thesis examines the issue from three complementary perspectives, applying different research methods and using different data sources.

Since residential processes take place in the housing market, a detailed examination of the (spatial) structure of the Munich housing market forms the backdrop to the entire study, and provides the context for the aggregate analysis of patterns of location and migration. Based on census and *Fortschreibungs* (continuous registration) data, this aggregate analysis examines the changing locational distribution, as well as

aspects of the residential migration, of Munich's Turkish population. These patterns are examined in relation to the characteristics of the housing market.

Secondly, and moving from the aggregate to the individual, individual residential histories will be examined and analysed. These are derived from a larger-scale questionnaire survey, which makes it possible to examine movement through the housing market at the level of the individual, as well as linking this to movement through space, thereby bridging the gap between aggregate patterns and individual processes.

Thirdly, residential histories are investigated *from the point of view* of individuals, examining their experiences of, and reasons for, movement through the housing market and the way in which residence is integrated in, and impinges on, other aspects of their lives. This provides the opportunity for the people concerned to 'tell their stories', and creates the possibility of examining how 'structural forces' impinge on individual lives and how individuals exercise their agency within 'structures and mechanisms' operating at different levels.

Translating a theoretical framework that focuses on 'structure' and 'agency' into empirical research clearly necessitates this range of perspectives in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of the constitution of 'housing careers'. A mixed methods approach, as applied here, is the most promising way to achieve this aim. These objectives are therefore matched by, and operationalised through, three different research methods: the analysis of official statistics; a questionnaire survey; and in-depth biographical interviews, which also provide the opportunity to assess the usefulness of the concept of 'narrative identities' to migration research.

The study thereby makes a number of original contributions to existing work on immigrants in (German) cities. These contributions relate to the substantive subject area, as well as to theory and method.

In the subject area, it examines various aspects of the developing spatial situation of (Turkish) immigrants and their offspring in Munich, and thereby adds to the large body of work based on aggregate data in other German cities. In particular, it adds to the range of findings focusing on location, migration and segregation in other urban areas, and examines these issues for the case of Munich. It supplements existing cross-sectional

approaches by a longitudinal perspective, based on the findings of a questionnaire-survey. In doing so, it systematically examines movement by one particular cohort through the housing market, as well as linking this to movement through space. Finally, it examines, from an explicitly biographical perspective, movement through the housing market from the subjects' point of view, concentrating on issues such as the changing significance and meaning of residence over time, experiences in the search for housing, and the relation between housing and return. In contrast to existing studies, this part of the analysis of residence is thereby firmly placed within the totality of the respondents' lives, and is examined for both primary and secondary immigrants.

On a theoretical level, the study contributes to the theory of migration by evaluating the usefulness and applicability of a biographical explanation of migration, that could also inform research in other areas. Additionally, it assesses the significance of a particular theory of action, in which action is connected with identity, for studies in population geography.

With respect to method, it supplements the large number of studies applying (mainly aggregate) single methods through the application of a 'mixed-method approach', presenting a more holistic explanation of the residential histories of one particular immigrant group in a specific German city. The way these methods combine in practice and in the final thesis will provide important information to future studies in the subject area.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

There exists a very wide-ranging academic literature on the situation of immigrant minorities in Germany in general, as well as their position in urban areas in particular, mainly focusing on the three aspects of migration, location and segregation. As outlined earlier, this literature is in general more concerned with the aggregate than the individual. A review of these studies, and of literature examining political frameworks affecting immigrants at various levels, is the focus of chapter 2. This makes clear the academic context in which this study is set, the material it builds on and the gaps it attempts to fill. Chapter 3 outlines the social-theoretical framework of the study, focusing in particular on

theories of 'agency', 'action' and 'identity'. Making these conceptualisations explicit is crucial, for not only have they been used to inform the analysis of the research material, but they have been fundamental in structuring the entire research process, not least the research methodology.

Chapter 4 introduces the methods used, focusing on the nature of official data sources, the design and execution of the questionnaire survey, as well as the various stages of the in-depth interviews. Furthermore, the chapter makes explicit how the research results were analysed, and how the different methods relate to each other in a 'mixed methods' approach.

Chapters 2 to 4 form the first major part of the thesis, providing the *Frameworks* for the empirical analysis that follows.

Turning from 'theory' and 'method' to research findings, chapter 5 introduces the most significant aspect of the structural framework, formed by the Munich housing market. The chapter is organised in two parts. The first examines housing policies and housing developments since World War II. The second presents the spatial structure of the housing market based on the 1987 census, and introduces a number of current issues related to housing.

Having outlined the housing context in chapter 5, chapter 6 introduces Munich's Turkish population and turns to an examination of location, segregation and migration at different levels. The chapter is again organised in two main parts. The first examines these three issues based on official data, in the context of the housing market introduced in chapter 5. The second part then presents the results of 72 questionnaires, and highlights issues related to movement through the housing market. Subsequently, this is linked to movement through space.

Chapters 5 and 6 form the second main part of the thesis, providing an analysis of the *Context* in the form of the Munich housing market, as well as examining *Patterns* and *Processes* at the aggregate and cohort level.

Taking the level of investigation further from the aggregate to the individual, chapters 7 to 11 are based on the results of 36 in-depth, biographical interviews. In chapters 7 and 9, the focus shifts temporarily away from housing, and a longitudinal

perspective on the lives of the 'primary' (chapter 7) and 'secondary' (chapter 9) immigrants is sought. Respondents' experiences since coming to Germany are examined, drawing on part of the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 3.

In chapter 8 (for primary immigrants) and 10 (for secondary immigrants), the role and significance of residence is then evaluated, integrating it into a perspective that focuses on the totality of the respondents' lives presented earlier. Issues such as experiences in the search for housing are highlighted, and movement through the housing market is explained. However, movement through space is left on one side in the chapter.

In chapter 11, the focus turns further to the individual through the detailed examination of two residential histories, integrating the material presented in the earlier chapters and returning also to movement through space. Moreover, various aspects of residential histories are explained by the concept of 'narrative identities' introduced in chapter 3.

Chapters 7 to 11, drawing on material gathered through in-depth interviews, form the third major part of the thesis, examining the *Experiences* of individuals and cohorts in various spheres of life, and the significance of residential issues.

In chapter 12, the different aspects of the research are brought together and the conclusions summarised. The theoretical framework and concepts, and their usefulness for this type of study are critically assessed, and the broader implications of the study at the levels of theory, method, contribution to geography and policy, are highlighted. Finally, avenues for further research generated by this study are suggested.

Part 1

Frameworks

In this first part, the 'frameworks' for the empirical part of the study, as well as for the chapters based on the findings generated by the empirical research, are outlined. This part consists of three chapters discussing separate aspects of the framework: a review of existing studies; social theory; and research methodology. While these aspects are discussed separately, they are clearly inter-related in the wider structure of the research and the thesis: the substantive focus (residential histories) is to a significant extent the result of the existing state of knowledge in the subject area dealing with residential aspects of immigrants in German cities. This focus, in conjunction with the state of theoretical discussion in population geography, has then led to a particular theoretical framework. This, in turn, called for particular research methods for the major focus of the thesis.

In chapter 2, a review of the academic framework in which this study is set is therefore provided. It is shown that while the findings from existing (mainly aggregate) studies are impressive, a focus on the individual and an in-depth approach are missing from the subject-area. If recent suggestions and criticisms are taken seriously, such an approach should not be couched in traditional conceptualisations of 'behaviour', but needs to be accommodated into a biographical explanation of non-routine action. As a result, chapter 3 outlines the social-theoretical framework adopted here, and discusses theories of agency and action. Such an approach calls for particular research methods which are outlined in chapter 4, where the variety of methods used is discussed - a variety that reflects the different levels of analysis in this study. While this part as a whole outlines 'frameworks' separately, however, this should not distract from the fact that these have also been developed and readjusted in a constant dialogue with the later empirical part of the research and the empirical findings.

Chapter 2

Immigration to Germany - Immigrants in German Cities: A Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

According to Castles and Miller (1993), the Federal Republic of Germany has received more than 20 million immigrants in the post-war period. These immigrants have arrived in a number of different 'waves' (Peach 1992), ranging from the return-movement of 'ethnic Germans' (a problematic term, see below Section 2.3) displaced by Russian and Polish annexation of former German territory (Herdegen 1989), to large-scale refugee movements in the 1980s and 1990s (Bähr and Köhli 1993). In-between these two waves, what are probably the two most significant kinds of immigration have taken place: the recruitment of migrant labourers from the countries around the Mediterranean basin in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and the subsequent immigration of their family members, primarily in the 1970s and early 1980s (but continuing to the present).

Immigrants who arrived in Germany as part of these 'second and third waves' are the subject of this chapter and, indeed, this study. In section 2.2, the most significant aspects of labour migration and family reunification will be reviewed. This is followed in section 2.3 by an analysis of the legal framework these migrants have entered into and, currently, live in. In the second main part of the chapter, intra-urban processes of change amongst this population will be examined, focusing on the three (inter-connected) issues of location (section 2.4.2), segregation (section 2.4.3) and residential migration (section 2.4.3). The chapter concludes by arguing that while the situation of these immigrants in urban areas is a well-developed field of enquiry, it is also characterised by gaps resulting from the reliance on aggregate-type approaches. It is these gaps that this study aims to fill.

2.2 Labour migration and family reunification: the case of Germany

Compared to other European countries, labour migration to West Germany started relatively late as a result of the immigration of refugees from East Germany and the former eastern territories lost to Poland and the Soviet Union (Spaich 1981), as well as a later start of post-war recovery (Castles *et al* 1984). By the mid-1950s, however, these labour reserves started to dry up, necessitating the 'importation' of labour from economically less-developed countries around the Mediterranean (Castles and Kosack 1973). Labour was an essential factor in maintaining post-war economic growth (King 1993), and the state initiated a highly organised system of labour recruitment (Dohse 1981a) that selectively tapped, in Marxist terms, the latent surplus population of various Mediterranean countries (Kastoryano 1991). Different periods of recruitment, corresponding with concentrations on particular countries, have had important geographical implications at two levels: at the regional scale, there has been a distinctive 'geography of arrival', reflected in a south to north dispersal of immigrants (Giese 1978; Blotvogel *et al* 1993), leading to the numerical dominance of different immigrant groups in different cities, often exacerbated further by chain migration (Kolodny 1982). However, this pattern became less clear-cut as time went by through processes such as random employer preferences and differential rates of population growth and decline (O'Loughlin 1985; Jones 1990). At the local level, later immigrants often found themselves in a more difficult situation in the housing market, which is also a reflection of their increasing physical and cultural distinctiveness and the resulting stigmatisation and discrimination (Castles 1992).

Workers were recruited either by the Federal Employment Office or directly by the individual firms, with recruitment being geared exclusively towards the needs of industry (Amin 1974)¹. The important economic contribution of immigrants for the receiving countries, and their lasting impact to the present day through fulfilling a number of different functions in the labour market, have been pointed out by various authors (King 1993; Mehrländer 1994).

These migrants usually entered the labour market at the very bottom, replacing (rather than displacing) 'native' workers and facilitating their upward mobility (Dohse

¹ See chapter 7 for a more detailed description of the recruitment process.

1981a) or, in Hoffmann-Novotny's (1973) terms, 'underlayering' the labour market². Thereby, they were concentrated primarily in manufacturing and building, where they were segregated in manual, unskilled tasks (Castles and Kosack 1973). This concentration in certain sectors and jobs undoubtedly created the perception in many 'natives' that immigrants from these countries were underqualified and incapable of performing more demanding tasks. In other words, they were also *constructed* from the beginning as the 'lowest of the low' (Walraff 1985), this itself contributing to their ongoing social, cultural, political and economic marginalisation. According to Tichy (1990), this was achieved through a fragmentation of the labour market, in which the 'secondary market' became increasingly defined by ethnicity. This fragmentation has subsequently been characterised by a high degree of persistence. Thus, while an increasing number have now moved into 'services', the socio-economic status of immigrant workers has remained virtually the same: the majority are unskilled, working in insecure conditions in declining industries (Castles *et al* 1984; Marshall 1988). Even with a small number of immigrants now making the step into self-employment (Sen 1994), or moving into the professions, unemployment has increasingly become an issue for the immigrant population in times of recession (Winkler 1993), generally being highest for the Turkish population (Esser 1985). The reasons behind these developments are straightforward: willingness by employers to lay off 'foreigners' first, indicating their role as an 'economic buffer' (Dohse 1981b); their concentration in declining industries (Kasarda *et al* 1992); and within these industries, their concentration in the least-skilled jobs (Korte 1985), as well as preferential treatment of Germans and EU-citizens on the job market (Schmalz-Jacobsen *et al* 1993). Low socio-economic status, low upward social mobility and high unemployment thus all contribute to weak bargaining positions in areas such as the housing market.

The long stay of these 'guestworkers' was clearly not planned and these later developments not anticipated. On the contrary, at the start of the guestworker system, the creation of a temporary, rotating labour force was envisaged which, by making it subject to discriminatory laws and practices (Layton-Henry 1990) such as a restriction of work permits and the tying of residence permits to work permits, could be disposed of at will in times of economic stagnation (Sen 1993). This temporary nature of labour migration was,

² He goes on to argue that the same process occurred slightly later on in the housing market.

at the beginning, very much to the taste of all three parties involved: the sending countries, the recruitment countries, as well as the migrants themselves (Engelmann 1991). This situation changed, however, as both employers and migrants realised that temporary stay and rotation were non-options (Castles *et al* 1984). The immigrants realised that savings were not as high as anticipated, and that employment opportunities in the home countries were poor (Power 1984; Collinson 1993b). From the employers' point of view, rotation would have been costly, since investments had been made in the training of the 'guestworkers'. While a large number of *Gastarbeiter* did indeed return to their native countries during periods of recession, many stayed in Germany, increasingly bringing their families to the country, this itself reducing the likelihood of return (Wilpert 1987).

Changes in the familial compositions of these 'guestworker' groups then usually led to different residential needs. The early accommodation for the (predominantly male and single) workforce was provided by the employers. With the prospect of a longer stay in Germany, however, often coupled with the reunification of the family (or parts of it), the desire and necessity (see Section 2.3) by the immigrants to improve their residential situation, resulted in their increasing movement into the private-rented housing market (see Section 2.5.2). Moreover, immigrants' children had increasingly to be catered for in schools and kindergartens. In brief, and using Max Frisch's (1967) overused phrase, the authorities realised (certainly later than Frisch did), through this 'demographic normalisation' of the immigrant population, that:

"... we asked for workers, and human beings came". (p. 67)

It became clear that these immigrants were not simply a disposable workforce (Uzun 1993), but a population that consisted of individuals who:

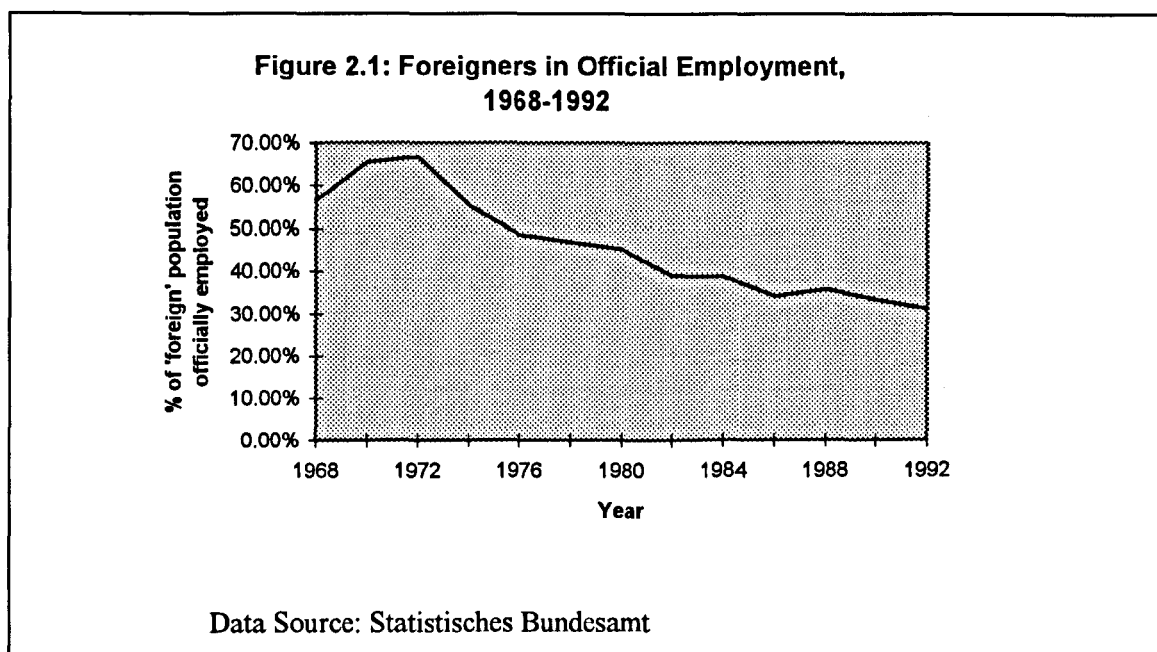
"... brought with them their own identities, rooted in their [personal and collective] biographies", so that:

"Many of the problems that have emerged are a direct result of the blind and arrogant disregard of [these] individual identities". (Pazarkaya 1989, p. 249)

These developments started to impose costs on the German state through the necessity to provide social infrastructure for the immigrants, as well as leading to conflict situations with the 'native' population in areas such as the housing market. It is here that the reasons for the recruitment ban of 1973 have to be looked for, rather than *directly* in

the crisis provoked by the oil-shock and the subsequent recession of 1973-5 (White 1986; Collinson 1993a).

While the second *Anwerbestopp*³ (the complete ban of all recruitment) was initiated in 1973 in order to reduce the number of ‘foreigners’ in the country, this strategy backfired to a large extent. Although the number of foreign workers did indeed decline after 1973 (Castles *et al* 1984), this was largely offset by increasing immigration of family members made possible by the Act for Family Reunification of 1974 (Sen 1993)⁴, eventually leading to an increase of the ‘foreign’ population by the late 1970s. Additional attempts by the German government to induce return migration, such as the abolition of the payment of child allowances to immigrants’ children still living abroad in 1975, had the same impact and led to still more immigration of family members (Hermann 1992).



These developments led to an unfavourable dependency ratio and a decline of the share of ‘foreigners’ in employment (see Figure 2.1), caused by the immigration of dependants who were, between 1974 and 1979, not permitted to work for three years after arrival (Räthzel 1991) and, in the longer run (resulting from the youthfulness of the population), through high fertility levels among immigrants (Tribalat 1987), a feature also

³ A first recruitment stop was initiated in 1966/7 as a result of the first mini-recession of the post-war years, resulting in considerable return-migration of ‘guestworkers’ (Huber and Unger 1982). It was after this recession that mass-recruitment became more and more significant.

⁴ This act allowed the immigration of spouses and children up to 18 years of age.

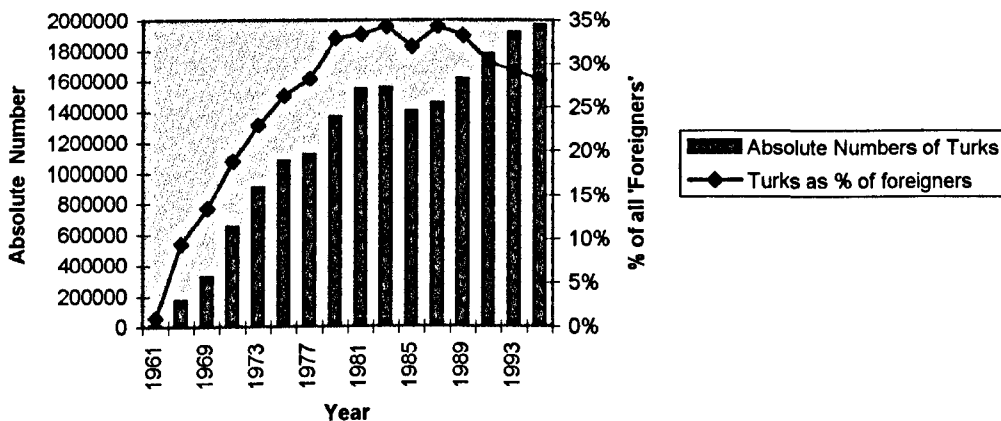
observed in other European countries such as France (Sporton 1990)⁵. According to Kastoryano (1991), increasing family reunification, and the resulting shift from *Gastarbeitern* to immigrants, meant that:

“... the problem of immigration became increasingly that of integration”. (p. 53)

This integration, however, has been severely hampered by the insistence of politicians that Germany is not a country of immigration (see Section 2.3).

This perverse reasoning is illustrated by education policies targeted at immigrants’ children, that have been explicitly aimed at ‘temporary integration’ (Mehrländer 1984), a factor that, according to Baker and Lenhardt (1988), has in the end worked advantageously for immigrants’ children, since it avoided segregated classes or schools (which, however, does not mean that segregation in schools due to residential distributions does not exist, see Glebe 1990). It seems, however, that this ‘advantage’ has not been translated into equal chances for ‘the second generation’ in the labour market. Instead they are often either excluded from the economy, or find it difficult to get access to jobs relevant to their qualifications (Mehrländer 1985; 1986a; Winkler 1993), confirming earlier fears that there exists the danger of creating an ‘underclass’ (Castles 1980).

Figure 2.2: The Development of Germany's Turkish Population, 1961-1995



Data Source: Statistisches Bundesamt

⁵ Immigrant fertility rates have been declining for some years, but the number of immigrants and their offspring in the reproductive age groups still ensures a stronger growth compared to the German population.

Not only did the immigrant population change over time with respect to aspects of sex or generation, but the relative importance of different nationalities changed, too. From a predominantly Italian population in the mid 1960s, 30% of Germany's 'foreign' population is now comprised of people of Turkish origin (see Figure 2.2). A large number of people from the earlier recruitment countries such as Italy (a member of the EU) have returned to their home countries.

This shift towards a predominantly Turkish immigrant population has had important implications for attitudes towards immigrants in general, since it is the Turks who, as a result of their higher visibility, are usually considered the most 'different' and 'alien' and rank lowest in the ethnic hierarchy of established groups, resulting in stereotyping and a high degree of social distance (Wagner *et al* 1989) also observed in other countries (Hagendoorn and Hraba 1989). As Wilpert (1983) argues, this has meant that:

"... the foreigner problem has in the mind of many Germans become a Turkish problem". (p.138).

For the Turkish population in particular, subject to much racism and discrimination in all spheres of life through an 'orientalisation' (Said 1985) of their culture and a resulting 'objectification' of people, this has often led to 'identity-conflicts' (Uzun 1993), manifesting themselves in particular (but not exclusively) for the 'second generation', who often live between two societies - too far removed from their parents' value systems, yet excluded from the majority society (Winkler 1993). Effectively, they are foreigners in their own country (Seidel-Pielen 1993). For all generations, these developments have the potential of making the planning of the future insecure (see Chapter 9), but there are signs that Turkish immigrants and their offspring have reached the 'end of their patience', reflected in much more active demanding of their rights (Leggewie 1993b) but, also, in increasing religious fundamentalism (Thomä-Venske 1988).

Despite the reluctance of German politicians to acknowledge the Federal Republic's status as an immigration country, the country's 'foreign' population has undoubtedly made the step from 'guestworkers' to 'immigrants and settlers', which is reflected in a number of features. In addition to the increasing number of immigrant children born in Germany, the average length of stay for 'foreigners' has increased constantly, so that at the end of 1991, more than 70% of the immigrant population had lived in Germany for 10 years or more (Senoçak 1993). Moreover, reports have indicated

that immigrants exhibit an increasing ‘Germanisation’ of life-styles manifested in consumption patterns such as the purchase of flats or houses (Sen and Goldberg 1994; Sen 1994), often coupled with a decreasing desire to return (Der Spiegel 32/1990). As Winkler (1993) demonstrates, immigrants, while still retaining a favourable age structure compared to the ‘native’ population, also show an increasing convergence of their reproductive, household and family patterns with the German population. While not automatically working towards ‘emancipation’ for the women concerned, this is also mirrored in increasing divorce rates among the immigrant population, often triggered through women’s active role in migration (Rosen 1986), their participation in paid work and a resulting change in self-perception, coupled with less pressure to conform to the ideal of a stable marriage (Morokvasiç 1984, 1988; see also Chapter 7). This increasingly leads to smaller immigrant households and a new set of social and economic problems, manifested for example in difficulties in finding acceptable housing, that need to be addressed by policy makers, as does the increasing number of immigrant pensioners (Tichy 1990; Demirkan 1993). As a result of these developments and indicators, Castles (1986) therefore argues that:

“The guestworker systems of Western Europe are dead. ... The guestworkers are no longer with us; either they have gone or they have been transmogrified into settlers and marginalised into ethnic minorities”. (p. 775)

This is reflected in a study by the *Centre for Turkish Studies* which showed that, in 1992, 83% of Turkish immigrants and their children wanted to stay in Germany forever (Sen 1993). This reality has not been acknowledged fully by the German authorities. The failure to face up to reality, however, has contributed significantly towards immigrants’ inferior position in society.

2.3 Creating deviant ‘others’: exclusion, nationhood and policy frameworks

In the previous section, I briefly touched upon some of the policies affecting ‘foreigners’ over the last 30 years or so. These policies, and their rootedness in a particular definition of German nationhood (see below), have had important implications at two levels: firstly, on a ‘practical’ level, they have excluded immigrants from certain areas of life and have thereby circumscribed their opportunities to participate in society, and to shape this society *actively* in turn; secondly, even in areas where *de jure* equality has been achieved, the definition of German nationhood, forming a ‘public narrative’, has continued to

maintain the existence of 'non-German others', thereby legitimating discrimination through creating a hierarchy of inhabitants, consisting broadly of various forms of 'citizens' and 'denizens' (Hammar 1989). This section will briefly review the most important implications of these features, concentrating on the question of citizenship and exclusion.

The German nation is first and foremost defined by descent, as laid down in the *Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht* based on the *jus sanguinis* (or the principle of blood), dating back to 1913 (Schmalz-Jacobsen *et al* 1993)⁶. Thereby, people with at least one German parent have an *automatic* right to German citizenship. Of current significance, and very important for the establishment of an 'ethnic hierarchy' (or an 'eth-class-society, as Tichy 1990 calls it), is the mandatory right to German citizenship of people of German *descent*, either resident in or expelled from German territory as of 31 December 1937. On this basis, even people whose *grandparents* were expelled from these territories, but who themselves have no connection to Germany whatsoever other than descent, have an *automatic right* to become Germans through the *jus sanguinis*. When moving to Germany as *Aussiedler*, they receive immediate access to citizenship; the possibility to retain their former citizenship; financial assistance; as well as getting preferential treatment in areas such as the allocation of social housing (Sprink and Hellmann 1989).

The second way to acquire German citizenship is through naturalisation, but this has always been seen as the exception rather than the rule (Hailbronner 1989). 'Foreigners' residing in Germany for a given period of time that varies for people currently between 16 and 21 (8 years) and the rest (15 years), have the right to claim German citizenship if they fulfil a number of criteria, such as not drawing social or income benefits, relinquishing their former citizenship and having sufficient residential space (Hammar 1989; Brubaker 1989a). While there have been considerable improvements in the statutory right of long-term residents with the formulation of a new Alien's Law in 1991 and *some* progress in access to citizenship (Ausländerbeirat München 1991), the fundamental weakness of this law is that it remains a *Fremdenabwehrrecht* (a law for the rejection and exclusion of immigrants), rather than being geared towards encouraging

⁶ The best discussion of the evolution of the definition of German nationhood is provided by Hailbronner (1989).

integration and naturalisation (Hirsch 1991). This law is ultimately based on the premise that the German nation is not a political unit, but a cultural, linguistic and ethnic one (Engelmann 1991). The state thus consistently ignores a changing reality, or a *de facto* immigration situation.

This point is fundamental, since Germany undoubtedly *has always been* a country of immigration (Bade 1992), which means that immigration as a concept has an ethnic connotation: those that are different and undesired should remain outside the nation and, by implication, the political process, whereas those that are German by descent are in some way 'better' and are included immediately. Rätzzel (1991) concludes that since access to the German nation is therefore regulated *primarily* by biology, naturalisation laws are inherently racist, since they reduce:

"... foreigners to bodies with the wrong blood". (Frankenberg 1993, p. 49)

Moreover, this sense of inferiority is sustained directly through the strict naturalisation policies (and easy access to citizenship for those with 'the right blood'), so that *ceteris paribus*, the ethnic hierarchy is maintained even for those long-term residents who naturalise, making it difficult for them to identify themselves as Germans (Schmalz-Jacobsen *et al* 1993), and to identify fully with the country (Mehrländer 1986b, see Chapters 7 and 9).

Through this differential treatment of various immigrant groups the state contributes fundamentally to:

"... causing and maintaining inequality by the racialising of immigrant groups (Meulenbelt 1988, p. 45),

so that:

"The aliens' vulnerability is directly linked to their exclusion from the political process". (Carens 1989, p. 36)

Clearly, this position by no means romanticises access to citizenship and its problem-solving nature: racism, discrimination and ethnic hierarchies are features of all societies (Miles 1993). However, by creating different classes of immigrants⁷ (and ultimately, different classes of citizens), making them subject to different laws (such as the Alien's Law for non-German residents) and violating the 'moral obligation' of

⁷ This is not to imply that *Aussiedler* are equal to Germans (Herdegen 1989), but that they rank higher in the immigrant hierarchy than other groups.

automatically fully including those who have lived and worked in the country for significant periods of time (Brubaker 1989b, 1990), the state legitimises discrimination against these groups in all spheres of life.

This also means that while there is no doubt that the rights of long-term residents in Germany have dramatically improved over the years, so that in many spheres (such as access to social housing) they are now *de jure* virtually equal with German citizens, both Brubaker (1989b) and Hailbronner (1989) are mistaken when they argue that these improvements have made it unnecessary to apply for German citizenship. Rather, we should ask ourselves whether it is not precisely the differential treatment of various immigrant groups, and its contribution to establishing an ethnic hierarchy that makes these minorities wary of becoming members of a state that is still first and foremost defined by descent, and wary of identifying fully with it (see Chapter 9). In other words, we shouldn't underestimate the symbolic significance of access to citizenship (Rätzkel 1991), and its *de facto* consequences for the excluded. These factors probably explain low naturalisation rates better than the absence of any necessity to naturalise through the general improvement of rights:

“Only if citizenship is offered *on reasonable terms* will we know that those who do not pursue it do not do so of their own accord” (Carens 1989, p. 48; emphasis added).

While it is undoubtedly true that the former labour migrants and their children now have significant *de jure* rights similar (or often equal) to German citizens, two things should be borne in mind: firstly, that there are still significant differences between citizens and denizens in a number of areas, including housing, for example through the requirement to have a certain amount of residential space (which is higher than what is considered the minimum standard for Germans) in order to obtain and keep a residence permit, or to facilitate family reunification (Budzinski 1988; Ausländerbeirat München 1991). Secondly, the construction of hierarchies of immigrants through the definition of German nationhood and access to citizenship contribute to the continuing disadvantage of these ‘others’ by legitimising discrimination in *all* spheres (Carens 1989)⁸, even in areas where *de jure* equality does exist (Anti-Rassistisches Telefon 1994; 1995). Some examples of this will be discussed in the empirical chapters.

⁸ Leggewie (1993a) therefore argues that the state, through its contribution to the creation of an ethnic hierarchy, has to share the responsibility for all attacks on ‘foreigners’.

2.3.1 Conclusion

Immigrants from Mediterranean countries and their offspring have always occupied a low position in the hierarchy of people living in Germany. This low position is manifested in a number of areas: economic, legal and social and 'symbolic'. This hierarchy has in recent years become further stratified by the creation of an EU-citizenship (Gebauer *et al* 1993), but has its roots in the definition of German nationhood based first and foremost on descent and the *jus sanguinis*. It is in the light of these frameworks that the position of these immigrants and their offspring in urban areas needs to be examined and understood.

2.4 Immigrants in urban areas: location, segregation and migration

2.4.1 Introduction

In addition to the social, legal, and economic status of immigrants in Germany, it is undoubtedly the nature of the housing market (which is itself not independent of these three factors) that exerts the strongest influence on overall patterns of the location, segregation and migration of immigrants and their offspring in German cities. Since the Munich housing market will be discussed extensively in chapter 5, and since this is similar (albeit tighter) to the situation in other cities, housing will not be discussed separately in this section. Rather, mention of the housing market will be integrated into the discussion of the three main issues of location, segregation and migration. Considering these three issues in isolation is somewhat arbitrary because in practice they are clearly inter-related. Nevertheless, for increased clarity and given the large amount of literature (both general and specifically related to Germany), they will here be considered as separate topics.

2.4.2 Location: space and the housing market

"In the room of the hostel where I lived, it smelled of a mixture of burned oil, onions, wet clothes, and sweat. ... In the middle of the room stood a table, covered with a table cloth patterned with flowers, that always seemed somehow dirty. ... There, we had breakfast before we went to work, and our tea in the evening". (Ören 1988, p. 151)

Experiences like this have probably been shared by the majority of primary 'guestworker' immigrants to Germany, since recruitment of migrant labourers was tied to the provision of accommodation by employers (White 1993). In a tight housing market, this was usually provided in the form of hostels. Different nationalities showed slightly

varying representations in these *Wohnheimen* (Rist 1978), which were either built directly by the employers and administered by them, or financially supported by the firms, but administered 'privately' (Clark 1977). From a spatial point of view, the location of these hostels led to a very distinct 'geography of arrival' of labour immigrants in German cities, with two locations featuring most prominently: central locations either in, or directly at the edge of, the city centre; and industrial districts, in particular locations directly adjacent to the large firms. The length of stay in these hostels varied greatly for different individuals and was usually followed by a move into the private-rented market. This move was often necessary in order to facilitate the reunification of the family, with adequate housing being a legal requirement for this process (Glebe and Waldorf 1987, see Section 2.3). These changes in the composition of the 'foreign' population found their expression in a significant shift in the distribution of immigrants in the housing market, so that by the end of the 1970s, more than 80% of immigrants had moved into the free market (Heckmann 1985), and within it, almost exclusively into the private-rented sector which has traditionally been the most important submarket in Germany (Gans 1984).

Access to the private market, however, proved to be difficult, with four factors placing particular constraints on non-Germans' choice of housing (Helmert 1982; Schöneberg 1982):

- economic factors, resulting both from the low socio-economic status of immigrants discussed in section 2.2 and their original unwillingness to spend much money on housing through the desire to save for return and/or invest in the home country (Castles and Kosack 1973; Rist 1978). This was reflected in surveys that demonstrated immigrants' desire to live in inexpensive dwellings (as well as living close to the workplace) (Borris 1973).

- legal factors, manifested in an often insecure residence status and the constant threat of being expelled (see Section 2.3), reducing their willingness to commit themselves to investment in housing. Moreover, their status also precluded them from getting access to social (public) housing;

- discrimination by the host society, reflected primarily in the refusal of private (and public, where applicable) landlords to let to *Gastarbeitern* (Laumann 1984), reflecting a number of the processes described in section 2.3.

- demographic factors, with the often large family sizes of immigrants making it difficult to find reasonably-priced dwellings in a tight housing market.

In order to account for the housing situation of immigrant minorities, researchers have often applied a neo-Weberian perspective based on the work of Rex and Moore (1967) and Rex and Tomlinson (1979), focusing on the nature of the housing market and the existence of housing classes, usually defined by price, quality, tenure and accessibility (O'Loughlin 1988). The distribution of immigrants over these subsectors is then explained by their position in terms of class (defined by disposable income), status (their weak bargaining position as a result of discrimination) and party (their ability or otherwise to realise their rights) (O'Loughlin 1987b), so that:

"... both immigrant characteristics *and* the social and economic structure of the host societ[y] have to be studied in a dialectical fashion". (O'Loughlin 1987a, p. 13-14).

In addition to these factors explaining the (original) distribution in the housing market, spatial distribution was also the result of limited knowledge of the local area. Immigrants, as a result of their short length of stay in Germany, operated within limited awareness spaces and limited knowledge of the operation of the housing market, also reported in Austria (Leitner and Wohlschlägl 1980). Informal sources, mainly in the form of personal contacts, have therefore always been most important in the search for a new residence (Leitner 1983a, see also Chapter 6). Since these contacts were themselves clustered in the 1970s, this often led to movement into areas characterised by significant immigrant presences (Gans 1990).

Clearly, most of these factors relegated migrant workers and their families into a particular segment of the free housing market (Gans 1979; Jones 1983b). 'Foreigners' competed with Germans of similar socio-economic status for the limited supply of cheap accommodation. The result was that the two locations mentioned above - the city centre and industrial districts - remained significant for the immigrant population so that O'Loughlin (1980) could claim that:

"... the spatial distribution of foreigners in German cities displays two consistencies - concentration near the city centre and near industrial areas". (p. 259)

It is these two areas that have been characterised by the least desirable housing and low socio-economic status (Gans 1984; Glebe and Waldorf 1987), in addition to having been most familiar to immigrants through the location of the *Wohnheime* there. Moreover, immigrants were often given access to company rental housing close to the

firms (Esser 1985). Consequently, the importance of these areas as locations of immigrants was confirmed for Stuttgart (Borris *et al* 1977), Hanover (Sprengel 1978), Bremen, Frankfurt and Düsseldorf (O'Loughlin 1980), Nuremberg (Jones 1983a), Berlin (Holzner 1982), Ludwigshafen (Gans 1984) and Augsburg (Ruille 1984). As O'Loughlin and Glebe (1981) demonstrated, quality of dwellings and proximity to industry provided the strongest explanatory factors for the city-wide location of immigrants. Consequently, the *continuing* importance of central and industrial districts after moving out of the *Wohnheime* was emphasised by O'Loughlin (1980) when he demonstrated that the location of foreigners at the end of the 1970s was 'basically the same' (p. 263) as in the early 1960s.

However, at this point it is important to reflect on O'Loughlin's (1980) observations that certain higher-status *central* areas were characterised by an absence of immigrants, indicating that it is housing rather than location *as such* that is crucial in influencing the location of immigrants in German cities.

From a qualitative point of view, the residential situation of immigrants in the 1970s gave rise to concern, and was significantly worse than that applying to Germans. It was shown that immigrants were in a worse situation with respect to amenities and the size of dwellings as well as their condition (Arin *et al* 1987)⁹. In Frankfurt in 1974, 42% of immigrants lived in private flats that had no use of toilets within the dwelling (Rist 1978); these flats were often concentrated in urban areas that subsequently underwent rehabilitation (Friedrichs and Alpheis 1991). Additionally, overcrowding was identified as a serious problem in Berlin (Arin *et al* 1987) and Augsburg (Reimann and Reimann 1987). The social, psychological and health-related consequences of these conditions have been discussed extensively by Arin *et al* (1987), although it has to be pointed out that the majority of immigrants seemed to be satisfied with their housing situation (Ipsen 1981). This was probably a reflection of the realistic perception of the tight housing market and means that the inevitable was accepted (see Chapter 8). In general, immigrants have always paid higher rents for similar or worse flats or houses than Germans (Zieris 1977; Huttman 1991a). As Ipsen (1981) argued, this was a direct result of a:

⁹ However, contrary to public belief, Turks were not found in poorer housing than other groups (O'Loughlin *et al* 1987).

“Surplus in demand ... and an increase in rents in some market-segments” (p. 259),

which enabled German landlords to extract higher rents from immigrants because of their difficulties in finding housing, and the corresponding possibility for the majority of Germans to avoid these dwellings (O’Loughlin and Glebe 1981). These ‘opportunities’ for German landlords resulted also from the fact that immigrants have always been under-represented in the owner-occupied sector as a consequence of their income and status. Moreover, as a result of their weak ‘party-position’ and a lack of knowledge of their rights, applying for a *Sozialwohnung* (council flat) was difficult for immigrants in the 1970s. However, even in the mid-1970s there were significant differences between different cities in the proportions of immigrants in social housing, ranging from only 1% in Berlin, to 7.3% in Stuttgart (White, P. 1984).

Studies in the 1980s indicated that the main locations for immigrant families remained the city centre, especially areas with housing built between 1870 and 1940, as well as industrial districts (Glebe 1990; Friedrichs and Alpheis 1991). However, at the beginning of the 1980s, there were indications that immigrants and their families were increasingly starting to locate in suburban areas characterised by a large share of social housing, as Gans (1990) observed in Kiel, and Bender (1991) in Mannheim. This development was sometimes the result of their displacement from areas of urban renewal (Huttman 1991b). As Jones (1990) argues, however, the allocation practices were highly selective. The reasons behind these practices were the rising costs of the construction of social housing in the late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s and the consequent increases in rents for *Sozialwohnungen* constructed during this time which made it difficult to let them to ‘native’ Germans who had more choice than ‘foreigners’. However, it is also possible that immigrants and their families increasingly moved into private-rented dwellings in these (peripheral) high-rise districts as a result of an increased willingness to pay higher rents and a consequent shift of household expenditure towards rent (O’Loughlin 1987b). With respect to social housing, immigrants and their families were thus allocated to areas that were overwhelmingly rejected by German households (O’Loughlin *et al* 1987; Gans 1987), but were excluded from the cheaper segments of the public sector in areas constructed during the 1950s and 1960s (Arin 1991). This is possibly also a result of the inflexibility of this sector (White, P. 1984), with sitting tenants unlikely to move out.

Unfortunately, no studies have been conducted in the 1990s, so that the last reliable evidence on the location of immigrants and their offspring dates from the mid to

late-1980s. The evidence seems to suggest that both industrial districts and inner-city areas remain the main locations of non-Germans (Friedrichs and Alpheis 1991), with some evidence of the increasing significance of public-housing districts located at the edges of cities (Bender 1991). As Arin *et al* (1987) have pointed out, stigmatisation and marginalisation of immigrants in the housing market will probably continue for some time to come if the social and political frameworks remain unchanged. This is not to deny the inroads some groups now make into the owner-occupied sector (Tichy 1990), which points to the importance of the individual and the limits of aggregate analyses (Blauw 1991). Also left open is the question of what individual paths through space and the housing market look like. These questions will later form the main foci of this study, but for the time being the emphasis will remain on 'groups' rather than individuals, and on the question of the extent of ethnic residential segregation.

2.4.3 Residential segregation

At its most basic, residential segregation is the spatial separation or spatial unevenness of different population groups within any given area (Saltman 1991). While residential segregation has been a long-standing concern and area of enquiry in social geography, the purpose of its analysis has always reached beyond the mere calculation of various indices. Rather, the degree and extent of residential segregation has, following the arguments of Robert Park (1926), been regarded as a realistic and reliable indication of the assimilation or otherwise of minority (usually immigrant) groups in any given society. Expressed differently, *physical* distance is seen as an indicator of *social* distance (Peach 1975). This aspect of residential segregation reduces the role of 'space' to that of a container, merely reflecting the wider relations in society. However, it has been argued that residential segregation (and segregationism as a strategy, see Smith 1989), itself perpetuates inequalities and reduces the chances of segregated minority members to participate fully in society, for example through the differential allocation of goods and services in space. As Peach and Smith (1981) summarise these various aspects:

"Enforced segregation precludes large-scale primary groups mixing even if it is desired, and inhibits structural assimilation. Social and spatial exclusion are often synonymous, and both result from discrimination, institutionalised racism and an inherently disadvantaged position in the housing market". (p. 11)

While residential segregation is, by definition, manifested in space and the housing market, explanations for it are not limited to this particular sphere and are found mainly in the wider structure of society:

“... urban residential segregation ... is only one arena, although a very important one, in which native-immigrant conflicts are played out”. (O’Loughlin 1987a, p. 13)

As a result, a number of different explanations for the segregation of immigrant minorities have emerged over the years, which can be broadly grouped into socio-economic, inter-group, social-psychological and institutional (Saltman 1991). However, accepting these factors as discrete would simplify the explanations of residential segregation in a choice versus constraint dichotomy, a view that has met increasing resistance in the academic literature (Brown 1981; Sarre 1986; O’Loughlin 1987a). As Saltman (1991) points out, these factors or explanations are clearly interdependent, and no single one can usually account fully for residential segregation. For example, in-group orientations (the social-psychological component) may result from inter-group relations based on discrimination and consequent marginalisation in the economic sphere. Consequently, questions such as that asked by Kesteloot (1987) as to whether segregation is an economic or an ethnic (social-psychological) phenomenon are misleading and obscure a more complex reality. But as Peach (1975) argues, it is often very difficult to determine from patterns what the relative strength of each factor is, so that it is often only possible to demonstrate the net-effect of the operation of ‘self-ascriptive’ and ‘proscriptive’ forces (Peach 1975, p. 8). Qualitative research methods are one way to shed some light on these questions, which will be explored in chapters 8 and 10. At this point it is also important to point out that, in order for these different factors (if operating) to translate into *strong* residential segregation, the structure and operation of the housing market have to be conducive. In general, this means that in a tight housing market, segregation is likely to be lower (O’Loughlin 1987b).

The examination of the extent of residential segregation traditionally relies on a number of different indices, of which the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and Index of Segregation (IS) (Duncan and Duncan 1955), as well as the P* index (Lieberman 1981) measuring isolation, have proved most popular. The exact meaning of these indices is discussed in Peach (1996), while some of the technical and methodological problems associated with ID and IS are examined by Woods (1976) and Peach (1981). In addition to these indices, some researchers have used percentage figures as surrogates for

segregation, in particular when smaller areas have been considered (for example Holzner 1982).

High degrees of residential segregation of immigrant groups are, not surprisingly in the light of the arguments outlined at the beginning of this section, usually seen as an inherently negative thing. This has often resulted in the danger of trying to solve what is essentially a phenomenon with aspatial causes with spatial (e.g. dispersion) measures (Holzner 1982). In Germany, this has been driven by the fear of the emergence of US-style ghettos (Huttman 1991a; Peach 1992). This fear has been reflected in three policy initiatives which, in addition to the policies aimed at reducing the total number of immigrants discussed earlier, have been explicitly spatial. The first is an upper limit of the percentage of non-Germans in public housing, usually fixed at twenty percent in any one house. The second have been extensive schemes of urban rehabilitation, often in areas with a high concentration of non-Germans, because as Peach (1992) argues:

“... urban renewal means immigrant removal”. (p. 119)

The third initiative was an attempted ban on migration of non-Germans to certain areas (such as Berlin-Kreuzberg and Berlin-Wedding) and cities (such as Frankfurt) with levels of immigrants of 12 percent or more, in the late 1970s. This was (with the exception of Kreuzberg) short-lived and not applied in practice, and was later declared unconstitutional. Nevertheless, it reflects the general attitude in Germany towards immigrant concentrations. According to the empirical evidence, is this fear of foreigner ghettos justified?

Studies of the residential segregation of immigrant minorities in German cities usually display a high degree of consistency in their findings, with minor variations between different cities resulting from the structure of the ‘locality’ (O’Loughlin and Glebe 1984a). This points to the operation of similar factors in similar contexts.

At the scale of the *Stadtteil* (ward), levels of residential segregation for immigrant minorities are usually fairly low, in particular when compared to US and Canadian cities, typically falling into the range between 20 and 40 for the ID (O’Loughlin and Glebe 1984a; Bender 1991). Segregation from the German population is therefore generally low or moderate, providing evidence that ghettos (here simply defined as very high concentrations of immigrants) don’t seem to exist in German cities. Moreover, as these studies show, there are generally no major differences in the segregation of the individual

original 'guestworker' groups from the German population (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984a), so that:

"The picture with respect to the relationship between spatial segregation and social distance is blurred". (Peach 1987, p. 46)

While the level of Greek segregation from all groups is usually highest (see also Peach *et al* 1975) and is attributed to a stronger in-group orientation among this population (de Riz 1979; Meier-Braun 1982), very little evidence seems to exist of a *consistent* pattern of avoidance amongst the different low-status nationalities. This has led O'Loughlin and Glebe (1984a) to argue that *all* low-status immigrant groups face the same constraints in the housing market, with each group being affected by the same problems in finding adequate housing. Moreover, these problems are also encountered by a large part of the native working-class:

"If segregation was based on [differential] discrimination, we would expect some national differences in the treatment of foreigners by the native population. A more likely interpretation is that the national groups are segregated equally from each other and from the German population because they occupy the same societal role. Differences in income and integration between the immigrant groups are not large. They compete with each other and with low-income Germans for the same limited stock of affordable low-rent housing". (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984a, p. 277).

Or as Kreibich and Petri (1982) have argued, the German housing market is separated into different submarkets, defined by price, status and accessibility. In the tight submarket of moderately-priced rented housing, access and spatial sorting is then determined by socio-economic status and discrimination. While disposable income determines the range of accessible submarkets, discrimination, contacts and knowledge then lead to some degree of sorting between, and within, these areas (Glebe 1984). This means that socio-economic status, while contributing to segregation, will always be a fairly poor predictor of *actual patterns* of residential segregation (Peach 1987; 1992). As Rist (1978) has argued it would therefore:

"... be a significant accomplishment to reduce ... ethnic segregation just to the level of socio-economic segregation". (p. 150)

Nevertheless, in contrast to US and Canadian cities, overall levels of segregation at the ward level are low, and are likely to remain low, because:

- wards, or in some cases even blocks, are rarely ever homogeneous in German cities and are usually characterised by a mix of rental and owner-occupied housing, often resulting from deliberate land-use policies by municipal authorities (see also Chapter 5). There therefore exists less spatial disparity in housing and socio-economic status between

wards, and even smaller areas such as voting districts, in German cities (Friedrichs 1982; O'Loughlin 1983).

- high degrees of residential segregation cannot occur in very tight housing markets and in urban societies that are basically immobile (Arend 1991, see also Section 2.5.4). Thereby, 'choice' (either to cluster or to avoid) is severely limited by the structure of the housing market.

- this is related to a third point, so that pronounced spatial sorting and segregation can only occur with a strong rise in the number of accessible dwellings in a particular submarket, in a process of filtering. In the submarkets of lower and middle-priced rented (social) housing, however, such an increase is not occurring in contemporary Germany (see Chapter 5).

As Glebe (1984) has hypothesised, therefore:

"One could say that conditions on the housing markets in German cities have prevented the development of ghettos". (p. 110).

Consequently, a number of commentators have argued that, since the housing context and the structure of European cities is so different from cities in North America, ideas and concepts developed in relation to the US have little explanatory value in the European context (White, P. 1984; O'Loughlin 1987b).

Not only are segregation levels much lower than in American cities, they have also been shown to either decrease, or at least remain constant, in most German cities, so that the empirically-unsupported arguments of some commentators (e.g. Nebe 1988), pointing to increased concentration and ghettoisation, have been refuted. Unfortunately, all these studies again only examine the situation in the 1970s and 1980s. However, constant or falling levels of segregation were confirmed by Gans (1979) for Mannheim, Kaiser (1981) for Stuttgart, Helmert (1982) for Frankfurt, Gans (1984) for Ludwigshafen, Glebe and Waldorf (1987) for Düsseldorf, as well as Friedrichs and Alpheis (1991) for Hamburg. Only Gans (1990) has uncovered some evidence for a *slight* increase in segregation in Kiel between 1980 and 1987 for all groups except Turks, who displayed constant levels. This again points to the validity of Holzner's (1982) argument that Turkish ghettos are a myth. In general, however, it should be noted that any change observed in different cities is fairly small, and that stagnation rather than significant decline or reinforcement are probably the correct terms to describe segregation processes over time (Glebe 1984), so

that the speed of change in German cities is indeed 'glacial' (O'Loughlin 1987b). Unfortunately, no attempts have so far been made to examine the degree of segregation of immigrants in relation to certain marginalised subgroups of the population as Van Amersfoort (1990) has done for Amsterdam.

All these studies have operated at an aggregate level of analysis, taking the individual nationalities as whole groups. However, as Glebe (1990) has indicated, this conceals interesting variations and might fail to uncover important problems. By concentrating on the segregation of the second 'guestworker' generation in Düsseldorf, Glebe demonstrates that the IDs for the age group under 15 are significantly higher than for each individual nationality as a group (Glebe 1984). This could be an indication of a double discrimination: discrimination both as a result of nationality and of family status (see Chapter 8), and consequent difficulties in finding accommodation. It is here that residential segregation has the potential of being most significant, since Glebe (1990) also shows that levels of segregation in primary schools, the first main agency of socialisation in Germany after the kindergarten, have increased in the 1980s, potentially producing an ethnic 'underclass' (Hopf 1983)¹⁰.

Smaller levels of disaggregation, namely the block, blockside or the individual apartment house, are the second major area in which studies of residential segregation have yielded very similar and consistent findings in German cities, generally arguing that it is at the level of the blockside or the apartment building that significant concentrations of immigrants and their families are to be found:

"... at the borough, ward or tract level, very high concentrations do not exist, but .. at a very detailed scale, high concentrations can be pinpointed". (Peach 1987, p. 37)

As O'Loughlin (1980) has pointed out, this small-scale segregation is important because it measures visual and personal contacts between groups. This point should not be overstated, since interaction with neighbours is rarely the most important form of contact for the majority of people. Furthermore, it could be argued that segregation at larger scales is more significant since it potentially leads to segregated service provision.

In general, it has been shown that IDs at the block scale are usually at least twice as high as the values for wards (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984a), often yielding indices in the 80s or even 90s. In their comparative study of Duisburg and Düsseldorf, these authors

¹⁰ See also the study by Dieleman *et al* (1992) on the problems of school segregation in the Netherlands.

show that segregation at the level of blocks is consistently high for most groups. Isolation (measured with the help of the P* index) is still low for the majority of nationalities except for Turks in Duisburg, whose level of segregation, however, isn't significantly higher than that of other groups. Through their comparative approach, they are able to demonstrate the importance of locality for segregation: since levels of segregation are consistently higher (though by no means high) for Duisburg than for Düsseldorf, they argue that Düsseldorf is a more integrated city, which they relate to the city's mixed economic structure.

On a more detailed level, the same authors examined foreigner segregation within a single ward (Düsseldorf-Oberbilk) and arrived at the conclusion that:

“On a typical blockside, apartment houses are either occupied predominantly by Germans, totally by a particular foreigner nationality, or divided between two or three foreigner groups”. (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984a, p. 281)

More significantly the study indicated that the segregation of immigrant children at the level of the blockside or block is again significantly higher than for the nationalities as groups, and that their isolation is significantly higher. Importantly, levels of segregation for this subgroup increased between 1976 and 1981.

However, while these indices yield consistently higher values at smaller scales, this has to be put into perspective. A number of studies have shown that 'all immigrants' blocks or even houses are extremely rare. Holzner (1982) was able to demonstrate that in Berlin-Kreuzberg, even before the start of the urban renewal programme, non-Germans formed the majority of residents in only three blocks, while a further 7 blocks with 40 to 50% of immigrants as residents could be pinpointed. As Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik (quoted in Peach 1992) shows for the same district, the highest concentration of immigrants in any one block thereby never exceeded 61%. Jones (1990) arrived at similar conclusions for the case of Nuremberg, when he shows that only very occasionally do immigrants and their families form the majority in single *blocks*. Finally, a study by Bender (1991) for the ward of Mannheim-Jungbusch, often labelled as a typical immigrant ghetto, arrives at similar findings by showing that less than 10% of non-Germans lived in 'immigrant-only' houses (including single-family houses).

While the levels of concentration at the scale of the house, block or blockside should therefore not be exaggerated (Gans 1979), segregation of non-Germans at these

smaller scales is undoubtedly significantly higher than at the scale of the ward. As O'Loughlin (1987a) therefore argues, we are:

“... faced with the prospect of identifying the causal factor(s) which produce(s) near-totally segregated homes but moderate desegregation at the ward and neighbourhood scales. Since wards are clusters of houses, the characteristics of individual houses need to be examined to determine why certain houses contain foreigners and others do not”. (p. 22)

One important factor could be the desire by non-Germans to live close to their fellow countrymen/-women or other immigrants. However, as surveys have consistently shown, immigrants clearly prefer living in houses occupied by the native population (Esser 1982; Schuleri-Hartje 1982)¹¹, rather than with fellow immigrants only. This does not mean that the ‘ethnic factor’ is completely unimportant given the importance of personal contacts outlined above, it only rejects the assumption of the desire for ‘voluntary’ segregation (see Chapters 8 and 10).

The overwhelming consensus in the literature is that explanations for these patterns have to be looked for primarily in the operation of the housing market (Helmert 1982; Leitner 1983b; Nebe 1988). Once again, the existence of small-scale segregation and concentration with low levels of segregation at the ward scale is, according to O'Loughlin (1987a), itself an indicator of the importance of housing as opposed to location as such. As Glebe (1984) argues:

“The existing segregation and isolation should therefore be regarded predominantly as a situation caused by the socio-economic framework and the mechanisms of the housing market”, (p. 103),

so that ‘segregation-contours’ are caused by the existence of different housing submarkets.

Clearly it is not simply the structure of the housing market that is important, but also the practices related to it. If we accept the findings that the desire for in-group orientation is generally weak, the material reviewed here seems to point firmly to the relevance of discrimination and its consequences, such as the use of social networks, in the search for residence (O'Loughlin 1980). This will be examined further in chapters 6, 8 and 10 in a temporal framework.

¹¹ This contrasts with a study by Clark (1992) in the US who found that people from all different ethnic backgrounds prefer a residential environment in which their own group is in the majority. Moreover, as Glebe (1986) has shown, purposeful grouping is more important for high-status immigrants such as the Japanese in Düsseldorf.

2.4.4 Residential mobility

2.4.4.1 Introduction

Residential mobility forms a crucial part of the subject matter of this thesis on two levels. Firstly, on a substantive level, it forms an important part of residential histories. Secondly, on a more theoretical level, the study will in chapter 11 evaluate a theory of migration based on the concept of narrative identities. Given this importance of migration, this section will take a broader view than the previous two and will review not only studies of intra-urban migration of immigrants in German cities, but will take a closer look on other important findings concerning residential mobility.

The patterns and processes of location and segregation examined so far are sustained or changed by four factors: levels of fertility, levels of mortality, migration to and from the city, as well as the intra-urban migration of different groups. At small spatial scales, such as the ward, the significance of fertility and mortality can be assumed to be negligible, so that it is migration that accounts for most of the stability and change in intra-urban patterns (Woods 1980). Moreover, as White (1980) has argued, intra-urban mobility thereby forms the most important component of the variable 'migration', as shown for example by Bähr and Gans (1985) for Ludwigshafen.

Not only do these residential moves within the city change or reproduce existing patterns, however, they are also always a reflection of them:

"Patterns of residential mobility both create and reflect the social structure of residential areas. The movement of households can maintain and change the ecological patterns of the urban mosaic". (Short 1978, p. 429)

It is important, however, to take into account not only the way in which the ecological structure thereby shapes and influences actual flows of migration, but to be aware that the *perception* of the operation of the housing market and of this ecological structure itself influences migration decisions (Horton and Reynolds 1971). As Ley (1977) has argued:

"In contemporary urbanism a place may commonly have a multiple reality: its meaning may change with the intent of the subject, and a plurality of subjects may simultaneously hold a different meaning for the same place ...". (p. 507)

The significance of these different perceptions will be shown in chapter 8.

Apart from the moves forced upon people through various factors (Clark and Onaka 1983)¹², a number of theories have been developed to account for residential mobility. Two broad schools, according to Short (1978), tackle residential mobility both ‘implicitly’ and ‘explicitly’ and operate at different levels of analysis, mainly taking either the structure of the city, the factors shaping it, and the operation of the housing market, or the individual/household, as their starting points.

2.4.4.2 Structural/ecological approaches

Structural and ecological approaches start from a range of different perspectives, sometimes drawing on classical models of urban growth and the development of the city. Whatever the precise starting point, these theories can be regarded as treating residential mobility ‘implicitly’ (Short 1978), not referring directly to the constitution of the mobility process at the level of the individual.

Theories starting from the ecological structure built on Burgess’s (1926) model of the growth of the city, assume that intra-urban mobility takes place as the result of various stages of ‘invasion and succession’ in urban neighbourhoods (Gober 1990). Newcomers to the city, often of immigrant origin, usually start their ‘housing careers’ (Kendig 1984) in the central areas of the city in a process of ‘invasion’, thereby succeeding (displacing) the previous resident population. Over time and as their economic and familial status change, they move outwards from the centre of the city, with the city expanding constantly at the edges. ‘Their’ areas are being ‘invaded’ by newcomers, causing them to move out, in a process of continuing invasion and succession. The model clearly has its limitations, assuming a free housing market and an expansion of the city at the edges, as well as relatively few constraints to social and spatial mobility, and is therefore unlikely to be applicable in many contexts.

A similar approach is built on Hoyt’s (1939) sectoral model of urban growth and form. According to Short (1978), Hoyt suggested that the expansion of land use in cities occurs *because of* the obsolescence of existing housing and a desire of high-status households to buy new dwellings in order to maintain their status. Housing filters down the social hierarchy (Gober 1992), with opportunities for intra-urban relocations for less

¹² Clark and Onaka (1983) also provide a further, rather artificial, breakdown of ‘voluntary’ moves.

well-off members of society developing in areas abandoned by the rich. In turn, this movement then creates new vacancies lower down the 'housing hierarchy', so that while housing filters downwards in 'housing chains', people move upwards in the housing hierarchy. As with the Burgess-model, this assumes stable cultural preferences as well as a necessary supply of financial resources and dwellings for people to realise their housing wishes.

While the application of these two models for the explanation of residential mobility in the European (and particularly the German) context has been criticised in the literature (White, P. 1984; O'Loughlin 1987b) they have nevertheless informed some of the studies that will be reviewed below and, moreover, have contributed to inform housing policy in Germany (see Chapter 5).

In general, however, ecological models are conceptualised in more complex ways, taking into account the operations of various 'actors' in an institutional or political economy framework, adjusting to the local context and the constraints in operation. In both these frameworks, and most explicitly in the political economy approach, residential mobility is related to the deeper underlying political and economic structures of society (Cadwallader 1992), and the various actors or 'urban managers' involved in the production and allocation of housing (Saunders 1986). Examples of explanations of intra-urban migration from a political-economy perspective are Marxist interpretations of suburbanisation and gentrification, processes necessary in order to maximise profits through housing consumption (Castells 1977). In this perspective, behaviour is primarily conditioned by the 'structural context', with the focus resting on its nature and constitution, and the actions of people only being given secondary importance. While the Marxist approach is more concerned with the underlying drive for capital accumulation, institutional approaches focus on the way in which urban managers (such as those responsible for the allocation of social housing, or the granting of mortgages) operate within this framework (Knox 1987).

Rather than concentrating directly on the individual and their decision-making processes, ecological/structural approaches take aggregate patterns as their starting point and infer individual behaviour, and the reasons for this behaviour, from it. This contrasts with the second major school, which can be termed 'behavioural'.

2.4.4.3 Behavioural approaches

The second major school, working at a different level of analysis, is constituted by behaviouralist approaches usually based around, or starting from, the concept of the 'life-cycle'. This conceptualisation is not entirely incompatible with the approaches reviewed so far, and the two are often used together, one concentrating on the 'objective' environment, with the other focusing on behaviour and the 'behavioural environment'.

Although behavioural approaches are not limited to explanations around the life-cycle as major causal stimuli in triggering a residential move, it is appropriate to start here at what is still seen as the most important factor in explaining residential mobility, often taking the status of a normative concept (White and Jackson 1995). Following Rossi (1955), behavioural approaches based around the life-cycle assume that the function of a change in residence is to derive a higher 'place-utility' (Wolpert 1966) from a new place of residence, with these changing demands on residence caused by, or immediately linked to, different phases in the life-cycle (Short 1978). As Rossi (1955) argued:

"... the major function of mobility is the process by which families adjust their housing to the needs generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes". (p. 4)

Changes in the life-cycle then provide both the stimulus to move and, in addition, determine the destination of movement, reflecting and sustaining a particular structure of the city.

This conceptualisation of migration focuses mainly on the demand-side of the equation, and has less value for those in public housing (usually a less flexible sector) and housing markets characterised by strict rent controls, or those in marginal positions in the housing market caused by income, racial and other forms of discrimination. As Short (1978) argued, the model of the life-cycle is most appropriate for middle-income families operating in the private, and relatively unconstrained, housing market. As early as the end of the 1960s, Brown and Longbrake (1969) suggested that the concept of the life-cycle should not be used in isolation of 'variables' such as class, ethnicity, income and occupation, pointing to the danger of forcing the explanation of mobility into a limited number of normative concepts.

More recently, the concept of the life-cycle itself has come under increasing criticism as fewer people now display the typical patterns of passing through similar set stages in their lives (Stapleton 1980). One response to these criticisms has been the

development of the concept of the 'life-course' (Hohn 1987; Kendig 1990; Warnes 1992), taking into account changing patterns of household composition, as well as the connection of residence, familial situation and other factors such as occupation. McCarthy (1976), recognising the importance of 'constraints', has argued that changing housing needs must be accompanied by an increase in income to enable relocation (cf. Kendig 1984; Gober 1992). Coupe and Morgan (1981) argue that the structure and operation of the housing market play an important role *for different groups* (Dieleman 1992), as do various other factors external to the household, as well as the decisions of policy-makers (Clark and Moore 1982; Everaers and Clark 1984).

While more subtle explanations of residential mobility, taking into account a larger set of variables, have emerged over the years, the assumption implicit in the original life-cycle approach has remained: that residential mobility (or non-mobility) is triggered by a relatively sudden stimulus, followed by the response of 'movement' or, under constrained conditions, deferred movement (Brown and Moore 1970; Moore 1972). Brown and Moore therefore developed a two-stage-model of residential mobility, consisting firstly of the decision to move, and secondly the decision where to relocate and the start of the 'search behaviour' (Silk 1971). The argument is that once a certain 'threshold reference point' (Wolpert 1965) has been reached for the present residence, typically caused by an incompatibility between residential space and household circumstances and the resulting emergence of 'residential stress' (Clark 1981), individuals or households will start to look elsewhere in order to reduce this 'stress' caused by the current dwelling (Wolpert 1966; White and Woods 1980). Most intra-urban moves are related to the internal nature of the residence (Simmons 1968; Clark *et al* 1984), with the environment and the surroundings being of secondary importance (White, P. 1984). As a result of this greater satisfaction with the environment and a limited awareness space, most moves are likely to be short and are therefore true 'partial displacement moves' (Roseman 1971), indicating a high degree of 'place dependence' (Stokols and Shumaker 1982).

In recent years, there have been increasing doubts about the behavioural conceptualisation of mobility, triggered for example by questions such as the existence of non-movers (Gober 1992) and immobile strategies (Kearns and Smith 1994), compulsory immobility (Kreibich and Petri 1982) and cumulative inertia (Clark and Huff 1977), or longer periods of stay when a move seems 'appropriate' (Van Kempen *et al* 1990). In short, there have been doubts as to whether these phenomena need to be explained as

'deviating' from a norm (movement), an assumption that often seems to be held implicitly or explicitly. However, in recent years some writers have started to question the way mobility is approached. Kearns and Smith (1994), for example, feel that existing mobility theories are mainly built on studies of 'mainstream' society, ignoring more marginal groups. And Halfacree and Boyle (1992) have questioned the behavioural conceptualisation of mobility altogether and have asked whether migration is not much more than mere behaviour, and is fundamentally integrated in people's biographies, so that both mobility and non-mobility are parts of, and are located in, these biographies. These two authors have argued that the complexity of residential mobility processes has been neglected so far, since the aim of existing behavioural approaches at the level of the individual has been their accommodation into macro approaches, and the creation of general models. Moreover, there has been a concentration on mobility at the expense of non-mobility. In order fully to understand residential (non)-mobility, the entire research problem needs to be tackled differently, recognising the interplay of 'structure and agency' (Giddens 1984) in continuous time for the formation of biographies, as well as asking different questions when researching mobility (*and non-mobility*). This methodological and, by implication epistemological, point seems to have been recognised much earlier, when Clark and Onaka (1983) argued that:

"These considerations suggest that the simple question, 'Why did you move?', does not adequately reflect the complexities of relocation behaviour". (Clark and Onaka 1983, p. 56).

In this research, the study of residential histories will therefore build on these recent suggestions which will be discussed further in chapter 3, and will take an explicitly biographical approach, assessing a new research avenue and supplementing behavioural approaches in general, and aggregate studies in the case of immigrant mobility in German cities, in particular. These studies are the subject of the next section.

2.4.4.4 Residential mobility of immigrant minorities in German cities

Existing studies of the residential mobility of immigrants and their offspring in German cities have relied exclusively on aggregate methods of analysis, mainly by relating the spatial patterns of movement to patterns of segregation, or other indicators of differentiation, within the city. This is then in some cases connected - either implicitly or explicitly - to an institutional approach, focusing in particular on the operation of the housing market and the institutions involved in its production and regulation (see section

2.4.4.2). From these patterns, explanations for relocation have then been derived. However, as Pooley and Whyte (1991) suggest, researchers should never rely *exclusively* on:

“... impersonal, dehumanised approach[es] in which flows replace people and the motives for migration are assumed rather than proven...”. (p. 4)

While these aggregate studies are clearly policy-relevant and while their predominance is probably driven by the German fear of ghetto-development discussed earlier, the subject-area so far clearly lacks an in-depth study focusing on individuals.

A number of general observations concerning the residential mobility of immigrants and their offspring have emerged from these extensive studies, but it has to be pointed out that these are all based on observations from the 1970s and early to mid-1980s. Firstly, mobility rates for immigrants and their offspring are usually significantly higher than for the ‘native’ population (O’Loughlin 1980; Bähr and Gans 1985; Miodek 1986), in an urban system that exhibits (*on a European level*) fairly high mobility rates (White 1985a). These differential rates for Germans and non-Germans have been explained by the fact that immigrants are only able to improve their housing situation ‘step by step’, while being under-represented in the two most immobile sectors - social housing and owner-occupation. While general mobility levels have been shown to decline rather than increase in recent years (White 1985a), it is not clear whether this has also been the case for immigrants and their offspring, despite Glebe’s (1990) observation that mobility levels seem to be falling for families with children. The development of levels of residential mobility will be examined further in chapter 6.

Secondly, immigrants from the recruitment countries generally move shorter distances and are more likely to move within the same neighbourhood (O’Loughlin 1988), and are often forced to accept the first dwelling offered there, being virtually left with ‘no choice’ (Kreibich 1982; Kreibich and Petri 1982). This, it has been argued, results from their limited opportunities in the housing market due to the existence of various, relatively impermeable ‘mobility barriers’ defined for example by cost and discrimination (Kreibich and Petri 1982). Moreover, they tend to rely on informal contacts which also tend to be local. While Gans (1987) argues that these local contacts are more important for Turks than for other nationalities, this view is not supported in other studies (e.g. O’Loughlin and Glebe 1984b).

Evidence for the existence of mobility barriers is further provided by Gans (1987) who demonstrates the significance of a distinct mobility sector for low-status immigrants in Kiel in the 1970s. He shows that immigrants are only able to leave a particular mobility sector in significant numbers through allocation to social housing by the authorities, thereby confirming findings from other European countries about the significance of the social sector for the residential (spatial) diversification of 'foreigners' (Winchester 1985; Van Amersfoort 1992; Kornalijnslijper and Shadid 1987). However, in a later study (Gans 1990) focusing on the 1980s, an increasing breakdown of these mobility sectors, and a greater congruence between German and non-German flows, is shown. This points to an increased accessibility of different sectors for minority groups. In a study of Stuttgart in 1977, O'Loughlin (1980) finds no evidence of different migration sectors for Germans and immigrant minorities, but rather shows the general importance of moves between *wards* of similar socio-economic status for all groups. This, he argues, is an indication of the existence of similar mobility barriers for low-status Germans and immigrant minorities, who try to improve their housing situation in similar submarkets. This contrasts with a study focusing on the city of Ludwigshafen/Rhein (Gans 1984), where it is shown that immigrants in the 1970s move in *slightly* distinctive mobility fields which, moreover, became more segregated from the Germans' between 1970 and 1978. However, within these sectors, non-Germans were increasingly able to move into areas of better housing quality. Slightly more circumscribed mobility sectors for 'foreigners' have also been observed for Düsseldorf and Duisburg (O'Loughlin 1984b), but no '*significant*' segregation of mobility sectors was observed in these two cities. Moreover, processes of 'invasion and succession' were rejected (Glebe and Waldorf 1987; O'Loughlin 1988), since migration flows between areas basically reflected the size of the population already resident there (for both Germans and non-Germans), leading to a high degree of temporal stability reflected also in stable segregation scores.

All these studies clearly stress the significance of the housing markets, housing submarkets and mobility barriers for relocation processes in German cities (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984b), and reject voluntary segregation. However, most of them lack a systematic analysis of the connection between housing subsectors and relocation processes (e.g. Gans 1984; 1987). As a result, O'Loughlin (1988) defined housing subsectors along the lines of quality and size for the city of Düsseldorf. Grouping these variables into five clusters on the level of blocks, he finds that a *complete explanatory*

relationship between housing and migration does not exist, so that immigrants don't necessarily always move into or within the worst categories of housing. He argues that, while stressing the importance of housing, other factors such as discrimination and consequent informal contacts, as well as changing aspirations, provide a fuller explanation than housing alone, an argument that is consistent with the findings of a micro-level study of three wards in Düsseldorf (Glebe and Waldorf 1987). These authors therefore again suggest that it is the mechanisms of the housing market, rather than its structure, that are of crucial importance, with these mechanisms incorporating quality, size, ownership, location and accessibility. This needs to be analysed in conjunction with the changing characteristics and aspirations of non-Germans themselves, such as the changing allocation of disposable income (see Chapters 8, 10 and 11).

The pattern that seems to emerge from the literature is that *most* moves in German cities, for both Germans and foreigners, originate and end in similar housing categories (Glebe and Waldorf 1987). For immigrants, the existence of stronger mobility barriers limits their choice of housing, making informal contacts more important. Even when they move between housing sectors, which seems to have increasingly been the case in the 1980s with more upward-movement due to a longer stay in Germany (Glebe and Waldorf 1987), they are more likely to stay in a certain area because of the importance of informal contacts (O'Loughlin 1988; Glebe 1990). Despite a number of general conclusions, there also exists some degree of variation with regard to the main findings in the literature, so that the extent of differential flows and the existence of mobility barriers for Germans and non-Germans seems to vary between cities and cannot be explained *fully* by aggregate data and methods alone. The findings reported here also seem to suggest that, while certain general processes operate, the structure of the 'locality' always works as an important mediating factor (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984b). Despite the focus on residential mobility here, it should also not be forgotten that the majority of households are, in a tight housing market, immobile most of the time (Kreibich and Petri 1982).

2.5 Conclusion

The situation of immigrants and their offspring in German cities is an extremely well-developed field of enquiry, in which a great deal of understanding has been achieved. Most of the studies reviewed in this section have been conducted on an aggregate level in

a cross-sectional framework, usually drawing on official data sources. As Glebe and Waldorf (1987) argue, however:

“Aggregate analysis offers insight only into the more general aspects of the migration process and their relations with the physical and social aspects of the neighbourhoods”. (p. 155)

The way processes operate at the level of the individual or household, and the way these processes operate over time, are as yet little examined. It would, for example, be interesting to know whether non-Germans use different contacts over time in the search for a new residence or to know exactly how ‘residence’ is related to ‘return’, or why residential aspirations change over time. In short, it would be instructive to link an analysis of residential issues more closely to the issues and processes examined in sections 2.2 and 2.3. As early as 1984, Glebe and O’Loughlin (1984b) therefore argued that:

“A focus on ... individual household[s] and [their] behaviour in housing submarkets is a more useful approach than ecological methods in an analysis of mobility between ... German urban neighbourhoods”. (p. 20),

whereas O’Loughlin (1987a) called for the application of:

“Methodologies such as the examination of life-histories, diaries, detailed questionnaires...”,
because he believed it was time for:

“... researchers to leave the high ground of aggregate data analysis and descend to the social world of immigrant communities”. (p. 26)

These suggestions, as well as some of the criticisms directed at behaviouralism, are taken seriously in this study, and the results of an in-depth approach, that aims to answer some of the questions left open so far, are reported in part 3. I thereby draw on particular theories of agency and action. It is this theoretical framework that is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Agency, Action, Narrative and Identity

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that a focus on individuals within a longitudinal framework is missing from studies of the situation of immigrant minorities in German cities. Additionally, a number of criticisms directed at existing studies of residential mobility, in particular the predominance of behavioural approaches, have been touched upon. This study addresses some of these criticisms and suggestions, and in part 3 approaches the subject area of residential mobility from an explicitly biographical perspective, taking the individual as the starting point of analysis. This clearly calls for an explicit consideration and conceptualisation of two related concepts central to this study: ‘agency’ and ‘action’. These are concepts which, according to Giddens (1984):

“... are to do with the nature of human action and the acting itself; with how interaction should be conceptualised and its relation to institutions”. (p. xvi)

This chapter addresses these demands and makes clear what I mean by terms and concepts that will feature mainly in chapters 7 to 11. In section 3.2, I briefly review the main criticisms directed against the behavioural tradition in mobility research, which have triggered suggestions for an individual-based, biographical approach. In section 3.3, the concept of ‘agency’ and its constitution is outlined, and a first look at action provided. Section 3.4 then further conceptualises ‘action’ as an expression of identities and outlines the concepts of ‘narrative identity’, ‘ontological narratives’ and ‘habitus’, thereby also making the connections between ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ more explicit.

3.2 Behaviouralism and its critics

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, it appears that there are still gaps in our understanding of residential mobility as a result of an adherence to the behaviouralist tradition (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). This concern about the limitations of existing approaches to intra-urban migration reflects a more general, on-going debate in population geography. This debate has highlighted the dangers of the subject area being left behind by recent advances in social theory, and thereby continuing to approach the subject matter in often reductionist ways, both at the level of theory and method (Findlay and Graham 1991; Findlay 1992; Graham 1995 a,b; White and Jackson 1995).

Calling for a reconceptualisation of residential migration and its closer connection to recent developments in social theory, Halfacree and Boyle (1992, 1993) argue that there are three major problems with existing approaches to the subject area which, according to them, are wedded too closely (either explicitly or implicitly) to the behaviouralist paradigm outlined in Chapter 2. In particular, they put forward the criticisms that (p. 335):

- priority is usually given to the movement of people between two points, with this spatial action being the *main focus* of study. Action is thereby primarily seen as observable, physical behaviour;
- the locus of explanation is looked for in the level of stress at the instance immediately prior to the move. Since people thereby react directly to a stimulus, *action* is in fact reduced to *behaviour* (Werlen 1993);
- migration represents a discrete action which seeks the definite goal of a less stressful environment.

However, it has increasingly been argued that these main concerns of existing approaches, while having led to some very useful insights, have hindered a fuller understanding of residential migration and its situatedness in agents' biographies, formed in social contexts (White and Jackson 1995). This reflects some of the criticisms of behaviouralist paradigms brought forward by other authors such as Bourdieu (1977), who argues that:

“It is necessary to abandon all theories which implicitly or explicitly treat [action] as a mechanical reaction, directly determined by the antecedent conditions...” (p. 73),

because as others have argued, even when the focus is on the individual:

“... behavioural location principles ... merely supplement traditional theory, mopping up minor individual anomalies and retaining a *passive conception* of men and women”. (Jackson and Smith 1984, p. 48. Emphasis added)

According to Halfacree and Boyle (1993), it is therefore necessary to move away from these theories that regard migration as an isolated event in time and which portray individuals as reacting to external stimuli, thus concentrating on physically-observable action only. They argue that we need an approach that allows for active authorship, and the multi-faceted, longitudinal and biographical constitution of action (cf. Hughes 1990). This, however, calls for a different (theoretical and methodological) approach to the study of residential migration, one that focuses on both ‘events’ and ‘non-events’ (White and Jackson 1995), and their constitution in continuous time, or in other words, their location in biographies. This means moving away to some extent from the search for simple generalisations, which has been the prime goal of most existing approaches, including behaviouralist studies:

“... behaviouralism is now seen to have involved an attempt to retrieve positivism from its structuralist and humanist critics by modifying the assumptions of the models without jettisoning an ultimate belief in the value of seeking out empirical regularities as the basis for law-like generalisations”. (White and Jackson 1995, p. 117)

In the light of these doubts with regard to existing approaches to mobility, there appears to be a genuine case for a biographical approach to action (migration/non-migration) in order to contribute *further* to our understanding of these processes, and thereby supplement the (undoubtedly impressive) findings gained through behavioural, ecological and structural approaches¹. Thereby, I would see the approach suggested here less as a full-blooded criticism of behaviouralism and more as an extension to it².

¹ It is important to stress that I believe that all these approaches will remain important, because there are difficulties of generalisation from a biographical approach (Molho 1986). Biographical research should therefore be seen as supplementing more conventional studies, and furthering the insight into action (migration/non-migration).

² It could be argued that Halfacree and Boyle’s (1993) criticisms of behaviouralism are over-harsh at stages and ignore the variety of ‘behavioural’ approaches (see for example Golledge and Timmermans 1990). Nevertheless, as Clark (1981) and Golledge and Stimson (1987) show, much research at the level of the individual in behavioural geography has had the aim of arriving at aggregate models.

In order to do this, it is necessary first to outline how action is to be understood, and how 'human agency' is conceptualised. Discussing 'agency' and 'action' separately is undoubtedly slightly artificial, and there exists some overlap between the different sections. Nevertheless, progressing from an outline of 'agency' to 'action' leads to greater clarity and, moreover, reflects the sequence in which the different concepts are used in the empirical chapters. Thereby, 'agency' forms the key-concept in chapters 7 to 10, whereas the particular theory of 'action' (connecting 'narrative' and 'identity'), while forming part of the focus in these chapters, plays a greater role in chapter 11 when it is examined at the level of the individual.

3.3 Agency and action

In contrast to the view of the individual in much of existing migration research, which often leaves agency unexplained and touches upon the individual implicitly rather than explicitly, Giddens (1984) sees human agents as complex and, ultimately, much more powerful than reacting in a fairly mechanical way in a stimulus-response framework. According to Giddens, human agents are characterised by three fundamental features: firstly, they constantly reflexively monitor the 'flow of their activities' and the context (social and physical) in which they move, and expect others to do the same (Jessop 1996). Human agents thereby acquire 'stocks of knowledge' (Schutz 1972) which crucially influence the nature and shape of action (see below). These stocks of knowledge are formed in the 'flow of duration', or in continuous time and the on-going nature of individual experiences, and are therefore fundamentally biographical in nature.

Secondly, through the capacity to monitor and evaluate the 'structural (institutional) context' and contexts of interaction, agents are always knowledgeable about and, through the constitution of their stocks of knowledge, are always purposeful in what they do. This is what Giddens (1984) calls the rationalisation of action so that, based on their stocks of knowledge, agents can provide reasons for their activities:

"To be a human agent is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon these reasons". (Giddens 1984, p. 6)

These features rule out a mechanical reaction to an external stimulus resulting in a pre-defined response, since no action (this referring especially to non-routine action) is made whilst the rest of an agent's life is placed in complete suspension. The biographical stocks of knowledge, giving authorship and *agency* (defined as the capacity and capability to act and to make a difference through purposeful action) to the individual, thereby mean that action will always take place to a large extent as a result of the content of these 'stocks of knowledge', and the evaluation of the setting of action through biography.

Thirdly, through these two features, and through the resulting possibility to 'always act otherwise' and thereby 'make a difference', Giddens also regards human agents as being inherently powerful, and equates agency with power.

Undoubtedly, Giddens works with a very strong notion of agency, one that has increasingly been taken up by other authors such as Werlen (1993), who demands for the 'acting subject' to return to centre stage, because:

"Only subjects can act, but there is no such thing as purely individual action. Human action is always an expression of socio-cultural, psychological and material factors in terms of the conditions and consequences of action". (p.6, emphasis added)

While both Werlen and Giddens make a strong argument for focusing on human agents, there are clear limits to agency, as the quotation by Werlen suggests. Rather than being unconstrained, agency is located firmly in the boundedness of social settings, formed by the acknowledged and unacknowledged conditions of past actions - or 'structures' - forming sets of rules and resources. This boundedness places limits on agency without ever fully dissolving it, and thereby circumscribes in particular the capacity to translate agency into action in an unconstrained way in different contexts, making 'place' and 'time' crucial in examining agency and action. Ultimately, the power and possibility of agents is therefore always contingent, so that in empirical research it is more important to ask how realistic it would have been to 'have acted otherwise' rather than ask whether it would have been possible *at all* to have done so. This means retaining 'agency' as a concept while analysing action in relation to its (anticipated) consequences, and in relation to the rest of agents' lives. This forms one of the key arguments in chapters 7 to 10.

Moreover, while there are clear external, societal constraints on the realisation of agency in social contexts through 'structural' constraints, there are also a number of constraints that operate at a 'lower', psychological level, and that often seem to be overlooked in sociological theories. These 'constraints' could be conceptualised as being more 'internal' than 'external' (although they acquire significance *only* in particular contexts), and it is instructive to look briefly at psychological theories of the self and of self-actualisation that focus on these constraints, needs and resources.

While a complete sense of self is, according to Giddens (1991), never achieved since the self is always something that becomes, various psychological needs involving belongingness, love and esteem, nevertheless must be fulfilled to varying degrees for different individuals, in order for them to experience a strong sense of agency through the potential for *self-actualisation* (Maslow 1954). The fulfilment of these needs, however, is dependent on the presence and accessibility of a number of resources. 'Constraint' in this respect is primarily defined as the absence of these resources. In chapters 7 and 8, I demonstrate how Turkish primary immigrants in Munich experienced a virtual dissolution of their sense of agency after migration to Germany through the absence of a number of resources (such as the family) in an unfamiliar 'structural' context, and how the need for self-actualisation and the development of a strong sense of agency in turn triggered the need for these resources to be present, and led to (extremely constrained and limited) action. Moreover, I also show how these immigrants utilised auxiliary resources in order to compensate for the absence of vital 'standard' resources such as the family. In some respects, the fulfilment of these basic needs - which undoubtedly have varying significance for different agents - is a necessary condition for developing a strong *sense of agency*.

So far, human agents have been characterised as being both knowledgeable and purposeful, while being constrained by various psychological needs and structural (institutional) features - what has been called the 'boundedness' of agency. In a first step towards developing a theory of action, it is instructive to look briefly at the work of Alfred Schutz, his concept of the stocks of knowledge, and his conceptualisation of the action situation.

As already seen, by passing through social contexts and constantly monitoring these contexts and their actions in it reflexively, human agents develop, according to

Schutz (1972), unique 'stocks of knowledge', formed in continuous time and the flow of duration and, according to Halfacree and Boyle (1993), located in biographies. Any action³ situation is thereby evaluated directly through these stocks of knowledge.

Action therefore takes place directly as a result of the *totality* of the content of these stocks of knowledge and their evaluation and significance in the present context. The focus on 'totality' is of crucial significance here, and should warn us against only uncovering those parts of the stocks of knowledge that appear directly relevant to action. Rather, it becomes essential to uncover the relationship of the separate parts of the 'stocks of knowledge' to each other, and their relationship to the present and anticipated future context (Thompson 1991). These points are elaborated further in the next section.

Human agents thus constantly monitor their conduct and the context in which they operate, assembling 'stocks of knowledge' from which action arises. As a result of the constitution of these 'stocks of knowledge' in the flow of duration, the causes behind actions, in particular non-routine actions such as mobility, have to be looked for in people's biographies. 'Causes', however, take different forms and are located at different levels, and it is instructive to take on board Schutz's (1972) outline of two levels of 'motives' behind every action.

Schutz (1972) argues that there are always two sets of motives behind action (again seen in the widest sense) or, more precisely, an act: 'in-order-to-motives' (or 'reasons', in Giddens' 1984 terms) on the one hand, and 'because-motives' on the other. These two motives are interdependent, but are not normally thought about in the same way by the subjective agent, with the 'in-order-to-motive' forming the immediate reason for an action (for example migration in order to reduce 'residential stress'), and the 'because-motive' provided by the stocks of knowledge formed in the flow of duration, and located in biographies. These 'because-motives' determine, mediate and influence the ultimate form of the 'in-order-to-motive' and, more importantly, determine its emergence in the first place. Or as Giddens (1984) put it:

³ 'Action' should here be seen in a very wide sense and shouldn't be limited to physically-observable acts alone. Rather, the focus should be on both 'events' and 'non-events' located in the flow of duration, and thereby also include 'mental action'.

“For the most part [because] motives supply overall plans or programmes - ‘projects’, in Schutz’s term - within which a range of conduct is enacted”. (p. 6)

If we therefore rely solely on uncovering the ‘in-order-to-motive’ by asking simple ‘why’ questions (see section 2.4.4.3), we run two risks: the first is the danger of only uncovering and explaining physically-observable behaviour, building on and sustaining a narrow conceptualisation of ‘action’. Or in other words, we clearly are in danger of prioritising ‘events’ (e.g. migration) over ‘non-events’ (e.g. non-migration) (White and Jackson 1995). Secondly, we are unable to fully understand and uncover the contextual (referring to societal context) and biographical circumstances under which decisions are made and under which action is accordingly taken. If, for example, people in virtually identical circumstances (e.g. with respect to income, family size, quality and size of current dwelling) act differently when they would be expected to behave similarly, it is essential to uncover the ‘because-motives’ (that always also contain a component orientated towards the future) that have triggered or prevented an ‘in-order-to-motive’ from occurring as such in the first place. Or, as Halfacree and Boyle (1993) argue, we have to enquire ‘around the subject’ in order to be able to explain action fully. This is crucial since, as Schutz (1972) argues, by asking simple ‘why’ questions, we will always only uncover ‘in-order-to-motives’ since, from the subject’s point of view, it is always an ‘in-order-to-motive’ that directs action, since the range of alternatives is already limited (though not always acknowledged by the subject) by the biographically-rooted ‘because-motives’. For Werlen (1993) this means that:

“... all possible alternatives depend on the (biographically) determined situation of the agent, [and] on the particular form the agent’s stock of knowledge takes at the point in time the project is conceived”. (p. 128)

‘Enquiring around the subject’ in order to understand action is not only crucial in order to uncover the ‘because-motives’ behind action. While I have argued earlier that human agents are both knowledgeable and purposeful and know a great deal about what they do through the reflexive monitoring of context and conduct, this doesn’t mean that agents are *always* able to give a discursive account of the reasons behind their conduct, or that they always *actively* think about particular lines of action. Rather, in the flow of daily life, many things agents ‘do’ (again in a very wide sense), are carried out through that part of the biographically-rooted ‘stocks of knowledge’ that Giddens (1984) and Harré (1979) call ‘practical consciousness’ and that Sayer (1992) calls ‘practical knowledge’.

According to Giddens (1979), this form of consciousness can be seen as tacit knowledge that is skilfully applied by agents in the 'enactment of conduct' (Giddens 1979, p. 57). However, agents are *not normally* able to formulate this kind of knowledge discursively. This is contrasted with 'discursive consciousness', which is that part of knowledge which agents actively think about and which they are always able to express verbally, including the conditions of their own actions.

Thus, our 'practical consciousness' tells us how 'to get on' on a day-to-day basis, and should also be seen as part of the realm in which information about society, context and our position in it are assimilated and action taken accordingly. This depends on our particular biographies and the *precise form* of this part of our consciousness, forming an element of our 'stocks of knowledge'. In other words, many of the 'because-motives' behind action are likely to be located at the level of practical consciousness. However, the boundary between 'practical' and 'discursive' consciousness is by no means rigid or completely impermeable (Giddens 1984). While human agents are not normally able to give a discursive account of the 'because-motives' for their conduct, practical consciousness can nevertheless be raised to the level of discourse (Halfacree and Boyle 1992, 1993). An explanation of action can then be obtained that goes beyond a reduction to 'in-order-to-motives'. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to approach the research problem with in-depth, qualitative methods, and widen the examination of 'reasons' or 'causes' by enquiring 'around the subject'. Moreover, the formation of 'stocks of knowledge' in the flow of duration suggests that a biographical research method is most suitable, uncovering this constitution in continuous time, rather than concentrating only on the immediate action situation in a cross-sectional framework.

So far, a particular 'internal' conceptualisation of agency and human agents has been provided. Moreover, I have started to outline elements of a theory of action, drawing on different sources. The main points have thereby been that human agents are knowledgeable about (although not necessarily at the level of discourse), and purposeful in, what they do, through the reflexive monitoring of context and conduct and the unique constitution of 'stocks of knowledge'. Action is fundamentally related to biographies, formed in continuous time or 'the flow of duration'. The wider structural and societal context, as well as agents' stocks of knowledge (formed in different contexts) and various

psychological needs (which, however, are also strongly related to context), place limits on the capacity to act, or the capacity to translate agency into action. What is missing, however, is a more formal theory of action, one that can be operationalised in empirical research, as well as identifying the relationship between 'structure' and 'agency' more strongly.

3.4 Action, narrative identity and habitus

“While being black has been the powerful social attribution in my life, it is only one of a number of *governing narratives* or *presiding fictions* by which I am constantly reconfiguring myself in the world. Gender is another, along with ecology, pacifism, my peculiar brand of colloquial English, and Roxbury, Massachusetts.” (Williams 1991, p. 256; emphasis added).

In recent years, there have been increasing calls in population geography to 'meet the post-modern challenge' (Dear 1988) and acknowledge diversity and situatedness and their relevance for population matters (Graham 1995a, b). These calls parallel and reflect transformations in geography and the social sciences at large that have started to review and alter their concepts and theories in the light of a 'changing world' (Johnston 1991b). In particular, the concepts of 'identity' and 'identity politics' have risen to increasing prominence. This has been both a reflection of, and an attempt to explain, large-scale political and social transformations, in the period of 'postmodernity' or 'high modernity' (Giddens 1991). From the totalising 'grand' claims of 'modern' social theory, outlining theories of the universal agent, these identity theories have begun to address and emphasise difference, variation and situatedness. It is thereby no surprise that these theories have arisen primarily as a result of the realisation of the marginalisation of certain groups in white, male, heterosexual social-scientific discourses: women, racialised others, gays and lesbians. But these theories based on identity (e.g. Cohen 1985; Spivak 1987; Tourraine 1988; Calhoun 1991; 1994; White 1992; Zaretsky 1994) have not just tried to account for the self-perception and agency of these groups and others, they have also fundamentally altered the way 'action' has been perceived and conceptualised in general. From 'roles', 'rational interests', 'norms' and 'behaviour', these new theories of agency and action have assumed subjective agents to act as a result of the ways in which they see

themselves in society, or put differently, as a result of their particular identities. Fundamentally, and in the words of Somers and Gibson (1994), this means that 'I act because of who I am', rather than as the result of learned, mechanistic, universalistic behaviour. In other words people's actions are both expressions and results of their identities. People with similar life-experiences (based on colour, gender, generation and so on) have been assumed to act in similar ways, their actions being an expression of their common experiences shaping their identities. As Somers (1994) argues, however, this risks the danger of the unquestioned and unmediated prioritisation of certain experiences (such as gender) at the expense of others, thereby only providing a very partial explanation of action. Or in other words, there has been the danger of assuming that a single category of experience overdetermines any number of other cross-cutting differences (hooks 1984). These identities themselves have also often been assumed to be inherently stable, ignoring their constitution *and significance* in social contexts, and their shifting nature through context and in time (or their relationality). While being a social constructionist response to essentialist ideas themselves, prioritising certain experiences means almost essentialising these (Probyn 1990):

"The more we considered context, the more we realised that while the general constructs of race, class and gender are essential, they are not rigidly deterministic". (Personal Narratives Group 1989, p. 19)

It is this unquestioned and unmediated prioritisation of certain attributes, so dominant in migration research, that the quotation from Williams at the beginning of this section addresses, and that the concept of 'narrative identity' aims to address and rectify.

Narrative has traditionally been associated with history and the humanities rather than with the social sciences (White, H. 1984). The reason for this has been the assumption that narrativity is a form of representation rather than referring to causality and explanation - that narrative is a means of representing and synthesising experiences in the social world. As the quotation by Williams suggests, and as has recently been argued by an increasing number of social scientists, there is a much more substantive side to narrativity: namely, that social life is itself storied, that human agents construct stories out of the variety of their experiences and that these narratives are then fundamental in guiding action (Personal Narratives Group 1989; Radhakrishnan 1992; Manies 1993).

These authors claim that the totality of these stories or narratives (the two terms pointing to their subjective, biographical and on-going nature) make up people's identities, so that:

"... identity only exists in the form of identity narratives". (Martin 1995, p. 15)

Experience, encompassing direct (first-hand), as well as second-hand experience and various other sorts of information, is thereby constituted in and through narratives, through a range of on-going story-lines that are always also linked to the future, thereby making the self and identity something that always also becomes (Giddens 1991; Nehamas 1985). As Rutherford (1990) argues:

"Identity marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within" (p. 19),

so that identity is:

"... contingent, a *provisional* full stop in the play of differences and the narrative(s) of our own lives". (ibid., p. 24, emphasis added)

It is these narratives which then mediate and guide action in certain ways and not others.

According to Somers and Gibson (1994), the most important dimension of this 'new narrativity' for a theory of action is provided by *ontological narratives* (cf. Somers 1992). It is through ontological narratives, 'possessed' by individuals, formed in social contexts (referring to both the 'interaction order' and the 'institutional order', see Goffman 1983) and *located in biographies*, that subjective agents make sense of their lives, and of the world and the context they live and operate in. Or as Somers and Gibson (1994) put it:

"Ontological narratives are used to define who we are; this in turn is a precondition for knowing what to do. This 'doing' will in turn produce new narratives and hence new actions; the relationship between narrative and ontology is processual and mutually constitutive". (p. 61)

Action is then mediated fundamentally by the totality of these ontological narratives which, according to Somers (1994), can be constructed around any number of features, from the nation state, to the family, to the experience of racism, and which acquire different relative significance in different contexts. The totality of ontological narratives then forms particular *narrative identities* in different social settings. Fundamentally, when we research a particular action or path of action (again seen in a very wide sense), it is not enough to simply ask a limited number of 'why' questions, but

the totality of these ontological narratives and their inter-connectedness has to be uncovered. While not all of these narratives will be of equal importance to the action process, all contribute to the *precise and detailed* form it eventually takes.

The similarities to Schutz's (1972) 'because-motives' and to the issue of practical consciousness discussed earlier are immediately apparent here, since it is the constitution of narrative identities that plays a great role in shaping or mediating action⁴, with these identities not necessarily actively thought about by the individual. Thinking about identities formed in continuous time (as opposed to 'stocks of knowledge'), and conceptualising these identities as consisting of various identity narratives has, I believe, a number of advantages. Firstly, it provides a concept that can be put into practice much more easily than the rather obscure concept of the 'stocks of knowledge', although many of these narratives clearly have to be accessed through enquiring 'around the subject' and have to be raised to discourse from the level of practical consciousness. Secondly, the inter-connectedness of various ontological narratives can be teased out more easily and clearly in different action situations, thereby explaining why agents act differently under similar circumstances as a result of the different (detailed) biographical configuration of their narrative identities. Thirdly, seeing identity as consisting of narratives means that the social context acquires primary significance, not in a rigidly deterministic way, but through its influence on the formation and reshaping of narratives, while itself always being evaluated through existing narrative identities (see below). Fourthly, the concepts of ontological narratives and narrative identities thereby seem to allow more room for their changing nature and significance over time, whereas the 'stocks of knowledge' appear to be rather fixed.

According to Somers and Gibson (1994), action is therefore mediated to a large extent by our narrative identities, which are fundamentally biographical in nature. These actions then produce new narratives and transform existing ones in an on-going process. According to Somers and Gibson (1994):

"... it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand and make sense of the social world, and it is through [ontological] narratives that we constitute our social identities" (p. 59),

⁴ I don't want to imply here that identity is independent of action, or that identity precedes action and is stable. Rather, the relationship between identity and action should be seen as dialectical.

so that, as a result:

“People act or do not act in part according to how they understand their place in any given number of narratives”. (p. 61)

It is this focus on the totality of ontological narratives that is so important for a theory of action that attempts to *fully* understand processes such as (non) mobility. This is so for two reasons: firstly, it should warn us against forcing explanations for action into a (pre-determined), limited and unmediated set of factors (such as the life-cycle). Secondly, it thereby explains variations in actions between people in similar circumstances, in similar ‘taxonomic groups’ (Sayer 1992). Fundamentally, this means that we can’t expect *a priori* that all people (or even the majority of them) interpret the ‘context’ in exactly the same way and act accordingly. Rather, it is the constitution of agents’ narrative identities that needs to be uncovered, thereby reducing the risk of the ‘ecological fallacy’ (Robinson 1950), and calling for an attention to ‘empirical detail’ (Graham 1995a).

However, while this framework for the explanation and analysis of action appears to be attractive at the level of the individual, social science research is usually interested in at least some degree of generalisation. So far, I have approached the question of the location, construction and significance of ontological narratives primarily from the point of view of the individual, thereby reflecting Arendt’s (1958) argument that plurality and difference are basic to the human condition. In doing this, I have only touched upon two considerations: firstly, the way these narratives are shaped in contexts, and the way in which they are therefore fundamentally social; secondly, the similarity of ‘dominant’ or ‘presiding’ ontological narratives - and consequently the similarity (though not congruence) of narrative identities - for people in similar social positions, whatever the basis for this similarity is, and resulting similarities in their paths of action.

While human agents selectively draw on ontological narratives in a given action-situation, it would be wrong to assume that the construction of these story-lines are entirely the result of agents’ free will. Rather, as I have touched upon earlier in this section and in the previous section, they are the result of ‘experiences’ in a very wide sense, referring both to the level of the ‘interaction order’ and the ‘institutional order’ (Goffman 1983). The shape of these experiences is clearly dependent to a large extent on social position, or in Giddens’ (1984) words, narrative identities are always also a fundamental expression of what is generally called the ‘structural context’. In accordance

with Giddens (1984), it is instructive to conceive of these ‘structures’ as more than mere constraints, but to regard them as both ‘rules’ and ‘resources’, and thereby see them as both enabling and constraining. While ontological narratives and their importance are to a significant extent dependent on social position, material factors, various facets of social, economic and political status and so on, and can thereby be seen as constraining, another aspect of narrative identity is what could be called more appropriately ‘enabling narratives’. For example, through their socialisation, agents also draw on narratives based around the family or social skills, which are fundamental for orientation and structure in their lives. Moreover, through experience, narratives that constrain choice (e.g. based on experiences in the private housing market), at the same time enable agents to ‘get on’ in this field and avoid further discrimination there, for example by orientating their residential search to the public sector in future. This will be discussed further in the empirical chapters. Narrative identities are therefore complex biographically-rooted configurations of various ‘enabling’ and ‘constraining’ ontological narratives, formed in institutional contexts, personal relationships and processes of interaction. However, this formation of narrative through social position does not take place in a *rigidly* deterministic way, but is itself narratively mediated, with the significance of the individual ‘story-lines’ depending on their location in the totality of *all* ontological narratives, formed in time and located in biographies. This, thereby, precludes to some extent the assumption of *categorical stability* of action, both between members of the same ‘taxonomic groups’, and for individual agents through time.

Nevertheless, the inherently social nature of ontological narratives and narrative identities ensures that people in similar social categories (acquiring significance through their relation to particular social positions and its consequences), are likely to have similar experiences in similar contexts. As Somers and Gibson (1994) argue:

“Although we argue that social action is intelligible only through the construction, enactment and appropriation of narratives, this does not mean that agents are free to fabricate narratives at will; rather, they must ‘choose’ from a repertoire of available representations and stories. Which kinds of narratives will socially predominate is contested politically and will depend in large part on the distribution of power”. (p. 73)

As a result, their dominant narratives are likely to be similar, resulting in similar paths of action. However, while they are similar, these paths (or the ‘motives’ behind

them) are unlikely to be identical as a result of the mediation of dominant narratives through the unique constitution of narrative identities. Or as Martin (1995) puts is:

“[Narrative] identity implies both uniqueness and sameness”. (p. 6)

While ontological narratives are therefore ‘possessed’ by individuals, there is room for generalisation in the application of the concept, so that the proposed epistemology is also nomothetic⁵. Or as Taylor (1992 a, b) argues, while there is no simple sameness unmarked by difference, all distinctions are also dependent on some background of common recognition. It is here that Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984, 1990a) concept of the ‘habitus’ comes into play.

If ontological narratives are fundamentally social in their constitution then, as an example, institutions such as the housing market will be narratively-mediated in similar ways for members of particular groups, as a result of their similar treatment there. In the present study such treatment is ultimately a reflection of power differentials in a society manifested for example, as has been argued in section 2.3, in the construction of a particular ‘public narrative’ around German nationhood, legitimising discrimination. This means that people in these groups are likely to have had similar experiences in this particular field, leading to similar but not identical (dominant) narratives related to it. As Brint (1992) argues, this means that:

“... the experience of common conditions of life ... makes people with shared attributes a meaningful feature of the social structure”. (p. 79)

Or in Bourdieu’s (1977) terms, these common experiences mean that people in similar positions are likely to share a similar ‘habitus’, referring to similar dispositions to act. Bourdieu developed the concept of the habitus precisely to achieve the objective of avoiding extreme determinism or ‘mechanistic behaviour’ and thereby take individual agency and authorship seriously (see section 4.2), while still being sensitive to the boundedness of agency and the significance of context.

Thus, in accordance with Giddens (1984), Bourdieu also argues for a conceptualisation of human agents that allows them some ‘degree of freedom’ in their

⁵ As White and Jackson (1995) argue, we should nevertheless not look for generalisations just for the sake of it, but should accept limits to these generalisations and be prepared to sacrifice, if necessary, some of the (political) applicability of population geography.

actions, and sees them as being both 'knowledgeable' and 'purposeful', rather than merely reacting to external stimuli:

"It follows that the actions cannot be directly deduced either from the objective conditions, defined as the ... stimuli which may appear to have triggered them, or from the conditions which produced the durable principle of their production". (Bourdieu 1977, p. 78)

Or, from a narrative-identity perspective, external 'objective' conditions are themselves always narratively-mediated as a result of previous experiences and their evaluation through narrative identities. In Bourdieu's terms:

"In fact, it is their present and past positions in the social structure that biological individuals carry with them, at all times and in all places, in the forms of dispositions which are so many marks of social position ...". (ibid., p. 82)

Being not only concerned with action, but with the question of social reproduction, Bourdieu clearly believes that the habitus, while ultimately being a 'property' of individuals and structuring their particular actions, also explains actions of groups of people occupying similar social positions, both past and present. This means that:

"Though it is impossible for all members of the same class (or even two of them) to have had the same experiences, in the same order, it is certain that each member of the same class [group] is more likely than any member of another class to have been confronted with the situations most frequent for the member of that class". (Bourdieu 1990, p. 53)

While I do believe that the habitus - referring to similar dominant ontological narratives and similar narrative identities, and therefore to similar dispositions to act - provides a suitable concept when referring to actions of 'groups', I would resist some of Bourdieu's (inconsistent) terminology and thereby only accept a slightly reworked conceptualisation of the habitus. In particular, I would agree with Alexander (1995) who argues that the habitus, formulated as a concept to overcome the structure/agency or individual/determinism dualisms, *in places* still retains a strong mechanistic notion, and that Bourdieu himself sometimes seems to contradict himself and seems to move away from his original aim of allowing for individual authorship. In particular, I would resist his notion of the habitus as merely representing the 'internalisation of externality' resulting in particular 'dispositions to act', rather than seeing the interpretation of this externality as being narratively-mediated through biographically-constituted narrative identities. A slight redefinition of the habitus - seeing it *as referring to similar dominant ontological narratives significantly engendered by social position, but still allowing for authorship*

through the unique combination of these narratives - seems to come close to what Bourdieu himself has had in mind: to provide a concept that can account for variation within uniformity (cf. Alexander 1995). Linking the habitus to dominant ontological narratives, rather than to dispositions to act directly (with action following from and being constituted through the *precise* constitution of narrative identities) would therefore provide more scope for individual authorship. Thereby, it is possible to account for certain general patterns (such as immigrants' movement through the housing market), while still being able to accept difference and variation as a fundamental ontological condition, and to research and explain these variations between different agents. In his later writings, Bourdieu seems to have made this goal more explicit, and he seems to acknowledge individuals' 'degrees of freedom' much more strongly:

"In fact, the singular habitus of members of the same [group] are united in a relationship of homology, that is, *of diversity within homogeneity*, reflecting the diversity within homogeneity characteristic of their social conditions of production". (Bourdieu 1990, p. 60, emphasis added)

3.5 Conclusion

This thesis is, to a large extent, concerned with the actions of individuals in social contexts. Providing a conceptualisation of the individual agent has therefore been one concern of this chapter. Drawing on the work of Giddens, human agents have been described as being both knowledgeable about and purposeful in what they do, resisting a mechanistic, rigidly deterministic view of the agent. Throughout, however, agency has been seen as being firmly located in what is generally termed 'structure'. Consequently, the particular view of action developed in the second part of the chapter has tried to connect 'structure and agency' in meaningful ways through the introduction of the two concepts of narrative identities and ontological narratives. While the focus has thereby been on the individual, outlining the unique biographical constitution of narrative identities and their connection to action, it has also been shown that there is room for generalisation of actions of people in particular groups, defined by social position. This has been illustrated by the work of Bourdieu and his concept of the 'habitus'. What has been provided thereby is a flexible concept of action, that is applied and examined in detail for its contribution primarily in chapter 11, where the focus is on the individual. This

framework, and the conceptualisation of the biographical constitution of action in particular, call for specific research methods that are examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

The Research Methodology: A Mixed Methods Approach

4.1 Introduction: The research strategy

Every theoretical framework, being built on and reflecting a particular epistemology, demands certain research methods in order to form a coherent research methodology (Bulmer 1984): a dialectical process of theory, method and empirical enquiry. As Harvey (1990) argues:

“Methodology, in grounding enquiry in empirical instances, thus makes explicit the presuppositions that inform the knowledge that is generated by the enquiry”. (Harvey 1990, p. 1)

Given the arguments developed in chapter 3 concerning the narrative constitution of identity and its connection to agency and action, it is necessary to move from ‘residential migration’ to ‘residential history’ and thereby give equal weight to observable (physical) action and mental action, events and non-events. As a result, the most suitable method to address the theoretical demands here, is the biographical or life-history approach (Bertaux 1981; Halfacree and Boyle 1993) operationalised through in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

In order to account for residential histories more fully than has previously been the case (Roseman 1971; Pryor 1979; Forrest and Murie 1987, 1991), two other methods have been applied which supplement the in-depth part of the research, which forms the mainspring of the study. The first of these complementary methods is the analysis of the changing locational distribution and residential migration of Turkish immigrants and their offspring, and of immigrants and their children more generally. This is connected to an analysis of the spatial structure of the housing market. The second is a larger-scale questionnaire survey, designed to compile a larger number of individual residential histories. Taken together, these methods allow us to move from the aggregate to the individual, and from the cross-sectional to the longitudinal.

These two methods go some way towards accounting for residential histories, but they can’t provide a full explanation as such. While the aggregate approach can primarily explain *spatial* patterns related to the structure of the city, the questionnaire survey can’t properly reflect the way in which action is constituted, nor can it uncover the (changing)

significance of residence. Consequently the in-depth approach forms the main part of the study.

The selection of these three methods reflects a belief that each of them possesses different epistemological capabilities and covers different ontological territory (Kárpáti 1981). No method on its own could provide the insight that a combination of them does (Berg 1989; Dex 1991). If attention is paid to the differential explanatory capacities of the different methods, these 'intensive' and 'extensive' research methods (Harré 1979) can maximise explanation through their different roles (Walby 1991; Sayer 1992).

This chapter outlines the use of these methods. In section 4.2, I briefly explain the nature of the official data used. In section 4.3, the various stages of the questionnaire survey are discussed. Finally, in section 4.4 the in-depth stage of the research processes are examined, concentrating on the nature of biographical research, the design of the interview schedule, the problems of negotiating access, the interview process, and the analysis of the interview material.

4.2 The use of official data sources

Official data were used for three main purposes: to analyse the (spatial) structure of the housing market; to examine the distribution of Turks and other foreigners over the city; and to investigate the intra-urban migration patterns of immigrants and Germans. These general aims had to be adapted to the availability and limitations of official statistics.

All the data were obtained through the Statistical Office of the City of Munich, and were made available on the basis of the ward (*Stadtbezirk*) scale. While a further disaggregation on the basis of the *Stadtbezirksteil* (100 in total), or *Stadtbezirksviertel* (276 in total) would have been possible for some (though not all) variables, the ward (36 in total) was seen as the preferable spatial unit here for two reasons: firstly, smaller-scale data have to be extracted by a statistician at the Statistical Office at very high costs; secondly, the *Stadtbezirk* is the level for which data on spatial movement were collected in the later questionnaire-survey (see Section 4.3). For reasons of comparability, it was therefore preferable to keep the spatial units constant (cf. Glebe and Waldorf 1987). However, a change in administrative boundaries and a resulting reduction in the number of wards from 36 to 24 in 1991 means that the analyses of locational distribution and residential migration will only be presented up to 1990 and 1991 respectively. While it

would have been possible to re-calculate all available data on the basis of the amalgamated 24 wards, I decided that this was not desirable for two main reasons: firstly, it would have reduced the meaningfulness of the results due to the larger size of the units; secondly, and maybe more importantly, the original 36 wards still represent very much the 'natural areas' in the city. As in other German cities, they are:

"... equated with a community in everyday use and planning, [so that] the name of the ward conjures the image of a certain type of housing, age, class, social environment and financial investment... [This] allows for ... confidence in the validity of research results ..." (O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984b, p. 8)

I therefore decided that limiting the analysis to the years leading up to 1990 was the preferable option. It has to be pointed out, however, that the 36 wards are very uneven in various aspects of size¹ and are by no means internally homogeneous. Thus, the number of dwellings varies between just over 2000 for the smallest, to just over 45000 for the largest *Stadtbezirk*², whereas the population sizes range between 5000 and 100000.

The analysis of the housing market is based on the 1987 *Gebäude- und Wohnungszählung*. For the city of Munich, this is the most recent year for which accurate data on the housing market are available and, while *Fortschreibungs* (continuous registration) data exist for some aspects, these are incomplete and not as precise as the census data.

Additional data on the housing market were obtained from publications by the *Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung* (planning department). These data, however, refer to different variables published for the city of Munich *as a whole* (rather than wards) such as developments in the public housing sector, and are available at irregular intervals.

Analysis of the locational distributions and mobility patterns was based exclusively on *Fortschreibungs*-data collected in and made available through the MIDAS (*Mikrodemographisches Analysesystem*) system of the Statistical Office. Every inhabitant of a German city is required to register all changes in residence with the authorities (O'Loughlin 1980). These 'registration cards' form the basis of the MIDAS system. Population data are therefore updated continuously and published on a yearly basis at the end of each year. While these data have been recognised as being generally fairly accurate (Findlay 1986) they, too, suffer from a number of limitations. Firstly, groups are labelled 'externally' (White 1993c): for example, Kurds are incorporated into the general category

¹ See also Manhardt (1977) on the general difficulty of defining sub-units in German cities.

² Results of the 1987 *Gebäude- und Wohnungszählung* (Census of buildings and dwellings).

of 'Turks', a label most of them would probably resist. Secondly, no allowance is made for immigrants or their offspring holding two citizenships. Inevitably, they are incorporated into the German population. Thirdly, statistics are not broken down by age or sex. Fourthly, under-enumeration is likely as the result of the presence of illegal immigrants (White 1993c). Fifthly, this under-enumeration also exists as the result of the non-registration of moves (Statistisches Amt der Stadt München 1987). A sixth shortcoming is that no distinction is made between multiple and single moves within any one year. Nevertheless, *Fortschreibungs*-data are still the most accurate official data source, and can therefore provide valuable information on certain general processes. In addition to these limitations, that exist for most official data sources, there are limitations that are peculiar to the city of Munich and that pose restrictions on what could be presented and analysed in this study. It has to be pointed out here that, while data collection in German cities is universal, the way in which these data are handled and published varies between different cities and is to some extent a result of the decisions made by individual municipal authorities.

The first of these shortcomings is the nature of movement-data between wards. While these data are available from 1975 onwards in the form of 36x36 mobility matrices (including intra-ward movement), they are limited to the two groups of 'all foreigners' and 'Germans'. As a result, the heterogeneous group of 'all foreigners' has to be used as a surrogate for movement of Turks between wards. At the end of 1994, Turks formed approximately 17% of the city's total foreign population (see Section 6.2).

While data exist for Turkish intra-urban movement into, out of and within wards, these data are only available from 1985 onwards. However, in contrast to the data on the end of year group-size of different nationalities in the 36 wards, which are available for every year between 1980 and 1990, mobility data are published (for 36 wards) up to 1991.

There are therefore clear limitations to what can be analysed and presented as a result of the limited availability of statistical data. Nevertheless, analysing these official data provides valuable insights in its own right as well as important contextual information for the examination of individual residential histories based on the interviews, and the cohort patterns derived from the questionnaire survey.

4.3 The questionnaire survey

4.3.1 Introduction

The second research method used was a larger-scale questionnaire survey, that had the purpose of successively moving from the aggregate to the individual, from residential mobility to residential history. The key purpose of the questionnaires was thereby descriptive or fact-finding rather than analytical (Ackroyd and Hughes 1983), with the main aim being the collection of individual residential histories. The questionnaires were therefore not designed to be used inferentially or to show *causal relationships* between one variable and another (Oppenheim 1992). Rather, the goal was to point to the *association* of certain variables. However, the questionnaires had, at the start, the additional purpose of exploring a number of issues I wanted to pursue in the interviews. As a result, the different sections were designed for slightly different purposes.

4.3.2 The design of the questionnaire

The questionnaires (see Appendix 1) were designed in order to fulfil two objectives. The first of these was substantive and was the collection of individual residential histories. The second objective was to ensure ease of completion, since it was expected that the majority of the questionnaires would be completed by the respondents themselves. As a result, the questionnaire was translated into Turkish in order not to exclude respondents who had little German. Generally recommended features such as clarity of design, proper explanations for each section, an introductory letter, as well as a stamped and addressed return-envelope were thereby expected to lead to a higher response rate (Moser and Kalton 1971; Nachmias and Nachmias 1981).

As recommended in the literature (e.g. May 1991, Bourque and Fiedler 1995), the questionnaire started with a cover letter introducing myself and explaining the purpose of the study, followed by instructions for the completion of the individual sections.

The first part consisted of two sections. Following the advice of standard texts (Sheskin 1985, Nachmias and Nachmias 1981, May 1993, Fink 1995), the first (part 1) enquired into the personal details of the respondents, consisting of a number of 'attribute' questions in order to be able to make statements about the sample, and relate the residential histories to these characteristics. The variables collected can thereby be

grouped into three broad categories: demographic variables such as age, sex and marital status; ethnic self-identification and employment status. Further variables (such as income) could have been collected, but I felt that more detailed and sensitive enquiries would reduce the response rate. In order to facilitate ease of completion, the questions were mainly closed or required only a single word as an answer and, if possible, tried to avoid skip patterns. A further set of 'attribute questions' concerning only immigrants, rather than their children born in Germany, necessitated the splitting-up of part 1. The aim of section 1a was again to enquire into certain 'objective' characteristics connected directly with migration to Germany, enquiring into the date of migration, family reunification (or its absence), as well as the 'reason' behind migration. Part 1 and 1a, together with part 3, were piloted (in English and in slightly altered form) with nine respondents of immigrant background in Sheffield in order to check whether they made sense and were easy to fill in.

Part 2 of the questionnaire was designed to uncover the respondents' attitudes towards a number of issues by providing attitudinal statements and asking them to rate their degree of agreement and disagreement on a Likert scale. The aim of this section was primarily to inform some of the issues that would later be covered in the interviews. Four main topics were covered in the attitudinal statements, each one of them represented by a different set of questions: first, the respondents were asked whether they regarded Germany as their *Heimat* (home); the second set of questions enquired into satisfaction with their current place of residence, the relative importance of 'the flat as such' versus its location, and the likelihood of a residential move in the near future. The third set of questions asked the respondents about their views of the housing market in Munich, while the fourth set enquired into their in-group orientation (determined by their general and current desire to live close to other people of Turkish origin). Thereby, I tried to convert important themes that constantly emerged in the literature (such as in-group orientations) into short and un-ambiguous statements representing aspects of a particular issue.

While the aim of the section was to inform the interviews and possibly supplement the interview material, it was later discarded and played no major role in the design of the interview schedule, as well as not featuring in the final report in the way intended for a number of reasons. Most of the questionnaires were collected only once the interviews had started, so that this section became redundant for the design of the interview schedule. Secondly, this part of the questionnaire was often filled in only partially, so that

the number of complete responses was small. Moreover, since many of the later questionnaires were filled in by me in the form of structured interviews, time was often an issue and many of the respondents were in a hurry. As a result, concentrating on the main priorities represented by sections 1 and 3 often became necessary.

One of the problems was that, as a result of the specificity of the section (relating to Turkish life in Germany), I didn't have the opportunity to pilot the statements before using them, since the questionnaires had to be printed in Sheffield before I left for Munich. Piloting it beforehand might have given me an indication of some of the problems I encountered later, although the early difficulties in finding respondents to fill in the questionnaires (see below) would have been the same. Since a very incomplete and partial picture therefore emerged from the responses, it was decided not to include the results of this section as 'attitudes' (through a systematic analysis) in the final report. Rather, those questions that were filled in by most respondents will be treated as 'tendencies' when referred to in the thesis.

Following Wallman (1984), part 3 comprised a 'residential history chart' that had the purpose of enquiring into the sequence of residences the respondents had lived in since coming to Germany, by asking behavioural, retrospective questions about the most important aspects of movement and residence. This was undoubtedly the key section of the questionnaire since it would form the connection between the aggregate analysis and the interviews, and provided a novel approach that had not been conducted with immigrant minorities in a German city.

Five main areas were covered in this section. The first sub-section had the aim of covering movement through space by enquiring into the different wards in which the respondents had lived. In order to ensure anonymity, I pointed out that the name of the *Stadtbezirk* would be sufficient. This was also in line with the unit at which aggregate data are available. Secondly, the respondents were asked to specify the tenure status of each residence, so that their movement through the housing market would be covered. Thirdly, I asked them to indicate how they found the flat or house. The fourth part was designed to cover the time spent in a residence by asking for the year they had moved out of a particular dwelling. Asking for the date of out-movement rather than in-movement may seem slightly unusual, but I felt that this connected better to the final sub-section in which the respondents were asked why they had moved out of the dwelling. In general, as the

pilot study had indicated before, this section worked well and recall didn't seem to be a major problem (see discussion in section 4.4).

4.3.3 Selecting the respondents, administering the questionnaires

The original target of the survey had been to achieve the return of between 80 and 100 usable questionnaires, using a variety of outlets for their distribution. Using these different outlets I hoped to make sure to sample some respondents from each of the four groups I wanted to interview later (see Section 4.4.). In a research timetable I was determined to stick to as closely as possible, I envisaged completing the questionnaire survey in four months, before starting the interviews. However, as indicated above, a number of difficulties prevented this and thereby led to changes in the administration and use of the questionnaires.

Since no sampling frame or list of the total Turkish population in Munich existed, a non-probability sampling technique was applied (Nachmias and Nachmias 1981). In order to ensure a mixture of respondents and avoid a *strong* bias, the questionnaires were to be distributed through various outlets such as employers, Turkish associations and institutions, as well as other organisations dealing with Turkish immigrants and their offspring.

Additionally, it was decided to undertake a postal survey to individuals (both males and females identified through the telephone directory) from different areas within Munich. However, as a result of a response rate of below 10%, this was discarded, indicating that the use of organisations was more important. Even here co-operation was difficult to secure, and none of the 15 employers I contacted co-operated. An additional problem clearly was that my approach was too passive, relying on other people's help too much. After a disappointing response after three months, it became clear that a more active approach was necessary and that the role of the questionnaire would be changed to a 'recording schedule' (Moser and Kalton 1971), which would be filled in by me in the presence of the respondents. Fortunately at this point, I had become better known to various people through involvement in different organisations (see Section 4.4.1). It is important to emphasise here that I was keen to avoid overlap between the respondents I used for the survey, and the ones I later wanted to use for the interviews and to keep the two samples separate. This was important so as not to overload gatekeepers (and

respondents) with two different requests, so that in some cases different gatekeepers within one organisation were used for the questionnaire survey and interviews, while in other cases organisations were used solely for one of these two methods. However, some overlap occurred³, but this is not a problem since the questionnaires and interviews are analysed separately (see also Chapter 6).

After these early difficulties, access to a number of organisations at certain times (usually once a week) was negotiated, and questionnaires were filled in with the respondents after I had been introduced to them by the 'gatekeepers'. This meant, however, that the 'recording schedule' sometimes had to be completed in a shorter period of time, since often respondents were in a hurry. It was therefore important to concentrate on the essential sections, so that effectively, short structured interviews were conducted with the respondents (May 1993). This changed format had the additional advantage of getting further information from respondents, for example by comments on some questions, such as the reason for a move. This changed strategy was used primarily in eight organisations⁴:

- *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (Workers' Welfare Association) *Türkdanis in Milbertshofen*;
- *Arbeiterwohlfahrt Türkdanis Stadtmitte* (City Centre);
- *Arbeitskreis für Ausländerfragen* (Association for Problems Concerning Foreigners), *Haidhausen*;
- *Initiativgruppe für Ausländerfragen* (Association for Questions concerning Foreigners);
- *Volkshochschule* (Adult Education Centre) *München*;
- *Ausländischer Elternverein* (Association of Foreign Parents);
- *Familienverein* (Association of Families) *Neuperlach*;
- *Türkischer Alevitenbund* (Association of Alevis).

The new strategy led to a much higher response rate of close to 100%, but was not without problems, and the nature of the two strategies together meant that around one third of all questionnaires were excluded from the final analysis: the first reason was that a number of questionnaires, especially those administered by respondents themselves, were filled in incompletely or incorrectly. This ranged from not filling in a number of

³ There were three interview respondents I know of who also filled in a questionnaire, but the actual number may be slightly higher.

⁴ Both the number of organisations used and the geographical spread of respondents is greater for the questionnaire sample than for the sample of interview-respondents. This is another reason why the interviewees were not included in the analysis in chapter 6.

individual data in section 1 to only partially completing section 3. The second was that a number of respondents had only relatively recently come to Germany, and had thereby only just started their own 'residential history' by moving in with their current partner. As such, they had not experienced movement through the housing market⁵. This group was therefore excluded from the final analysis, which was based on one particular cohort, formed by primary immigrants and their partners who arrived in Munich between 1964 and 1978 (see Section 6.5). In total, 72 out of 115 returned questionnaires were used. As de Vaus (1986) has observed, the final analysis is therefore, at least to some extent, always driven by the nature of the data collected.

4.3.4 Analysing the survey

Once the unusable questionnaires had been eliminated and the final cohort had been decided upon, the analysis proceeded in two main stages.

First, in order to link the data on residential histories to the factual material collected in sections 1 and 1a, the questionnaires were coded and the results fed into a data-base that was subsequently analysed using SPSS. Thereby, it became possible to arrive at a number of general observations, such as the connection between date of immigration and number of residential moves, on a descriptive level. This part is also important in order to point to the particularities of the sample used, and to the limitations of generalising from it.

The second stage of the analysis had to deal with the detailed information contained in 72 individual residential histories. Since the aim was to treat the sample population as one cohort, the individual residential histories were fed into an Excel spreadsheet using codes for the variables collected: location of a residence (ward), tenure status, source used in finding the flat, and reason for moving out. The spreadsheet was constructed on a case by year basis, ranging from 1965 to 1995, thereby covering 31 years and 72 cases. Once the spreadsheet had been put together, the analysis of the data proceeded manually: each variable could thereby be analysed in both its temporal and its sequential order, while at the same time allowing the analysis of more than one variable at any one time. For example, it was possible to examine the significance of different housing subsectors in time and in connection to the number of a move, while subsequently

⁵ This problem is discussed in Lelièvre and Bonvalet (1994).

movement through space was linked to movement through the housing market *and* to time.

4.4 The intensive stage: doing biographical research

4.4.1 Selecting the respondents

While the Turkish population has so far been treated in a fairly aggregate way either as the ‘total population’ or as one particular cohort, the selection of interview respondents was based on the desire to talk to respondents with different ‘objective characteristics’. This was based on the assumption that this would lead to different experiences in similar contexts and, therefore, different ‘reasons’ behind particular residential histories. This selection was, in Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) terms, made in order to obtain different ‘slices of data’ (p. 65). Four ‘groups’ emerged from the literature as being particularly ‘meaningful’, referring here to their different positions and problems in German society:

- ‘first generation’ immigrants (or ‘primary immigrants’);
- the ‘second generation’ or ‘secondary immigrants’: in this study, this refers to those children of primary immigrants and their partners *who were born in Turkey*. Members of this group thereby spent a large part of their youth in Germany, passed through (part of) the German educational system as well as living in an ‘established’ household for a certain period of time and thereby being able to draw on their parents’ expertise and experiences. Since the focus in this study is on *independent residential histories*, the condition for this group was that the respondents should have lived independently of their parents for some years. As a result, all the actual respondents were secondary immigrants, none was born in Germany, and all had lived independently for at least eight years;
- single women;
- Turkish immigrants married to German partners.⁶

Clearly, there is some overlap between the different groups. The aim was thereby to interview at least five *individuals or households* from each of the groups, an aim that was achieved for two of the groups. It was not possible for the ‘mixed-marriage’ one

⁶ Additionally, I interviewed three social workers in order to check how common, from their experience, issues raised in the interviews are and to examine their experiences about changes in the lives of Turkish immigrants and their children since the 1960s.

(three respondents) and for secondary immigrants, where I was only able to conduct four interviews. Out of the remaining 23 interviews, 23 were conducted with primary immigrants (or couples), 6 with single women. In total, 36 individuals or couples were interviewed (see Table 4.1). After the interviews had been analysed, I decided to integrate the findings for single women and the mixed marriage group into the groups of primary or secondary immigrants respectively, since the similarities of observations and processes didn't merit their separate discussion. Where differences have emerged for these groups, they are pointed out in the discussion.

Table 4.1: The composition of the interview sample.

	Total number of interviews	Number of couples interviewed	Total number of respondents interviewed
Primary Immigrants	27*	10	33
Secondary Immigrants	5**	3	7
Mixed marriage group	3	-	3
Single women	6	-	6

*repeat interviews with four couples; **repeat interview with one couple

From the start the aim had again been to recruit the respondents from a wide variety of sources in order to avoid a strong bias. Given the problems encountered during the questionnaire survey, it was clear that the respondents had to be recruited primarily through organisations, with the hope of some subsequent snowballing (Bernard 1988; Cassell 1988). As outlined earlier, recruiting respondents through organisations was not easy itself, so that it took approximately four months to make myself known, get people's trust and arrange the first interviews.

In order to make contacts with potential respondents, it was necessary to establish a certain trust with various 'gatekeepers' (Whyte 1955; Fontana and Frey 1994). Consequently, I offered to work for a number of institutions in order to give people a chance to get to know me. I thereby worked in four organisations in various functions: as a co-organiser of social events, as a tutor for Turkish children with problems at school and as organiser and teacher of various English language evening classes for Turks. While all these activities eventually led to my getting access to respondents, they had the additional benefit of providing me with a better insight into Turkish life in Munich. As a result, all the people I interviewed had either seen me before, or had heard about me through other people (where access was achieved through 'snowballing'), and knew that I was interested in, and willing to contribute to, Turkish life in Munich. Thereby, it was

easier to establish a relationship based on trust with the respondents⁷. For the interviews, the respondents were drawn from the following six sources:

- *Ausländischer Elternverein* (8 interviews⁸);
- *Familienverein Neuperlach* (8 interviews);
- *Arbeitskreis für Ausländerfragen Haidhausen* (5 interviews);
- *Arbeiterwohlfahrt Türkdanis Milbertshofen* (4 interviews);
- *Initiativgruppe für Ausländerfragen* (6 interviews);
- Snowballing starting from these organisations (5 interviews).

Given the aim of targeting individuals from the four groups mentioned above, the sampling process was clearly 'selective' and 'focused', while the *detailed* recruitment of respondents was then to some extent 'opportunistic', and depended on respondents' co-operation and access (Burgess 1984; Plummer 1983). Once co-operation had been assured and access had been achieved, semi-structured, biographical interviews were conducted with the respondents.

4.4.2 Biographical approaches: potential and problems

While geography has seen an increasing interest in the use of qualitative methods based on *verstehen* or interpretative, empathic understanding (Jackson and Smith 1984; Hughes 1990), geographers have been reluctant to apply biographical or life-history approaches. This stands in clear contrast to other social science disciplines, where the approach has risen to increasing prominence (Denzin 1989; Personal Narratives Group 1989). Given both the substantive (residential histories) and the theoretical (the connection of action and identity) foci of this study, the approach in the in-depth part of this study clearly called for biographical interviews. The different (but inter-related) emphases of these two research themes also represent the two main usages of biographical research in general (Kohli 1981a): the reconstruction of events located in the past on the one hand (Plummer 1983; Thomas and Znaniecki 1918-20), and the argument that many actions are related to people's entire biographies on the other:

"Many actions are not simply caused by the situation, but by earlier biographical experiences that co-determine every subsequent action". (Fuchs 1984, p. 148)

⁷ According to Fuchs (1984), trust is particularly important in biographical research since it deals with very personal issues and problems.

⁸ These figures exclude repeat interviews.

According to Kohli (1981b), life histories or biographies provide a unique insight into people's experiences and the structuring of their lives, since they examine these lives, or segments of them, as lived and reported by the individuals in question, thereby 'giving them a voice' (Keegan 1988; McDowell 1992). Given that continuous longitudinal studies are very difficult to do in practice, they also provide one of the few historical accounts that allow for human subjectivity and agency, albeit located in the past (Heinemeier and Robert 1984; Brose 1984). Human agents are given the chance to talk about their lives as they experienced them, resting on the assumption that lives are, to a large extent, the result of unique, individual paths and patterns of action (Ley 1984; Lamnek 1989). There therefore exists, as Lamnek (1989) argues, at least some assumption in the biographical method of 'voluntarism' and 'authorship' (see Chapter 3) in the form of unique 'life-courses' in the biographical method. Thus, in this study, not only is the goal of biographical research *to collect* individual residential histories, but *to account for* the unique processes, decisions, and experiences that have led to these particular patterns (Walby 1991). However, while individual authorship is an assumption in studies of 'life histories' (Lamnek 1989), few researchers would be content to see biographies purely as individual creations (Hawkins 1984, see Chapter 3). With respect to the biographical method this means here that it is assumed that biographies are also always reflections of the social, political, economic and cultural context. This has two main implications (Dex 1991): the first is the possibility of accessing (past) contexts through individual experiences (the domain of oral history). The second is to assess the way in which these contexts have been experienced and interpreted by, and have thereby impinged on, individuals, typically of a particular (taxonomic) group. It is the second of these aims that is more important in the present study through the question of how different individuals' residential histories have evolved by people's passing through similar contexts (Fuchs 1984). As Scepanzki (1981) argues:

"In autobiographies we have at the same time descriptions of real social, political or economic situations and descriptions, in every layer of information, of how these situations were perceived, evaluated, how they influenced thinking and action, etc." (p. 232),

While this first reason is primarily empirical, examining the constitution of residential histories and the individual and social factors shaping them, the second reason for doing biographical research in this study is primarily theoretical and is related *also* to present actions. Based on the arguments in the previous chapter, the assumption is thereby that many actions are fundamentally biographical in nature (Dex 1991). They are

the result of the unique, individual paths through history and context, thereby forming unique biographies, narratives and identities which crucially influence action (Ley 1984). While given less attention in the established literature on the biographical method, I would consider this second role of biographical approaches to be at least as important as the first (Denzin 1989). Consequently, actions are not only located in, but shaped by, biographies which are also always related to the future. This obviously means that, at the level of the individual, many actions can only be *explained fully* through biographical enquiry and the uncovering of 'because-motives' (see Chapter 3). This necessitates the supplementing of cross-sectional approaches, that can go some way towards an explanation but are insufficient in themselves. It also calls for an approach that incorporates the processual nature of experience and action, and that sees lives as evolving, as a series of related processes (Mayer 1990). Or as Fuchs (1984) argues:

"Many attitudes are only comprehensible through a consideration of the entire, individual context, that can be accessed most successfully through the life-history narrative". (p. 148)

A number of arguments developed here and in the previous chapter thereby make a biographical approach not only desirable, but necessary (Becker 1971)⁹: the first is the substantive interest in residential histories; the second is the way in which biographies allow access to both the individual and the context through the experience and structuring of life histories and the argument that every action (especially those that are non-routine) is located in people's entire biographies, being more than just the product of the situation.

However, biographical approaches are far from being unproblematic, the problems revolving mainly around the issues of 'truth', 'authenticity' and 'reliability'. The most fundamental question as to the feasibility of biographical research, and the relevance of the information gained, concerns the relationship between past and present (Portelli 1981; Pile 1993). As Gagnon (1981) puts it succinctly:

"... all history is inevitably the present projected on the past". (p. 52)

This is recognised by all those advocating the use of biographical approaches, and it is generally acknowledged that experiences and actions in the past are continuously reinterpreted through the present in order to give meaning to the present through the past, and to the past through the present (Bertaux-Wiame 1981; Thompson 1988). Consequently, lives will never be told in the way in which they were lived (Plummer 1983;

⁹ Becker (1971) argues in fact that he sees no substitute for biographical research if processes in time are really to be accounted for.

Personal Narratives Group 1989). This does not mean that this is intentionally done by the individual, but is a feature of life that seems almost inevitable (Findlay and Li 1995). Additionally, some degree of post hoc rationalisation usually occurs. As a result, we can never be entirely sure to have found the 'valid representation' (Ley 1984) of a biography and, as Coleman (1991) argues, there can never be such a thing as a final account of a person's life. But, as Bohnsack (1991) points out, letting the individual talk about and describe the past is still the closest we can actually get to this past 'as it was'.

However, there are also ways in which to tackle the problem of interpretation to *some* extent, and to uncover (subjective) 'historical truths', rather than mere 'situational truths' (Kohli 1981a). As Kohli (1981b) argues, 'telling' biographies has two main functions for the subject: one is referential, and consists of the (temporal) description of events. The other is evaluative, consisting of referring those events to the present and, by implication, the present to the past. But even if the evaluative function is assumed to be fairly important, all scholars advocating the use of biographical approaches argue that we can assume that there is some specifiable relation ('truth' from the subject's point of view) between the narrative reconstruction and the life (actions, events) to which it refers (Kohli 1981b; Heinemeier and Robert 1984). This, however, depends to some extent on the way in which biographical research is done. One strategy is the triangulation of data through supplementing biographical approaches with other research methods as advocated by Walby (1991) and Denzin (1978), and as applied in this study. The other is related to the interview-process itself.

4.4.3 Doing biographical research: semi-structured interviews and the interview-schedule

After initial contacts with the respondents had been made, times and places for the interviews were arranged. In general, I attempted to arrange the interviews in people's homes, since I assumed that the home provides a 'point of reference' for the respondents (Cook and Crang 1995), and that they would be more relaxed and talkative there (Burgess 1984). In addition to providing an insight into the way in which they lived, this also worked towards reducing the power-differential further since the respondents also acted as hosts to me *in their homes*. With the exceptions of four interviews, all others were conducted in people's homes and it was generally desired or even demanded by the respondents that they should be interviewed there.

Before the start of the interview, I assured the respondents about the confidentiality of the material, that they would remain anonymous in the final thesis and asked them whether they agreed to be tape-recorded. In general, it was surprising how little concern people had about issues such as confidentiality, but this may have been a result of the fact that most of them knew about my involvement in the 'Turkish community'.

While I also outlined the broad aims of the study, however, I mentioned only briefly that the focus was on 'residence'. This, I felt, was important since I didn't want to reduce the explanation of residential histories to simple 'in-order-to' motives (see Chapter 3), which would emerge as a result of a limited interview design (Miles and Crush 1993). Rather, I told the respondents that I wanted them to *tell* me about their lives, and that I was interested in all aspects of them. I explained that I had a few topics I wanted to cover, but that in general I would like to see the interview as a conversation where they could ask questions, too, rather than an inquisition.

In order to achieve the main aims of biographical research outlined above, it is necessary to apply an interview-format that allows the individual to tell what they see as his or her life in the way it was lived (with all the distortions mentioned already), and thereby highlight those factors that were crucial in shaping this life in their own words and sequence. In the established literature, this form of an interview is normally called 'narrative' (Bohnsack 1991). However, in order to be able to start the interview, keep it flowing, and cover a number of topics that are thought to be important, some intervention by the interviewer in the form of broad topics or specific questions, as well as probing what was said, is usually necessary. Thereby, the interview will have at least some kind of structure to it, that also ensures comparability to others. The underlying rationale of the interview technique adopted in this study was a combination of these considerations, and I would therefore describe the biographical interviews as 'semi-structured narrative'¹⁰.

In order to ensure some structure to the interviews, an interview schedule, based on ideas gained from both academic and non-academic literature was developed before I went to Munich, and was constantly adjusted as a result of 'experience' (see below). While the intention was to conduct the interviews as narratives, I nevertheless felt it to be

¹⁰ From my reading of the literature, there seems to exist an infinite number of terms to describe the same form of interview and, moreover, the same terms are often used by different authors to describe different forms of interviews.

important to formulate a number of detailed questions if one of the requirements, narrative competence on the part of the respondents (possibly, though not necessarily, linked to linguistic skills), was not given (Lamnek 1989; May 1993). This proved to be invaluable in a very limited number of cases, its value being confirmed in two of the four pilot interviews. In general, however, the interview schedule worked more as an *aide mémoire*, that was designed to remind me of the topics I wanted to cover. While the emphasis was thereby still on the ‘respondent as narrator’, the *aide mémoire* was necessary for two other reasons: firstly, the interviewee may simply forget to talk about an important issue (Lamnek 1989); secondly, the significance of various factors and issues that are thought to be important for the target population needed to be ‘tested’ for individuals and households. A number of topics were thereby covered, some of them evolving as a result of the pilot and subsequent interviews, making the *aide mémoire* something that was continually modified (see Appendix 2 for detailed issues):

- Personal data;
- Life before migration, migration to Germany and the experiences following it;
- Residential issues, residential histories and work histories;
- Relationship to Turkey and Germany;
- Friends, orientations, cultural practices;
- Political status, attitudes towards politics, questions of discrimination;
- Future plans and orientations.

These topics had to be explored additionally from a temporal perspective. Even though specific research questions were formulated, they had to be adapted to the interviewees, since each separate interview was unique and different¹¹. However, I made sure that all the topics were covered in the interviews, ideally raised by the interviewees themselves in the way in which they were of relevance, and in their own words, allowing *apparently* tangential matters to be introduced if they felt them to be relevant.

The interview was usually started by asking the respondents a few simple ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘why’ questions about their migration to Germany. Since this reflected a significant biographical break or ‘epiphany’ (Denzin 1989) in their lives, people were usually happy to talk about it. Moreover, it is an experience that distinguished the respondents from me and is a fairly direct start to an interview with which I indicated once again to them how unique, different and valuable their experiences and lives were for

¹¹ I would therefore argue that there can never be a ‘routinisation’ of qualitative research.

my research, thereby giving them the status of experts (Girtler 1974; McCracken 1988). In most cases, the interviews then developed in a surprisingly natural way, supporting the argument by Barton and Lazarsfeld (1979) that people are often happy to talk about their lives. While it would have been easiest for me to progress in a fairly linear, chronological way, this was only 'achieved' in a very limited number of interviews and constant references between different times and different topics were made, indicating how different areas of their lives stand in relation to each other (Hawkins 1984). This is exactly one of the strengths of this type of interview: to provide the respondent with the opportunity to work out and explain causality in their own terms and in the way this was experienced, rather than being guided into reductionist answers by simple 'why' questions (Hakim 1987). Or as Lamnek (1989) puts it:

"The narrative interview demands the respondents to reconstruct past events and their interconnectedness, in order to explain past situations to the interviewer. ... Thereby, it becomes necessary to explain things in great detail, with the fact that the interviewer knows nothing about the respondents' lives forcing him or her to provide more and more information". (p. 72),

There are, nevertheless, some problems with the nature of these 'explanations' that will be discussed further below.

It was surprising how easily the respondents thereby recalled past events, sometimes in great detail, even remembering particular times of the day for events 20 years in the past. The accuracy of this information was often confirmed when I interviewed a couple or a family, and people corrected each other along the lines of:

'No, it wasn't on the 14th of November 1972, it was the 15th'.

I believe that this excellent recall is to a large extent due to the fact that all respondents experienced a biographical break (migration), with the date of migration providing a constant point of reference¹². Moreover, I had the impression that most people were used to talking about their lives since migration, and that this was an important topic with friends or family. Thereby, not only were the respondents used to 'telling a story' in general which, according to Bohnsack (1991) is a feature that is characteristic for most human beings, but they had some experience in talking about their lives in Germany.

Since the majority of interviewees therefore started to talk fairly freely about their lives, I tried to interrupt as little as possible and only occasionally tried to connect what

¹² This, however, seemed to be more significant for primary than for secondary immigrants.

they had just said to other issues, especially after longer pauses developed. At this first stage, my role was limited to directing people to talk about certain areas. However, the open and un-chronological way in which the stories were told demanded a constant alertness to what had already been said and the way in which it was said, as well as to connections that were and were not made. While it is often assumed that people talk about their lives in a fairly linear way, as evolving fairly naturally, I was surprised how much the respondents referred to situations in which they were at the cross-roads and the way in which they criticised themselves for having done certain things and not others.

After this 'first round' during which I asked mainly clarifying questions in the form of 'So you did this and that', or 'Did I understand you correctly when you said that...?', I began to take a slightly more active role by asking questions that sought to shed *further* light on the constitution of events and processes. A number of 'probing' strategies were thereby applied: firstly, to ask people to elaborate on certain things and make clearer the connections between them; secondly, to repeat questions in their own words in the hope of achieving a more detailed elaboration by them, or to repeat them in my own words and thereby trigger a reaction (rejection/elaboration/confirmation); thirdly, to ask them why they did certain things and not others when the story appeared to me to be too linear and simple, and when I suspected that order was being imposed with the benefit of hindsight; fourthly, to introduce other issues from the *aide mémoire* and to forge their connections (if any) to what had already been mentioned (Fuchs 1984).

All these strategies had an additional purpose: namely, to try to overcome some of the inherently interpretative nature of biographical approaches (see Section 4.4.2). According to Kohli (1981a), it is necessary, when doing biographical research, to take a fairly active role as a researcher, when the 'first round' of reporting is finished. The role of the interviewer is thereby mainly to probe the respondents and make them reflect on the things they have said, elaborate on them, and explain them further. While it has been argued that the respondents should not be provoked directly, I nevertheless asked, later on in the interviews, questions such as:

"Earlier you said that you liked Germany immediately and that life in the *Wohnheim* was quite pleasant. But other people have told me that they found it quite unpleasant. Why do you think that is?"

or comments, often building on their answers along the lines of:

"Yes, but some people would say that Turkey is still not a fully democratic state."

Thereby, I hoped that people's accounts would reflect the situation 'as it was' more closely, and that their perceptions could be made clearer. Obviously, this isn't without problems since people may feel led in particular directions. However, I think that this under-estimates the respondents' 'strength'. It was very rare for the interviewees to refute their original answers completely, and an elaboration on the earlier answer or statement was usually given. Again, it is important to point out here that we will probably never be able to reconstruct a situation as it was, but from the interviews I still felt that a fairly accurate picture of the past was provided, often underlined by the respondents showing me photographs or documents from the past.

While I have constantly claimed that the approach to the interviews was biographical, some qualifications have to be made. Thus, although I considered people's lives in Turkey before migration to be of importance for subsequent developments, this was given less weight in the interviews and usually took the form of a fairly brief summary, focusing in particular on the years immediately before migration. However, the respondents themselves often referred back to their lives in Turkey, especially by making comparisons to their lives in Germany, and by explaining actions in Germany that had their roots in Turks.

The interviews lasted between one and four hours, with the typical length being two, to two and a half hours. Moreover, in five cases I was able to conduct repeat interviews. Unfortunately, while the respondents were generally happy to talk to me and told me that they found it enjoyable and that they sometimes remembered things they had already forgotten about, some of them were unwilling to make the commitments of repeat-interviews and, given the general lengths of the interviews that often involved dinner or breakfast, I didn't want to overstretch people's willingness to co-operate. Since I met most people again after the actual interviews, I still had the chance to ask them briefly about certain issues that were or weren't discussed earlier on.

34 out of 36 interviews were conducted in German, even when the respondent's German was far from perfect. However, having used an interpreter early on, I felt that this was by no means ideal and that the interviews produced more information when the respondents talked to me directly if they were happy to do so. Inevitably, however, this meant that more work was required during the analysis stage.

4.4.4 Analysing the interviews

Given the amount of time usually spent transcribing and analysing interviews, it is surprising how little mention of these processes is often made in the academic literature (Wax 1983; Miles and Huberman 1984). However, outlining how the 'final reports' were arrived at is crucial since the analysis is driven by a combination of the nature of the primary material, the researcher's social-theoretical standpoint, as well as his or her 'biographical baggage', or positionality (Jackson 1993). As Jones (1985b) therefore argues, factors like these and the uniqueness of each research project make it necessary, although difficult, to make the *highly personal process* of analysis explicit (Turner 1994). Before outlining the detailed process of analysis, however, I briefly want to discuss the transcription and editing of the interviews.

This research differs from most other studies in two major ways: Firstly, the interviews were conducted primarily with non-native speakers. Secondly, the respondents' accounts were then translated into and reported in another language. While the second of these 'differences' alone has meant that a high degree of editing of the interviews was necessary, this was also made necessary as a result of the linguistic competence of some of the respondents. Thereby, while most of the respondents were perfectly able to express themselves in German, this was sometimes done in rather complicated and grammatically incorrect ways. Moreover, many of the interviews thereby contain more 'ums' and 'ers' than is normally the case, reflecting the occasional difficulty of finding the right word. Working in another language for most of the time, I can strongly empathise with these difficulties. However, transcribing the interviews with these mistakes would have made little sense, and translating them would have been virtually impossible. Rather, I decided to take a more active approach and, where necessary, changed the word-order of sentences to transform them into grammatically-correct German. However, I tried to make sure that the meaning of the accounts thereby remained unchanged. While some people might have reservations about this editing of the material, I think it can be justified by the use of the method of analysis that didn't directly examine the *way* things were said, which was not part of my concerns.

The actual analysis of the interviews was done in German and using the original transcripts, and only once this analysis had been completed, were the findings and quotations translated into in English. I thereby felt that the original meaning could be retained more fully, in addition to not having translate entire transcripts. Nevertheless,

even translating *quotations* from German to English wasn't always easy, and is a problem that has increasingly been recognised recently. As Smith (1996) points out:

“Any translation seems always to be a reduced and distorted representation of other social texts and practices”. (p. 162)¹³

In particular, I found it difficult to translate certain concepts such as *Heimat* and *Zuhause* (both referring to different notions of ‘home’), which are central to this thesis and which would have lost a significant amount of their meaning by translating them into a single English term. When I felt that the richness of certain German words would get lost, I therefore retained them in their original form and tried to describe their exact meaning in English.

While this section deals primarily with the analysis of the interview transcripts after the fieldwork, this is somewhat misleading. Rather, analysis (which, according to Okely 1994, *is* interpretation) of the data gathered is a continuous process, which means that qualitative research (in contrast to quantitative research), cannot be reduced to set stages (Bryman and Burgess 1994a, b). This has led Potter and Wetherell (1994) to argue that the term ‘analysis’ has no place in qualitative research altogether. While this is, I believe, an overstatement, a definition of data (interview) analysis as ‘the understanding, interpretation and ways of making sense of the material’ points to the ongoing nature of the process (Wiseman 1974; Okely 1994). In the previous section, this was already hinted at when I talked about the constant revision of the *aide mémoire*, as well as the exploration of themes developed in one interview in subsequent ones. Given the definition above, these processes ‘in the field’ represent one step in the data analysis (Bogdan and Bilken 1982), which manifests itself also in the constant evaluation of the material gathered and the attempts (often only in the researcher’s head), to connect and make sense of it. Thereby, while I will now talk mainly about the analysis *after* the fieldwork, this was not the stage at which the ‘understanding and making sense of the material’ actually started.

After the process of transcribing (and editing) had been completed, I was left with a *full* transcript of each interview, forming the main part (in addition to field notes, covering observations regarding the people and the environment during the interviews) of the ‘primary material’ (Cook and Crang 1995). The approach taken here was based

¹³ As Rushdie (1991) argues, however, this doesn't simply mean that “... something always gets lost in translation...” (p. 17). Rather, he is convinced that “... something can also be gained”. (p. 17).

around a thematic analysis, applying some of the procedures and techniques developed by Strauss (1987) in particular. It was thereby hoped to analyse the data so that the complexity of the constitution of various issues and actions would be grasped and retained. Moreover, the aim was to ground this analysis in my theoretical preconceptions (which I undoubtedly had), but also to ground 'theory' (at various levels) firmly in the empirical material (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

The *post*-fieldwork analysis of the interviews strictly started with their transcription. This provided the opportunity to develop more concrete thoughts about the content of the respondents' reports. Thereby, I constantly wrote down ideas of important themes, concepts and categories, producing 'theoretical memos' (Strauss 1987) and trying to immerse myself in the data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). To a certain extent, the process of 'open coding' or 'initial coding' (Charmaz 1983) started here, referring to the breaking down, conceptualising and categorising data¹⁴ proposed by Strauss (1987) and Strauss and Corbin (1990).

After all the interviews had been transcribed, the actual coding process, that eventually led to chapters 7 to 10, started. This stage consisted at first of four rounds of reading all the interviews. During the first round, each transcript was read very carefully, line by line, in a process of 'open coding', starting to develop concepts that seemed to fit the data. While these were partly based on the concepts used by the respondents themselves through the development of emic (or 'in vivo') codes, the majority was based on my own (or etic) codes (Agar 1980). These codes were very broad at the beginning, and often consisted of no more than a single word such as '*Wohnheim*', while in other cases they were more detailed, referring for example to 'difficulties encountered directly after migration' and so on. Moreover, given the longitudinal focus of the research project, these codes were arranged in a temporal order that referred not so much to 'time' as such, but to the sequence of events.

This was followed by a second round of reading and open coding, in which each transcript was now read with a more detailed knowledge in mind of the categories derived from all interviews. Thereby, similarities and differences were looked for, and the different manifestations of similar categories were concentrated upon. Again, this was accompanied by the constant writing of 'theoretical memos'. At that stage, ideas for the eventual

¹⁴ But see Richards and Richards (1991) for a discussion of the different ways in which the term 'coding' has been used.

chapter-structure of the empirical material started to take shape. For example, it became clear that ‘residence’ needed to be linked to ‘agency’ in a temporal context. This illustrates the way in which, during the entire research process and during the analysis, theory and empirical findings interact. While I had started the research by arguing that individuals should be seen as knowledgeable and purposeful agents, I hadn’t been aware of the way in which a sense of agency is both an expression of, and is developed through, residence or the way in which the realisation of this agency depended on ‘confidence in competence to act’ and on the presence of various resources (see Chapter 3).

This was followed by a third reading, in which the process of ‘axial coding’ (Strauss 1987), consisting of an intensive analysis of one aspect at a time, was started more formally. It is important to point out here that ‘open coding’ didn’t stop here and that it is an on-going process. Axial coding, then, results in cumulative knowledge about relationships between a category (usually one that is very important, i.e. a ‘main’ or ‘core’ category), and other categories and subcategories. For example, the core category ‘movement into social housing’ was related to criteria of eligibility, experiences with the authorities, the role of children, increased social competence, perceived opportunities in the private market and so on. At this stage, researchers often produce ‘cognitive maps’ (Jones 1985), which I discarded for being confusing rather than enlightening. The production of main categories again illustrates the relationship between theory and empirical material: the definition of a category as ‘core’ or ‘main’ was a reflection of my (constantly adjusted) theory, but was still grounded in the interview material which, however, was in part produced by the questions I had asked. As Kaplan (1964) has put it this means that, to some extent:

“We see what we have reason of seeing”. (p. 133)

This shows that every analysis is indeed interpretation (Okely 1994), and that these interpretations can only be judged by their ‘theoretical adequacy’ (Schutz 1972) or ‘practical adequacy’ (Sayer 1992), rather than by any concept of ‘truth’. This includes the possibility (or even likelihood), that this interpretation differs from the respondents’ own understandings of particular situations through the addition of a ‘second level’ of analysis, as well as by raising practical consciousness to the level of discourse (see Chapter 3). Here, it is important to realise that we as researchers don’t simply *represent* cultures, but rather *reinvent* them (Barnes and Duncan 1992).

I then went through a fourth round of coding, in which the main categories (that now started to form subheadings for sections of chapters) were again 'axially coded' with other sub-categories, as well as other main categories. Thereby, broad and detailed connections became clearer still, but the process of 'open coding' still went on, too. At this stage it is significant to point out that, throughout, my own coding differed in one important aspect from that proposed in textbooks (e.g. Strauss 1987; Cook and Crang 1995). In contrast to these textbooks, I left the original transcripts blank. Rather, I used separate pieces of paper: one for each interview to describe the processes and categories (for the particular individual or couple), and another set of sheets for each category, and their connection to other categories. This was also important for the development of the case study chapter (see below). This was done by giving a number to each interview before the coding had started. Moreover, I continued to produce 'theoretical memos'. Leaving the transcripts blank was important for the next step of the analysis.

By now, I had developed a chapter structure that resulted from both the theoretical background and the categories developed in the coding process. Headlines of sections had thereby been developed, with notes under each headline specifying connections between categories, and the detailed content of each section. I then started what comes close to Strauss's (1987) concept of 'selective coding', referring to connecting 'core categories' further to other core categories (and sub-categories) in a process of further 'cumulative integration' (Strauss 1987). Thereby, for each section developed earlier, all the interviews were read again *at least* once. Having left the transcripts blank earlier meant that I was able to read the interviews 'openly' again, nothing distracting me from finding new connections between categories and, also, continuing the processes of open and axial coding. Not surprisingly, I thereby discovered new categories, themes, and connections, so that the analysis was still going on and the final structure of the chapters still developing. For each section, I once again took separate pieces of paper, copying quotations, writing down my own thoughts and theoretical connections. In this way, every section of a chapter was developed and written up before the same process was repeated for each subsequent section. This does not mean, however, that a section was left unchanged once it had been written. Rather, having to re-read the (blank) transcripts over and over again raised new issues and new connections and constantly changed the shape of the chapters. Hereby, it was important to

see the processes of open and axial coding as on-going, even when selective coding and the writing-up had already started.

The notes made for each separate interview were then used for the individual case-studies. Here, my aim was to show in detail how individual residential histories are formed. This meant that a selection of two couples was made on the basis of the clarity of the cases and on the amount of information I had. The analysis therefore took a different turn. While I had concentrated on 'topics' such as migration to Germany or the role of the family in the earlier analysis (that eventually led to Chapters 7 to 10), the focus was now on individuals and on the way in which processes (forming topics earlier on) combine at the level of the individual or the couple. While the earlier analysis was therefore more concerned with 'the general', concentration now shifted to 'the unique'.

Once the cases had been selected, I tried to immerse myself again in each of them, reading the transcripts very carefully, attempting to capture the complexity of the constitution of residential trajectories. While in Munich, I came across the work of Margaret Somers linking narrativity, identity and action (see Chapter 3), that seemed capable of explaining what I had observed. With this framework in mind, I went about analysing the individual interviews again, now looking at the connection of various 'story-lines' at the level of the individual or household, thereby capturing some of the detail that was lost in the more aggregate analysis and chapters. It is important to point out here that these 'storylines' or 'narratives' were inductively-arrived at, rather than imposed by me. Each reading of the transcripts thereby went along the same lines as the earlier analysis, only that both 'axial' and 'selective' coding started at a much earlier stage, reflecting the difference in the amount of information now analysed. However, again it was important at this stage to read blank transcripts and thereby being open to the discovery of new concepts and connections, rather than being influenced by the earlier coding of the interviews.

4.5 Conclusion

In this study, a mixed methods approach has been applied in order to contextualise the findings of different levels of analysis as fully as possible, and thereby fill some of the gaps left in the academic literature in the subject areas. Three broad methods have been used, the analysis of official data, a questionnaire survey and biographical interviews, each

connected to different levels of understanding and generating different, but ultimately inter-connected, findings. While some problems were inevitably encountered at each stage of the research process, the multiplicity of methods is nevertheless preferable to relying on a single method only (McKendrick 1996). With these different methods and techniques, the different research objectives have been tackled and the findings of the next 7 chapters arrived at.

Part 2

Contexts/Patterns/Processes

This part moves from the discussion of relevant frameworks to empirical findings. It is split into two chapters, examining a variety of (spatial) patterns and processes around residential issues for Munich's Turkish population. This discussion is set within an analysis of the context of the Munich housing market.

A detailed analysis of the housing market in Munich is provided in chapter 5. The focus is initially on the evolution of that market since the end of the second world war in the context of changing housing policies, resulting in a geography of housing in the city. This analysis forms the background for an outline of the current (spatial) structure of the housing market in the city, focusing on a limited number of important variables, such as tenure, rent levels and housing quality. Chapter 5 thereby introduces the housing context for the discussion in chapter 6.

Chapter 6 is split into two main parts. The first examines patterns and processes of location and migration of Munich's Turkish, and the city's 'other' and total foreign, population at an aggregate level, drawing on both census and continuous registration data. In the second main part of the chapter, the analysis moves to a more detailed level by presenting the findings of a questionnaire survey of 72 respondents. At first, the focus is thereby on movement through the housing market and, subsequently, this is connected to movement through space, supplementing the analysis of aggregate patterns with an examination of residential processes of one particular cohort.

This part, while presenting and analysing patterns and processes that are important in their own right and thereby contributing to the large number of studies of this kind conducted in other German cities, also forms the context for the discussion in chapters 8, 10 and 11 in particular, where the focus shifts to individuals' experiences.

Chapter 5

Housing Policy and the Structure of the Housing Market

5.1 Introduction

“Since residential mobility takes place within the urban housing market, the characteristics and mechanisms of housing markets are of primary importance in understanding *where* households locate within the city. This issue becomes of particular significance in tight housing markets where households have to compete for scarce housing and where the household’s ethnicity affects its competitive power”.
(Waldorf 1990, p. 639, emphasis added)

Residential histories are formed and played out in the context of the housing market, which enters into the constitution of residential histories in three essential ways:

1. Through its built (or ‘bricks and mortar’, Kemeny 1993) structure, referring to the distribution of different tenure classes, the age of the buildings, their quality, and so on.
2. Through the criteria of access to the built environment, regulated for example through price and mechanisms of social closure.

These factors together form what could be termed an ‘objective structure’¹ of the housing market, representing the (housing) context in which people act and in which residential histories take shape (Robson 1975; Kreibich and Petri 1982).

3. From an individual, subjective point of view, however, there is more than just these two ‘objective’ dimensions to the housing market. Building on the theoretical framework developed in chapter 3, the housing market also forms an ‘ontological narrative’ that not only reflects this objective structure, but incorporates experiences (both first- and second-hand) people have had both within the housing market itself and in other areas (see Chapters 8, 10 and 11).

Of these three ways in which housing enters into the formation of residential histories, it is the first and to a lesser extent the second that are the subject of this chapter. The subjective, individual and collective experiences of this market are discussed in

¹ ‘Objectivity’ here simply means that agents’ perceptions and experiences of the housing market are, for the moment, left on one side.

chapters 8, 10 and 11. Examining the (spatial) structure of the housing market is important, because as O'Loughlin (1987b) argues:

“Examination of the location ... of foreigners necessarily focuses attention on housing and the spatial distribution of various housing sectors”. (p. 60),

because:

“... individual foreigner families operate within the structure of the housing subsectors”. (p. 63)

Or, as Rex (1981) has argued, while both housing consumption and production are important in studying the housing conditions (and residential histories) of immigrants and their offspring, it is changes in housing production that most crucially shape *opportunities* in the housing market (cf. O'Loughlin *et al* 1987).

This chapter analyses and presents the structure of the housing market in Munich, keeping in mind the data-limitations referred to in section 4.2. In section 5.2, the evolution of the housing market since the end of the second world war is examined. Section 5.3 then examines the overall structure of this market in 1987, while section 5.4 concentrates on various spatial aspects of this structure, focusing on tenure, quality and rent levels.

5.2 The post-war evolution of the housing market

5.2.1 Introduction

The housing market in Munich is, according to Wießner (1989), nothing less than a ‘market of superlatives’ - superlatives, however, of a rather negative kind, such as high rent levels, high house prices and a general shortage of housing - that present problems both to the authorities and to many of the city’s inhabitants. According to Ude (1990a), Munich has thus been characterised by a *Wohnungsnot* (serious shortage of housing) for some time now, a feature that is most pronounced in the cheaper segments of the market, thereby particularly affecting vulnerable groups such as Turkish immigrants and their offspring (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28. 4. 1995).

This section reviews the evolution of the housing market from 1945 onwards, examining both the changes in the built structure and the distribution of different tenure classes. This is related to other factors, such as changes in the size of the city’s population. Examination of the evolution of the housing market is important for this study because, as van Amersfoort and de Klerk (1987) argue:

“... immigrants entering the housing market have to fit into an existing system”. (p. 199)

Or, in other words, it is crucial to provide a description of the housing market as it has been encountered by Turkish immigrants and their families.

5.2.2 Developments: 1945 to present

Like many other German cities, Munich emerged from the second world war in a state of serious destruction. A first rough count by the authorities in 1945 showed that only 2.5% of all buildings had remained completely undamaged, while 31.7% of the total residential space had been destroyed completely - a loss of 82000 dwellings. As a result, the first complete count of residential space in September 1950 brought to light a deficit of 89000 dwellings for the city as a whole (Rudloff 1993). This housing shortage in the context of a growing population, resulting to a large extent from the influx of people expelled from Eastern Europe, necessitated a housing policy that concentrated primarily on the *volume* of new construction and, additionally, its affordability for a broad spectrum of the population. Since too little investment activity could be expected from private investors, the federal state and the local authorities were responsible for a large part of the earlier reconstruction activity, as laid down in the *I. Wohnungsbaugesetz* (I. WoBauG) (Housing Construction Act) from April 1950. Its aim was the creation of 2 million public housing units in 6 years for the country as a whole. For Munich, this meant that between 1949 and 1962, the share of publicly-subsidised flats (*Sozialwohnungen*) eventually amounted to well over 30% of the total construction, in a generally high volume of building activity (see below, Table 5.2).

Two characteristics of these dwellings, particularly in the sphere of social housing, were significant for the urban structure of Munich and subsequent developments in housing construction:

Firstly, the new units were generally of a very basic standard. This was a result of the large number of dwellings that had to be constructed within a limited budget (Lücke 1963; Hallett and Williams 1988).

Secondly, and more important for the present study through its impact on later (spatial) developments and their consequences for Turkish immigrants, the majority of these (rented) flats were built on the empty sites that had resulted from war-time damage, i.e. within the *existing* built-up area of the city (Heinritz and Lichtenberger 1986).

Despite the considerable number of dwellings that were constructed from the late 1940s onwards, little was achieved to ameliorate the *Wohnungsnot*. Thus, while in 1950 there existed a shortage of 89000 flats in the city, this deficit could only be reduced to 58700 in 1956. The reason for the continuing tight situation in the housing market was a yearly net-migration gain of 25000 people between 1949 and 1959 (Walter 1993). As Walter (1993) expresses it:

“While other German cities were shrinking, Munich was growing”. (p. 121)

At the end of the 1950s, the *Wohnungsnot* clearly wasn't solved. Moreover, around that time, two developments became clear that were to make a significant impact on housing construction and urban structure:

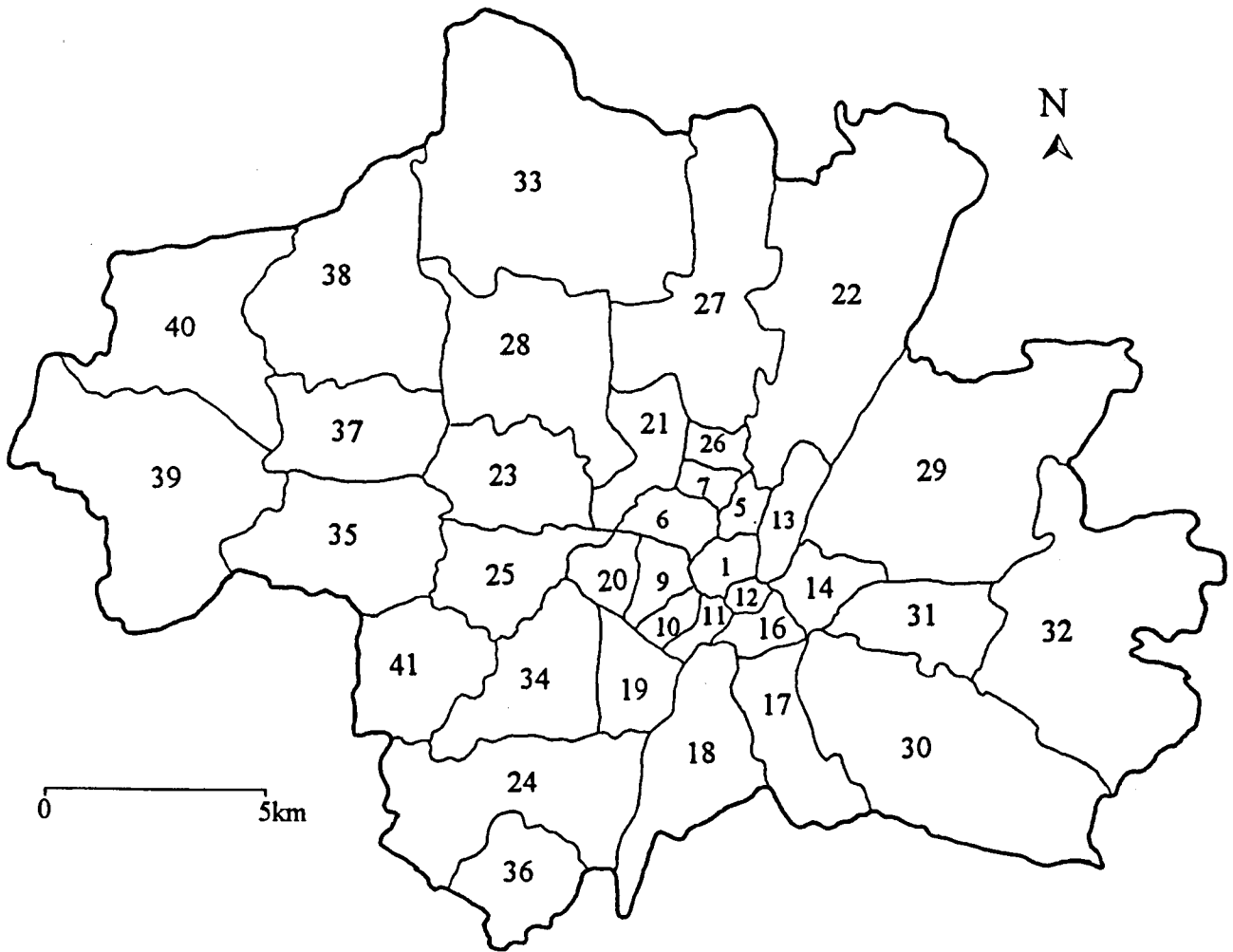
Firstly, there existed a shortage of development areas within Munich as a result of the large number of dwellings built in the previous decade. Moreover, most of the land owned by the municipality inside or just at the edges of the built-up area had been used up. The result was that, for the construction of social housing in particular, it became increasingly difficult to find cheap land.

A second significant development, again adding to increasing cost per unit, was a stronger emphasis on the quality of the dwellings, reflected both in their size and amenities (Ulbrich and Wullkopf 1993).

While the last of these features became most acute at the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s, the lack of space for the construction of housing in the existing built-up area in particular necessitated a different spatial strategy, formally laid down in the “*Erste Münchner Plan*” (First Plan for Munich) of 1960. The emphasis now shifted from smaller-scale projects in the existing built-up area and at its margins, to the development of so-called “*Großwohnsiedlungen*” (large-scale residential settlements) at the very outskirts of the municipal area, some of which play an important role in the discussion in Chapter 6. The aim thereby was to create 123000 new dwellings within six years between 1960 and 1966, 48000 of which should be *Sozialwohnungen*. The plan was achieved in 1968, and the construction of *Sozialwohnungen* now took place predominantly in Thalkirchen-Fürstenried and, in particular, Feldmoching-Hasenberg1 to the south and north of the inner city respectively (see Figure 5.2)². In these large residential areas, between 60 and 80% of new constructions were rented accommodation, with the remainder being owner-occupied

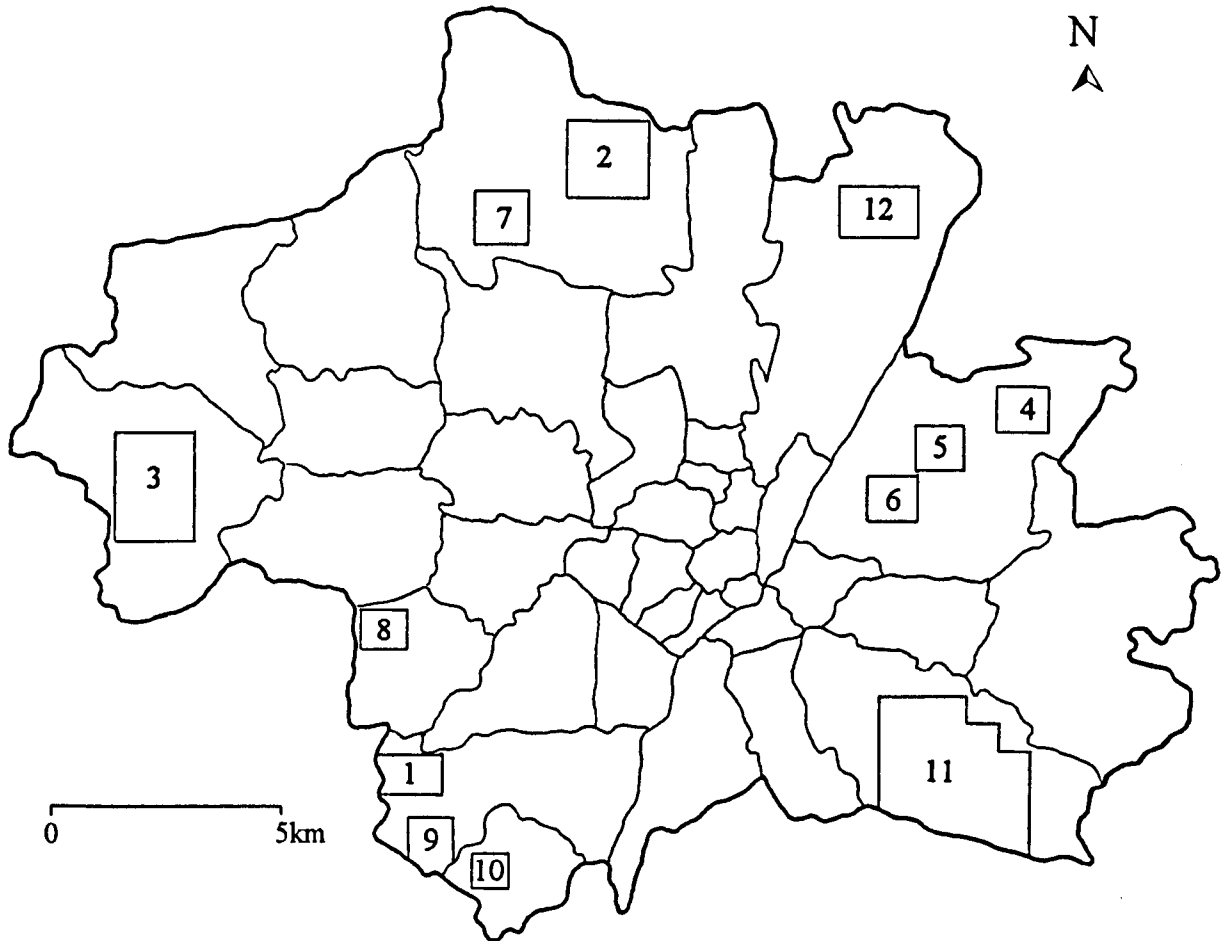
² Figure 5.1 shows the location of the different wards in Munich.

Figure 5.1: The wards in Munich until 1991



- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 = Altstadt | 24 = Thalkirchen-Fürstenried |
| 5 = Maxvorstadt-Universität | 25 = Laim |
| 6 = Maxvorstadt-Königsplatz | 26 = Schwabing-West |
| 7 = Maxvorstadt-Josephsplatz | 27 = Milbertshofen-Am Hart |
| 9 = Ludwigsvorstadt | 28 = Neuhausen-Moosach |
| 10 = Isarvorstadt-Schlachthofviertel | 29 = Bogenhausen |
| 11 = Isarvorstadt-Glockenbachviertel | 30 = Ramersdorf-Perlach |
| 12 = Isarvorstadt-Deutsches Museum | 31 = Berg am Laim |
| 13 = Lehel | 32 = Trudering |
| 14 = Haidhausen | 33 = Feldmoching-Hasenberg |
| 16 = Au | 34 = Waldfriedhofsviertel |
| 17 = Obergiesing | 35 = Pasing |
| 18 = Untergiesing-Harlaching | 36 = Solln |
| 19 = Sendling | 37 = Obermenzing |
| 20 = Schwanthalerhöhe | 38 = Allach-Untermenzing |
| 21 = Neuhausen-Oberwiesenfeld | 39 = Aubing |
| 22 = Schwabing-Freimann | 40 = Lochhausen-Langwied |
| 23 = Neuhausen-Nymphenburg | 41 = Hadern |

Figure 5.2: Major residential developments in Munich, 1949-1987



1 = Fürstenried

2 = Hasenberg

3 = Neuaubing

4 = Johanneskirchen

5 = Englschalking

6 = Arabellapark

7 = Lerchenauer See

8 = Blumenau

9 = Neuforstenried

10 = Parkstadt Solln

11 = Neuperlach

12 = Heidemannstraße

housing, which acquired increasing relative significance from the 1960s onwards (Ulbrich and Wollkopf 1993). The share of *Sozialwohnungen* of all rented flats in these two major developments was between 60% (Th.-O.) and 80% (F.-H.), the latter ward becoming important for Turkish immigrants in the late 1980s (see Chapter 6). These were financed jointly by the federal and *Land* governments, as well as the municipal authorities (Walter 1993). Between 1960 and 1968, other *Großwohnanlagen* were built around the Lerchenauer See (again in Feldmoching-Hasenberg), Neuaußing and Blumenau (all containing around 80% of social housing), Johanneskirchen and Engelschalking (approx. 60% social housing), Neuforstenried (37% social housing), as well as Arabellapark/Cosimapark and Parkstadt-Solln, where the emphasis was on private-rented and owner-occupied housing (Klingbeil 1987; Becker 1989, see Figure 5.2). Not surprisingly, the wards containing these *Großwohnsiedlungen* were, in 1987, among the areas containing the largest absolute numbers of *Sozialwohnungen* (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Wards containing the highest absolute numbers of *Sozialwohnungen*, 1987.

Ward	Total number of <i>Sozialwohnungen</i>
Ramersdorf-Perlach	14017
Milbertshofen-Am Hart	11136
Feldmoching-Hasenberg	10361
Neuhausen-Moosach	8092
Hadern	6813
Thalkirchen-Fürstenried	5422
Aubing	4295

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München. Gebäude- und Wohnungszählung 1987.

Despite these large-scale projects, that together accounted for more than 43000 new dwellings, 28965 (67%) of which were *Sozialwohnungen*, the shortage of housing hadn't been solved by the early 1970s, the period when the majority of first-generation Turkish immigrants arrived in Munich, to be housed primarily in hostel accommodation (see Chapters 6 and 7). This housing shortage was, to a large extent, the result of continuing net migration gains during the 1960s, which saw the city's population grow from 1.07 million in 1960 to 1.31 million in 1970. Moreover, by the end of the 1960s, it had become clear that the rate of housing construction started to slow down considerably as a result of the first post-war recession. The *Wohnungsnot*, once again, hadn't been solved, despite the greatest additions to the housing stock taking place during this period, as is still reflected in the 1987 census (see Table 5.2). As a consequence, the 'Zweite

Münchner Plan' (Second Plan for Munich) was formulated in 1969. Its aim was the construction of a further 35000 dwellings between 1970 and 1974, 20000 of which were planned to be social housing³. The most significant development of the late 60s/early 70s, first proposed in the '*Erste Münchner Plan*', was the large *Großwohnsiedlung* of Neuperlach in Ramersdorf-Perlach (see Figure 5.2), where construction started in 1967, and which was to become significant for the Turkish population (see Chapter 6).

Table 5.2: New housing constructions in Munich, 1949-1987.

Period	Total number of units added.	% of total constructed 1949-1987	Total number of social housing units construction	% of total social housing constructed 1949-1987.	% social housing of all units added for the period
1949 - 1957	101050	22.1	30466	26.8	30.1
1958 - 1968	170096	37.1	52083	45.7	30.6
1969 - 1978	122576	26.8	18910	16.6	15.4
1979 - 1987	64368	14.0	12404	10.9	19.3

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München. Gebäude- und Wohnungszählung 1987.

The aim was to build a fairly self-contained settlement for 80000 inhabitants, realised in four separate phases of construction, continuing into the 1980s and 1990s. The original plan proposed a mixture of owner-occupied housing, private-rented accommodation and social housing, that should lead to a heterogeneous population structure and thereby:

"... avoid the ghettoization of certain groups". (Mooseder and Hackenberg 1990, p. 5)⁴.

Table 5.3: Tenancy-structure of Neuperlach (31. 12. 1988)

Tenancy status	% of total units in the area
Social housing	48.3
Private-rented	14.0
Owner-occupied	30.9
Places in residential homes	6.8
Total number of units/places	100.0

Data Source: Mooseder and Hackenberg 1990.

³ Table 5.2 indicates that this figure was in fact not achieved for the entire period of 1969 to 1978.

⁴ This is an example of the strategies to avoid the segregation of certain (ethnic) groups referred to in section 2.4.3. It is debatable whether this goal has been achieved since many of the units built for owner-occupation were immediately let out to tenants.

While it was originally envisaged that 60% of all flats would be in rented social housing, figures for 1988 indicate that in fact only 48.3% of dwellings were publicly-subsidised (see Table 5.3). Nevertheless, the number of more than 14000 *Sozialwohnungen* still makes Ramersdorf-Perlach the single most important area of social housing in Munich (see Table 5.1). Another trend that becomes clear from the example of Neuperlach is the tendency in the 1970s (that had already started to emerge in the 1960s) of a stronger emphasis on owner-occupied housing (Heinritz and Klingbeil 1986).

Neuperlach has become the last of the *major* housing developments in Munich, a city which, like many others from the early 1970s onwards, experienced a sharp decline in the construction of new housing. The reasons for this decline, that was absolutely and relatively most pronounced in the social- and private-rented sectors, were mainly twofold:

Firstly, the construction of dwellings became increasingly expensive (Heinz 1991), resulting in a sharp decline in profits for rented accommodation. This was true for the social sector as well, where it became increasingly difficult to keep rent levels down to reasonable figures. Indeed, it has been argued (Klingbeil 1987) that rents in *Sozialwohnungen* in Ramersdorf-Perlach reached free-market levels in the late 70s/early 80s, and were therefore difficult to let to Germans, so that these public flats were increasingly allocated to 'foreigners', including Turkish immigrants and their families⁵. Additionally, private-rented flats in these areas were often difficult to let to Germans due to high rents, so that opportunities for 'foreigners' in the private market also opened up in these wards (Wolowicz 1990; see also Chapters 8 and 11), making Ramersdorf-Perlach a significant destination for Turkish immigrants and their children (see Chapter 6).

Secondly, both the federal and the regional (*Länder*) governments retreated increasingly from subsidising the construction of *Sozialwohnungen*, culminating in 1986 with the complete withdrawal from the social sector by the federal government (Walter 1993); this was, however, reversed to *some* extent in 1990 (Batz 1990)⁶.

There also existed, as a result of building activities running up to the 1972 Olympics, a certain degree of over-supply in the (higher quality) private-rented market, which meant that a larger share of new constructions now took place in the owner-

⁵ Nevertheless, the 20% threshold of 'foreigners' (see Section 5.4.2) in any one building was not exceeded.

⁶ Nevertheless, the construction of social housing is now primarily the responsibility of the local authorities, while the federal government has increasingly resorted to supplementing the rents of the less well-off with a 'housing allowance' (Novy 1991; Spitz 1991).

occupied sector (in a permissive legislative framework, see Jaedicke and Wollmann 1990). This saturation of demand in this part of the private-rented sector was also to some extent the result of a decline in population from 1.34 million in 1972 to 1.30 million in 1980⁷.

As Klingbeil (1987) argues, however, the loss of population, caused to a significant extent by the out-migration of better-off couples with children to the surrounding towns and villages (Froessler 1991)⁸, didn't mean that the situation in the housing market changed significantly for the poorer sections of the population, including Turkish immigrants who now increasingly looked for dwellings in the private-rented sector. This indicates that rather than talking about *one* housing market, it is more appropriate to speak of several, different housing markets (Baatz 1990). A relative shift in housing construction towards owner-occupation (which was also an attempt to stop the out-migration of these better-off couples, see Geipel 1987) and a decline (both relative and absolute) in the construction of social housing meant that the *Wohnungsnot* continued for the less well-off:

“While between 1960 and 1970 approximately one third of all new flats were publicly-subsidised, their share declined to 13% between 1971 and 1981 in a period when construction activity in general declined”. (Klingbeil 1987, p. 112)

Table 5.4: Applications for *Sozialwohnungen*, 1977-1984.

Year	Number of applications	Number of applications particularly urgent/urgent	% of applications particularly urgent/urgent
1977	8220	6207	75.5
1978	9632	7879	81.8
1979	12398	10566	85.2
1980	13312	11480	86.2
1981	12930	11364	87.9
1982	12310	10893	88.5
1983	11762	10307	87.6
1984	9383	8182	87.2

Data Source: LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1993.

The continuing *Wohnungsnot* was, at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s in particular (Heinritz and Klingbeil 1986), reflected in the high and, moreover, increasing number of applications for a *Sozialwohnung*, of which an annual share of 80 to 90% were

⁷ It shouldn't be forgotten, however, that the number of households has increased from the early 1960s onwards (see Walter 1993).

⁸ Cf. Friedrichs (1982) for the case of Hamburg.

either 'particularly urgent' or 'urgent' (see Table 5.4). According to the authorities, applications by foreigners in particular increased between 1977 and 1984 (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1988).

As a reaction to the continuing tight situation in the housing market, the '*Münchner Wohnraumbeschaffungsprogramm*' (programme for the creation of residential space) of 1978 had the objective of creating 70000 new flats and owner-occupied houses within a decade. The emphasis was thereby placed more on cost-saving construction, reducing the rent and price of the new dwellings. In addition to the continuing construction in areas such as Ramersdorf-Perlach, this led, for example, to the '*Münchner Sparhausprogramm*' (programme for the construction of low cost owner-occupied housing), through which reasonably-priced, owner-occupied flats and houses were made available to people eligible for social housing (Haarnagel 1989). The most significant single development, started in 1984, has thereby concerned the area bordering Heidemannstraße in the north of the city (see Figure 5.2) (Petzold and Hansjakob 1986; Walter 1993).

Table 5.5: Applications for *Sozialwohnungen*, 1985-1992⁹

Year	Number of applications	Number of applications particularly urgent/urgent	% of applications particularly urgent/urgent
1985	11637	9413	80.9
1986	17119	12688	74.1
1987	16649	11202	67.3
1988	16218	8995	55.5
1989	14180	7002	49.4
1990	14860	7601	51.8
1991	14513	8487	58.5
1992	12550	7152	57.0

Data Source: LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1993.

Despite these developments, which were small in comparison to the volume of construction in the 1950s to 70s, the pressure on the market, and its cheaper segments in particular, has continued. This is reflected, once again, in the number of applications for *Sozialwohnungen* which remained at a very high absolute level throughout the 80s and 90s (see Table 5.5)

⁹ Since the income thresholds for the qualification for a *Sozialwohnung* were not increased between 1980 and 1992, the number of applications for this period was kept artificially low.

In 1985, again reacting to the continuing difficult situation in the housing market, the municipal authorities initiated another programme for the creation of new social housing, which aimed at constructing 1500 *Sozialwohnungen* per year between 1985 and 1995. In order to achieve this, two political instruments were used:

- constructors were obliged to allocate a certain share of new developments as social housing;
- on land formerly owned by the municipality and sold to private developers at a below-market price, the developers had to accept that a certain share of the units had to remain as social housing for the next 80 years (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1988).

Despite the fact that Munich has the highest number of annual additions to the housing market of all German cities (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9. 11 1994), however, this aim (of 1500 new *Sozialwohnungen* per year) has not been achieved and construction of social rented housing has been declining again since 1987 (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1988). As a consequence, there still exists a *Wohnungsnot* (see Table 5.5) that affects in particular:

“... those on low incomes, families with many children, young families, single parents, *immigrants*, students, the disabled, pensioners and the homeless”. (Ude 1990a, p. 84; emphasis added)

This continuing *Wohnungsnot* has a number of causes in addition to the lack of the construction of social housing¹⁰.

Firstly, Munich's population started to grow again from the late 1980s onwards. Maybe more significantly, the number of households continued to increase (see Table 5.6), reflecting the fact that Munich, in the 1990s, has the highest proportion of people in one-person households in any large German city, constituting more than 51% of all households in 1992. Moreover if, as Walter (1993) argues, population growth results to some extent from people from the surrounding area moving into Munich in order to get access to a *Sozialwohnung* (cf. LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1993), the continuing shortage of *cheap* housing is clearly accentuated. As Table 5.6 indicates, however, population increases are mainly due to a rise in the 'foreign' population, who are likely to be less well-off and therefore compete in the cheaper segments of the market (Ude 1990c). According to Baatz (1990), not only is the number

¹⁰ In future, the municipal authorities plan to allocate 40% of three new large building sites for the construction of social housing (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9. 11. 94)

of households still on the increase, but the number of people requiring reasonably-priced housing also continues to rise (cf. Becker 1989).

Table 5.6: Population and households in Munich, 1987-1993

Year	Total Population	Population change compared to previous year (foreigners in brackets)	Total number of households
1987	1253282	-38114 (-22619)	652904
1988	1263187	+9905 (+9777)	665192*
1989	1268366	+5179 (+4528)	671093*
1990	1277576	+9210 (+11109)	679561*
1991	1303593	+26017 (+27193)	697055
1992	1320634	+17041 (+23829)	709264
1993	1326306	+5672 (+10870)	716773
1994	1323624	-2682 (+5065)	720309

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der LH München. (* = Estimate)

Secondly, one of the main problems affecting the structure and balance of the housing market in recent years has been the loss of reasonably-priced social housing through decontrolling (Jahn 1990). This development, while starting in the late 1980s and accelerating in the 1990s, has its roots in policies formulated after the second world war and, as Ulbrich and Wullkopf (1993, p. 103) argue, has therefore been 'pre-programmed' (cf. Ude 1990b; Wolowicz 1990; Novy 1991). In most cases, the state or the local authorities have never owned 'public housing' directly¹¹, but rather have given interest-free (or cheap) loans to private developers with the obligation, that these subsidised dwellings had to be made available to tenants allocated by the authorities, originally for 30 years (Tomann 1990). After 30 years, the dwellings could be decontrolled and could be let, or sold (offered to sitting tenants at first), at market prices. The effect is two-fold: firstly, the cheaper segment of the social sector decreases constantly, since it is the older units with the cheapest rents that are decontrolled. This affects inner-city areas in particular, and puts additional pressure on reasonably-priced housing everywhere in the city. Secondly, sitting tenants might be expelled as a direct result of the decontrolling of their flat, or face rent increases of up to 30% in three years (Ude 1990c).

¹¹ Occasionally, municipal authorities in particular have a share in housing associations (*Genossenschaften* or co-operatives). This means that when public subsidies are repaid by them, these units are unlikely to be decontrolled.

Table 5.7: Early and scheduled repayments of public loans for rented *Sozialwohnungen*, 1976-1994.

Year	Early repayments of public loan (Numbers of dwellings affected)	Scheduled repayments of public loan (Numbers of dwellings affected)
1976-1984	21083	-
1985	1901	-
1986	6261	-
1987	3103	-
1988	2223	-
1989	2572	140
1990	1453	1345
1991	512	1431
1992	419	3142
1993	1718	3391
1994	1264	2999

Data Source: LH München. Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1995.

Moreover, in 1980 legislation was passed that allows an early repayment of the loans (Stimpel 1990), facilitating an even earlier decontrolling of public housing than the 30 years originally envisaged¹². Both the scheduled and early repayments have started to make a severe impact on the housing market, particularly from the late 1980s onwards (see Table 5.7). Dwellings in the category of 'early repayments' up until 1987 were already decontrolled at the end of 1995. Between 1989 and 1992 alone, a total of more than 15000 social housing units were decontrolled, both through scheduled and early repayments. It is estimated that, between 1993 and the year 2000, a further 16000 *Sozialwohnungen* will be lost to the free market (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1993), some of them being transferred immediately into owner-occupation (Opitz 1989; Stimpel 1990). Clearly, an annual upper volume of 1500 new constructions can do only little to offset this loss¹³.

A third problem contributing to a tightening of the cheaper sectors of the housing market is increasingly posed by what has been called *Zweckentfremdungen*, i.e. the transformation of dwellings from residential to commercial use (Kreibich 1982; Süddeutsche Zeitung 13. 10. 1992). This process had, according to von Ow (1992),

¹² However, for early repayments there is a transition period of 8 years (10 years for early repayments made after 1990) in which the dwellings remain social housing.

¹³ In addition, the municipal authorities now try to buy the right of further having the right to allocate those flats that are decontrolled to their tenants. Again, the effect will probably be negligible in comparison to the loss of *Sozialwohnungen*.

already started in the early 1970s in some wards such as Schwabing-Freimann. As Ude (1990c) points out, this affects economically buoyant cities such as Munich in particular, where the rents that can be achieved for commercial use in inner-city areas are much higher than residential rents, leading to a 'tertiarisation of residential areas' (Klingbeil 1987, p. 115). While the *LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung* (1993) reported 162 *Zweckentfremdungen* between 1990 and 1992, the actual figure is probably much higher due to a large number of unreported cases (Ude 1990a; Wolowicz 1990). Although legislation now demands that this transformation of use has to be compensated for by the construction of alternative dwellings, they will most certainly be more expensive than those lost through *Zweckentfremdungen*. Again, it is the cheaper flats in inner-city areas that disappear from the market, affecting in particular vulnerable groups such as Turkish families, who are over-represented in central areas (see Chapter 6) and who compete most with Germans in the tight segment of cheap housing.

A fourth factor acquiring increasing significance are processes of urban rehabilitation and modernisation, sometimes connected to the transformation of rented-into owner-occupied housing. These processes are the result of a number of well-documented factors (legal, economic, cultural) (see Lees 1994) in addition to the need of preserving the old housing stock, and often result in 'gentrification' (Mayr 1989) or 'trendification' (Carpenter 1994) of areas¹⁴. Most importantly, they reduce the stock of cheap housing and thereby, in areas often characterised by high 'foreign' presence, frequently change the structure and composition of the population (Leitner 1987).

In Munich, urban rehabilitation and the modernisation of buildings is carried out either by private investors or by the *Münchener Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung* (MGS), an agency set up and partly owned by the municipal authorities. The MGS has so far concentrated its activities primarily on the two wards of Haidhausen and Schwanthalerhöhe, areas with high concentrations of non-Germans (see Chapter 6). The effects of the operation of private investors and the MGS are well-documented in the literature (Wießner 1989; Ude 1990c; Novy 1991), and usually result in changes in the overall structure of the housing market through reducing the stock of cheap housing, population displacement, as well as adding additional financial burden to the people directly concerned and to others.

¹⁴ According to Heinritz and Lichtenberger (1986), gentrification in Munich started as early as the 1960s.

While alternative housing in the form of publicly-subsidised dwellings is offered to tenants when rehabilitation is carried out by the MGS, this is usually much more expensive (although still cheaper than free-market rent-levels) than their previous accommodation. This is illustrated by the reports of one of the Turkish couples I interviewed in Haidhausen, who had been rehoused in the area¹⁵ due to modernisation of their previous flat. Comparing the rent levels in the two flats they say that:

“Yes, now we pay 850 marks per month, 890 marks including heating. In the other one, we paid 400 marks. But it was OK. ... Here, there’s more luxury”. (PF12f)¹⁶

What may appear as a reasonable rent in the context of the Munich housing market still often represents a significant increase for those concerned. Moreover, while the tenants have the right to return to their former flats after modernisation, this option is rarely taken up since, once modernised, much higher rents can be charged. This often nearly reaches levels for newly-constructed buildings (Wießner 1989). Again, as the couple report:

“No, we couldn’t go back. The rent there is now between 1300 and 1400 marks, because it’s a big flat”. (PF12m)¹⁷

While it might be argued that urban rehabilitation by agencies such as the MGS, who display at least *some* social responsibility is clearly preferable to private investors, the impact on the housing market and the social composition of areas affected still seems to be significant. Moreover, as a study by Bohl (1992) for Haidhausen shows, the MGS in general ignores the opinions of the local population, exercises doubtful practices (such as coercion to evict sitting tenants) and tends to go for up-market rehabilitation, when a more restrained approach would be sufficient and would fulfil the original aims. An estimate by the *LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung* (1993) revealed, that between 1990 and 1992, 5000 ‘cheap’ flats were lost annually as a result of modernisation, the majority of which was carried out by private investors.

¹⁵ The MGS *attempts* to rehouse people affected by rehabilitation within the ward they have lived in.

¹⁶ These codes, referring to individual interviewees, are explained in Appendix 3.

¹⁷ This stands in sharp contrast to the figure given to me in an interview with an employee of the MGS, who told me that the rent would never be increased by more than DM4/m². Given that the flat had a size of 90m², the increase should have been much lower.

5.3 The present structure of the housing market

5.3.1 Introduction

The processes and developments outlined in the previous section have led to a particular structure of the housing market. This section examines that structure, focusing on rent-levels and tenure. In section 5.4, I then present and analyse the spatial structure of the housing market at the ward level. The aim of both sections is to outline the housing context for the following chapters. Most of the analysis is based on 1987 data, drawn from the most recent census. Where possible this is supplemented with more recent information. As a result of the reliance on data from 1987, changes such as the recent loss of social housing in inner-city areas cannot be captured. These developments are commented upon briefly in section 5.4.5.

5.3.2 The overall structure

Compared to most other German cities, the structure of the housing market in Munich is somewhat unusual (Walter 1993; Wießner 1989). In particular, it is the extremely low share of *Sozialwohnungen* that distinguishes Munich from other cities such as Frankfurt, where nearly 40% of all dwellings are publicly-subsidised. In contrast, in Munich just over 18% of all dwellings were *Sozialwohnungen* in 1987 (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: The structure of the Munich housing market by tenancy classes (25. 5. 1987)¹⁸.

	All units	Owner-occupied	Social housing	Private-rented units
Number of units	613300	109072	115731	388497
Share of total	100%	17.8%	18.9%	63.3%

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der LH München. Gebäude- und Wohnungszählung 1987.

Consequently, almost two-thirds of all dwellings in the city were in the private-rented sector in 1987. Given the developments outlined at the end of the previous section, this share is likely to be even higher today, since the number of *Sozialwohnungen* has fallen dramatically due to decontrolling (see Table 5.9). Estimates by the *Wohnungsamt* give a share of around 11% of *Sozialwohnungen* for July 1995.

¹⁸ This refers only to units occupied at the date of the census, so that the actual number of residential units is higher with just over 626600.

Table 5.9: The number of *Sozialwohnungen* in Munich, 1987 and 1993-1995.

Year	Total number of <i>Sozialwohnungen</i>
1987 (May)	115731
1993 (August)	92824
1994 (June)	85019
1995 (July)	79530

Data Sources: Statistisches Amt der LH München and Wohnungsamt der LH München.

The age-structure of the housing market has become progressively more modern in recent years, with older buildings being lost as a result of their demolition and their replacement by new housing (Table 5.10). This has also led to a generally better equipped housing market, with more than 80% of dwellings now provided with amenities such as bathroom, toilet and central heating, now considered to be standard (Statistisches Amt der Stadt München 1991)¹⁹. This has also been the result of the modernisation of flats, which is not captured in Table 5.10. While this trend towards more modern, and more well-equipped dwellings means a higher quality of life for their inhabitants, it also means that cheaper residential space is increasingly lost as a consequence.

Table 5.10: The age structure of the housing stock 1972, 1982, 1992 and 1994.

Year	Housing Stock	Number of units built:		
		1918 and before	1919-1948	1949-1994
1972	509437 (100%)	89943 (17.7%)	82462 (16.1%)	337031 (66.2%)
1982	581685 (100%)	87050 (15.0%)	80628 (14.0%)	414007 (71.2%)
1992	660736 (100%)	79479 (12.0%)	78389 (11.9%)	502868 (76.1%)
1994	671870 (100%)	79320 (11.8%)	77756 (11.6%)	514794 (76.6%)

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der LH München.

One of the effects of this structure of the housing market and the continuing popularity of Munich is that rent levels and house prices are on average higher than in any other German city. Thus, Wießner (1989) shows that, for both rents and house prices, Munich was ranked number one in Germany in 1989. Moreover, between 1985 and 1994, rents have increased much more dramatically in Munich (+47.2%) than either in Bavaria (+22.8%) or Germany as a whole (+25.8%).

¹⁹ In 1987, only 2.5% of all dwellings were either without bathroom or toilet.

As a result, it has been shown that some households in the city - in particular those on low incomes - spend as much as 55% of their monthly income on rent alone, with an average of around 30% for all groups in the city as a whole (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1995). Moreover, given that the Ausländerbeirat München (1992) shows for 1987 that 'foreigners', and Turks in particular, paid higher rents than Germans per square metre irrespective of the year of moving into a flat, and for flats with the same amenities, it is likely that the share of income spent on rent is higher for foreigners than for Germans in a very expensive housing market. In general, foreigners pay these higher rents for fairly good quality housing, measured by the provision of facilities such as bathroom, kitchen and WC in the flats. It is noticeable that Turkish immigrants' share in residential units constructed after 1949 was, at 75% in 1987, slightly higher than the share of these buildings in the total housing stock (74.5%) in that year (Kantke 1992).

5.4 The current spatial pattern

5.4.1 Introduction

Section 5.2 has indicated that housing developments since the end of WW II have affected different areas at different times, through temporal shifts in the construction of housing in different tenure classes. These developments, imposed on the historical structure of the city, have had clear spatial implications, so that there are variations between areas within the overall structure outlined in section 5.3. These variations play a significant role in the shape of residential histories for the Turkish population, which are examined in the next chapters. In this section, the spatial pattern of these developments is outlined for selected variables. The aim is to give an indication of the spatial structure of the housing market and thereby provide the context for the analysis of residential issues in chapter 6 in particular. Since it has been argued that 'housing sectors' are of crucial importance for particular, ethnospecific patterns of location and migration (Rex and Moore 1967; Rex and Tomlinson 1979; O'Loughlin 1987b), representing a number of different variables at the level of the ward is one way of moving towards an analysis of housing classes. Focusing on a *variety* of variables is necessary, because O'Loughlin (1988) points out that:

"... the German housing market is by no means homogeneous, [but] is governed by a complex combination of overlapping considerations of quality, price, tenure, and access rules". (p. 337)

However, the varying size of the different wards - with the larger²⁰ wards generally being located towards the edge of the city²¹ - and their heterogeneity in terms of housing means that it is impossible to arrive at a *very clear* sorting of the different wards into areas of neat housing subsectors, which can only be achieved at very small spatial scales (cf. O'Loughlin 1988; Glebe 1990). What can be attained here is therefore an outline of certain *overall* patterns, rather than a precise and detailed analysis of the spatial structure of the housing market.

In order to put the following discussion, as well as the analysis of residential patterns and processes in chapter 6, into a broader context, the distribution of Munich's Turkish population over the different housing sectors is shown in Table 5.11. The possibility of comparison with other groups is provided by the inclusion of the distribution of Germans, as well as immigrants and their families from all other recruitment countries²² (except Turkey).

Table 5.11: The distribution of Turks, foreigners from other recruitment countries and Germans over different tenure classes (%) in Munich in 1987.

	Private-rented	Social housing	Owner-Occupation
Turks	73.1	24.9	2
Germans	61.9	19.1	19.0
Other recruitment countries	83.1	12.9	4

Data Source: Kantke 1992.

At the time of the 1987 census, the overwhelming majority of Turks lived in private-rented accommodation²³ (73.4%), with around one quarter of the Turkish population living in *Sozialwohnungen*, and only 2% living in their own dwellings. Unfortunately, no precise figures are available for the proportion of Turks still living in *Wohnheime*. This shows some interesting contrasts with the German population who, while also being most strongly represented in the private-rented sector, are much more likely to live in their own dwellings, while being slightly less likely to live in a *Sozialwohnung*. The most significant feature in comparison with immigrants and their families from other recruitment countries is clearly the much stronger representation of Turks in the social sector, which is twice as high as the corresponding share for the other main foreigner group examined in Table 5.11.

²⁰ This refers to the number of dwellings in the wards.

²¹ This refers in particular to the *Großwohnsiedlungen* discussed in section 5.2 and excludes some of the wards built around old village cores such as Lochhausen-Langwied.

²² Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Morocco and Tunisia.

²³ This includes accommodation provided by employers for which no separate figures are available.

5.4.2 The distribution of tenure classes

The distribution of the different tenure classes is examined with the help of the location quotient (LQ) that determines whether a certain phenomenon (e.g. tenure class) is over- or under-represented in any given spatial unit (in this case the ward) compared to its share in the larger spatial unit (in this case the city) of which it is a part.

The distribution of tenure classes in Munich is linked to both the older, historical structure of the city and subsequent, post-1945 developments that were, to a significant extent, a response to this existing structure (see section 5.2).

In Figure 5.3, the representation of owner-occupied dwellings is shown for the different wards. In 1987, owner-occupied dwellings formed the smallest housing sector in Munich (see Table 5.3) and is generally of little significance for Turks and other foreigners (see Table 5.11). As might be expected, the share of owner-occupied housing is highest at the fringes of the city, in areas built around older village cores and wards where building densities are lowest. In addition, the share of owner-occupied units is higher than their share in the city as a whole in both Ramersdorf-Perlach and Feldmoching-Hasenberg. The reason for this slightly unusual picture, given that these *Großwohnsiedlungen* were mainly built in the late 1950s to 1970s (Feldmoching-Hasenberg) and in the 1970s and 80s (Ramersdorf-Perlach) is, that by the end of the 1960s there had already been a gradual shift towards the construction of owner-occupied dwellings (see Section 5.2). The same is true for the areas on the south-western fringe of the city. In general, however, the rate of owner-occupation exceeds 40% only in the areas in the north-west of the city, as well as in Solln, and only reaches between 20 and 30 percent in Feldmoching-Hasenberg and in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

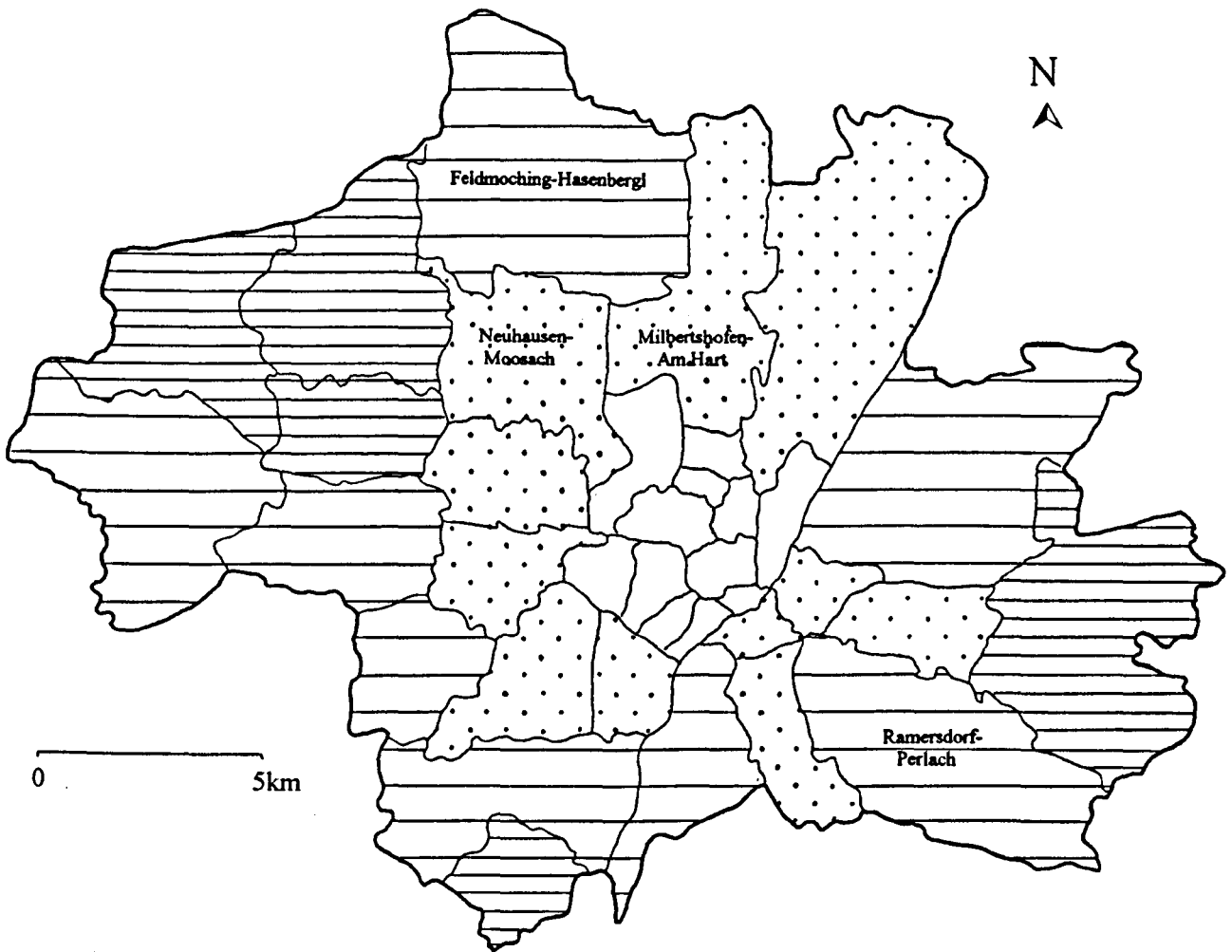
In contrast, owner-occupied dwellings are under-represented in the old city-centre and its fringes, as well as in some districts to the north of the city, in particular those functioning also as important industrial locations such as Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Neuhausen-Moosach.

Consequently, the distribution of private-rented dwellings (Figure 5.4) provides a virtual mirror-image. Private-rented dwellings are over-represented in the old city centre and its fringes, as well as in some typical working-class districts such as Obergiesing and Untergiesing-Harlaching. There are, however, two wards that are noticeable for their *strong* under-representation of private-rented flats. Both Feldmoching-Hasenberg and


Figure 5.3: The distribution of owner-occupied housing (1987)


(Owner-occupied housing as share of total housing stock: 17.8%)

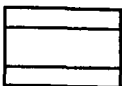
(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:

 = 0 - 0.49

 = 0.5 - 0.99

 = 1.0 - 1.99

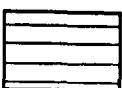
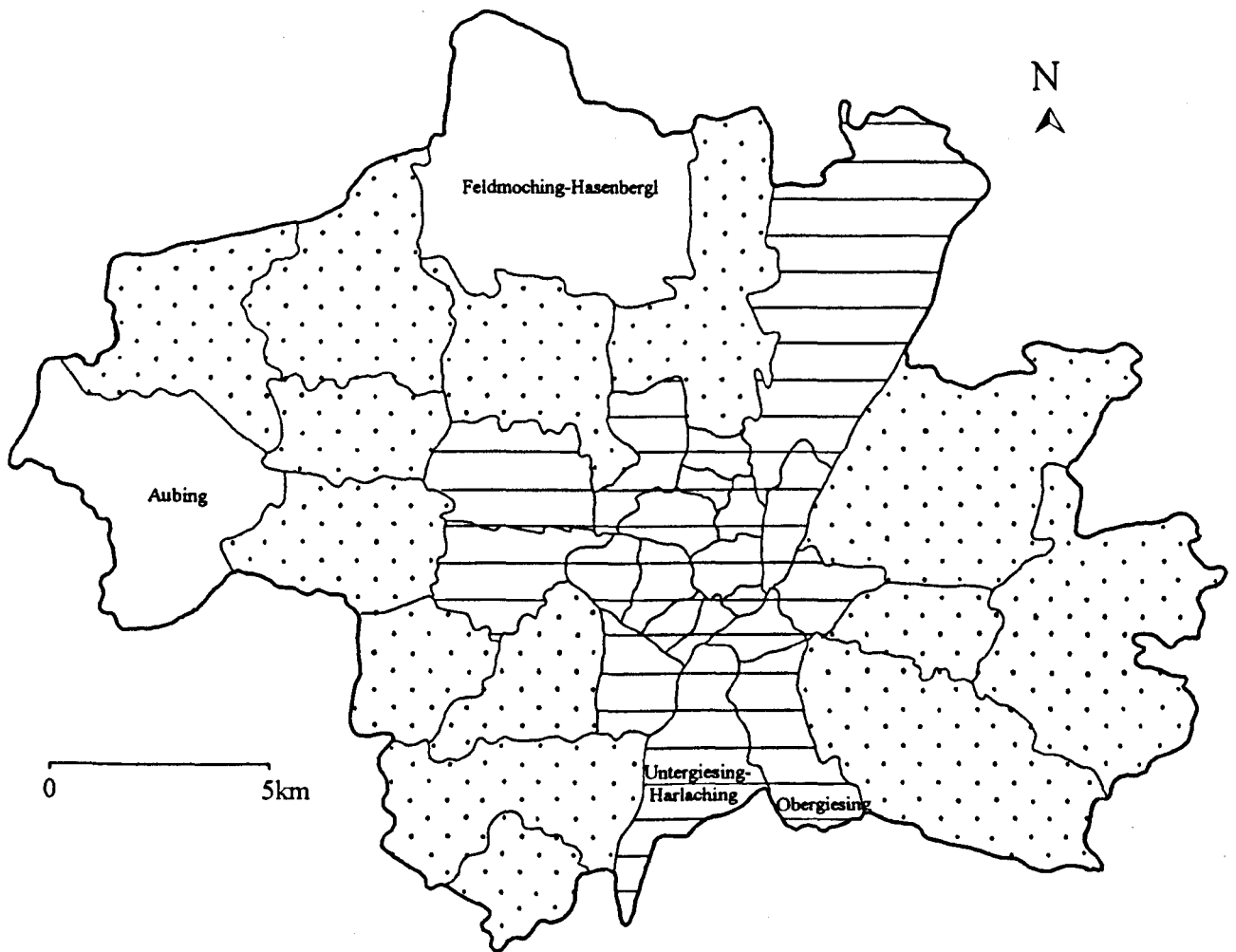
 = ≥ 2.00

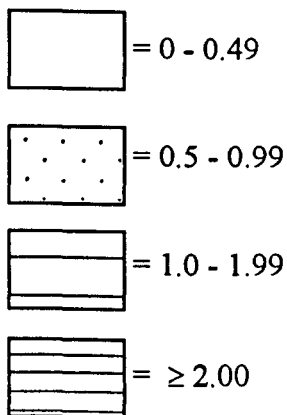
Figure 5.4: The distribution of private rented housing (1987)

(Private-rented housing as share of total housing stock: 63.3%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:



Aubing are characterised by a relatively large share of owner-occupied housing (Figure 5.3), while at the same time showing a *very* strong under-representation of private-rented housing. In order to make sense of this pattern, it is necessary to take a look at the pattern for social housing.

Sozialwohnungen (see Figure 5.5) are very much over-represented in wards containing the *Großwohnsiedlungen* examined in some detail in section 5.2, where they have also been shown to be most significant in terms of absolute numbers (see Table 5.1). These patterns of over-representation also explain the under-representation of private-rented dwellings in Aubing and, in particular, Feldmoching-Hasenberg, where public-sector dwellings are highly significant. In addition to these areas of large-scale residential developments, social dwellings are over-represented in some districts closer to the inner city, as well as in the working-class district of Obergiesing. In all these areas, however, they don't reach the high absolute numbers achieved in areas characterised by post-war *Großwohnsiedlungen*.

At this point, it is instructive to take a brief look at policies specifically targeted at foreigners in the social sector, as well as to discuss briefly the general criteria of access to social housing in Munich, and to relate this subsequently to an examination^{of} social housing constructed in different periods.

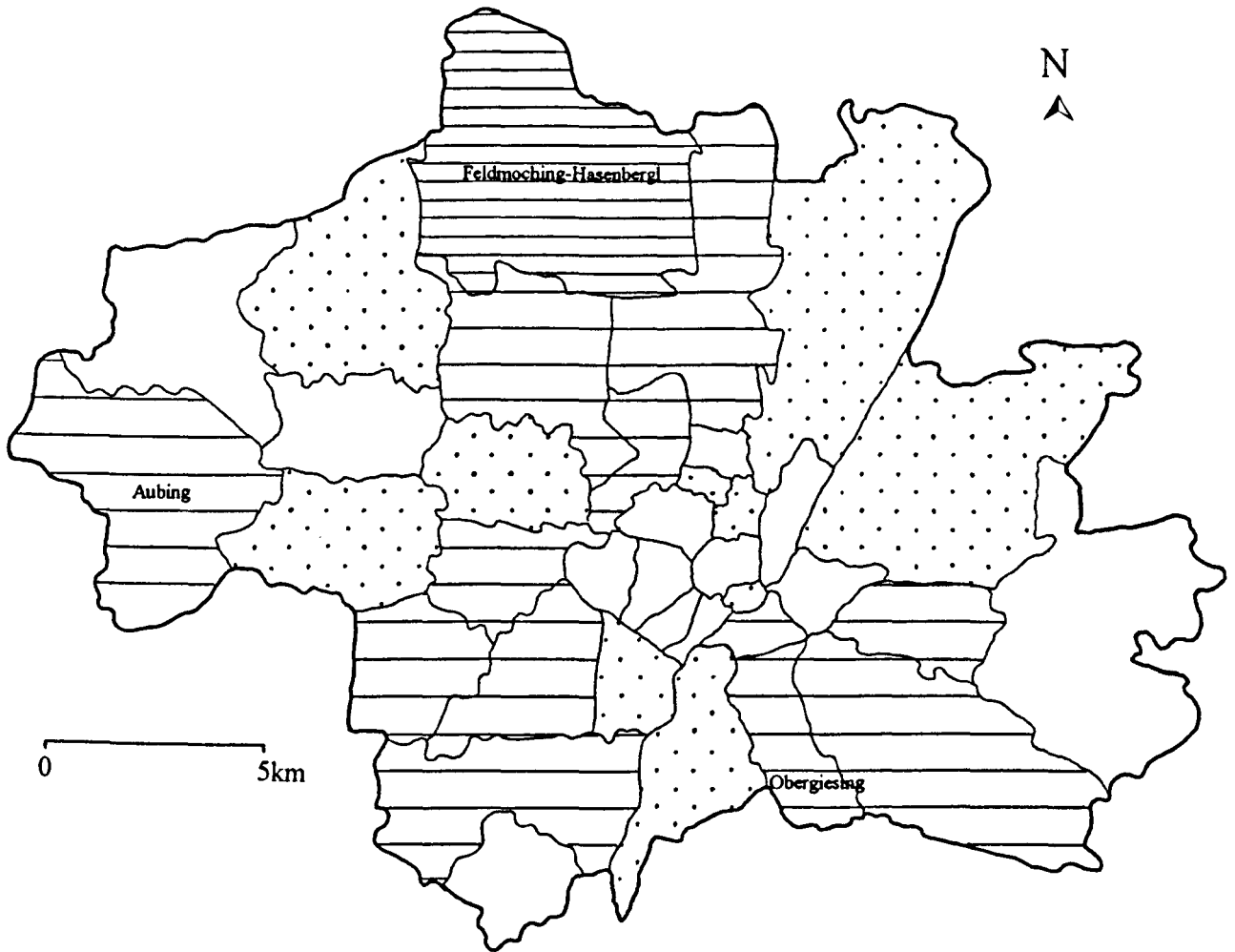
The municipal authorities in Munich, like authorities in other German cities, have implemented a policy-guideline whereby no more than 20% of residents in any one building should be German. This guideline has been designed to avoid the ghettoisation of foreigners in particular buildings, which has been shown in chapter 2 to be a major concern of German policy-makers, and thereby facilitate the dispersal of non-Germans over the different wards of the city. As argued by the *Ausländerbeirat München* (1992), however, this guideline represents an obstacle to the movement of foreigners into social housing, since access for them is already more difficult as a result of many landlords' and tenants' desires to maintain 'foreigner-free' buildings (cf. Chapters 8 and 10).

In theory, however, foreigners are subject to the same conditions as Germans in their access to social housing after 5 years' residence in the city (see Appendix 4). Given that the social sector is fairly inflexible and that the fluctuation rates of tenants are much lower in this than in the private-rented sector (LH München, Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1993), newcomers to social housing can be assumed to be allocated


Figure 5.5: The distribution of social housing (1987)


(Social housing as share of total housing stock: 18.9%)

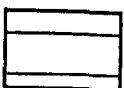
(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:

 = 0 - 0.49

 = 0.5 - 0.99

 = 1.0 - 1.99


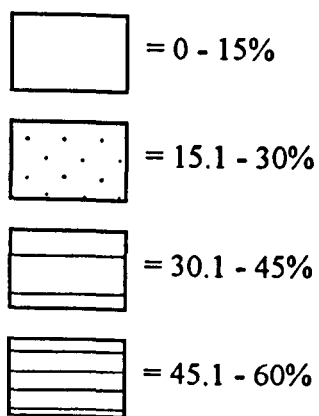
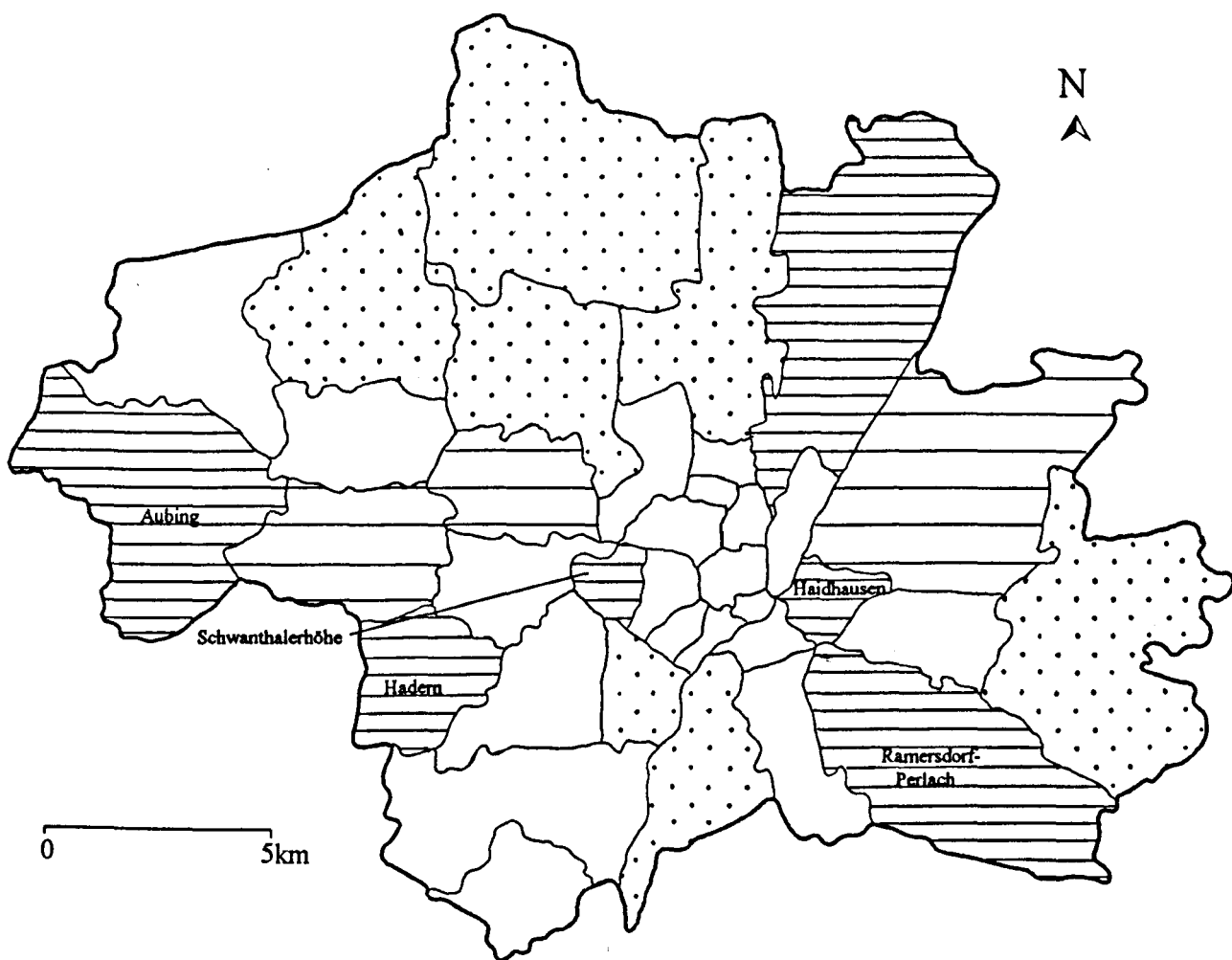
 = ≥ 2.00

Figure 5.6: The share of the 1987 social housing stock constructed 1969 - 1987

(Munich: 27.5%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



primarily to new social housing. Given that the criteria of access meant that Turkish immigrants and their families were mainly able to apply for a *Sozialwohnung* from the mid to late-1970s onwards, it is therefore instructive not only to look at the representation of *Sozialwohnungen* in different wards, but also to take a closer look at the share of social housing constructed in different areas from 1969²⁴ onwards, that is likely to have been most ‘easily’ accessible for Turkish immigrants and their partners.

Figure 5.6 shows that, in general, there are very few districts in which more than one third of all social dwellings were constructed between 1969 and 1987. Given that for the whole of Munich this share is just over 27%, this is not surprising. However, a few districts, with shares of post-1969 housing of 45% or more stand out immediately. In addition to Haidhausen and Schwanthalerhöhe, where new social housing has been constructed to counterbalance some of the effects of urban renewal (see Section 5.2), these areas are wards such as Aubing, Hadern and Ramersdorf-Perlach, all containing *Großwohnsiedlungen*. Not only have these *Stadtbezirke* experienced a large share of the construction of *Sozialwohnungen* in the 1970s and 1980s but, given the figures presented in Table 5.1, they have also seen significant absolute numbers of additions to their stock of social housing in this period.

5.4.3 The quality of dwellings

Determining the quality of dwellings at a fairly large scale is not unproblematic since it will always rely on surrogate measures. Adding to these difficulties, these surrogate measures depend to a large extent on the availability of data. Thus, in this study, the limits of official statistics have meant that the rate of dwellings equipped with bath or shower, toilet and central heating is taken as a surrogate measure. These factors together represent very much what are nowadays considered to be ‘standard amenities’ in a dwelling. For Munich as a whole, the share of dwellings equipped with these facilities was 77.4% in 1987.

As Figure 5.7 indicates, there are some very marked spatial variations in this pattern and it is interesting to note that there is a marked difference between the ‘best quality’ and the ‘worst quality’ ward. Thus, the bottom end is represented by

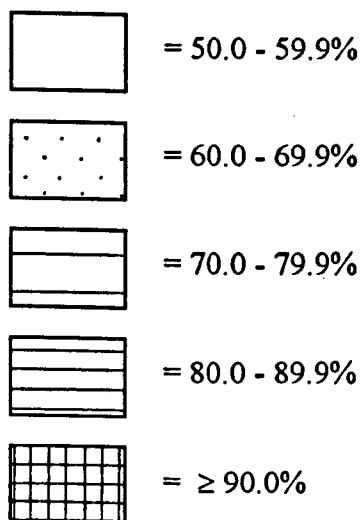
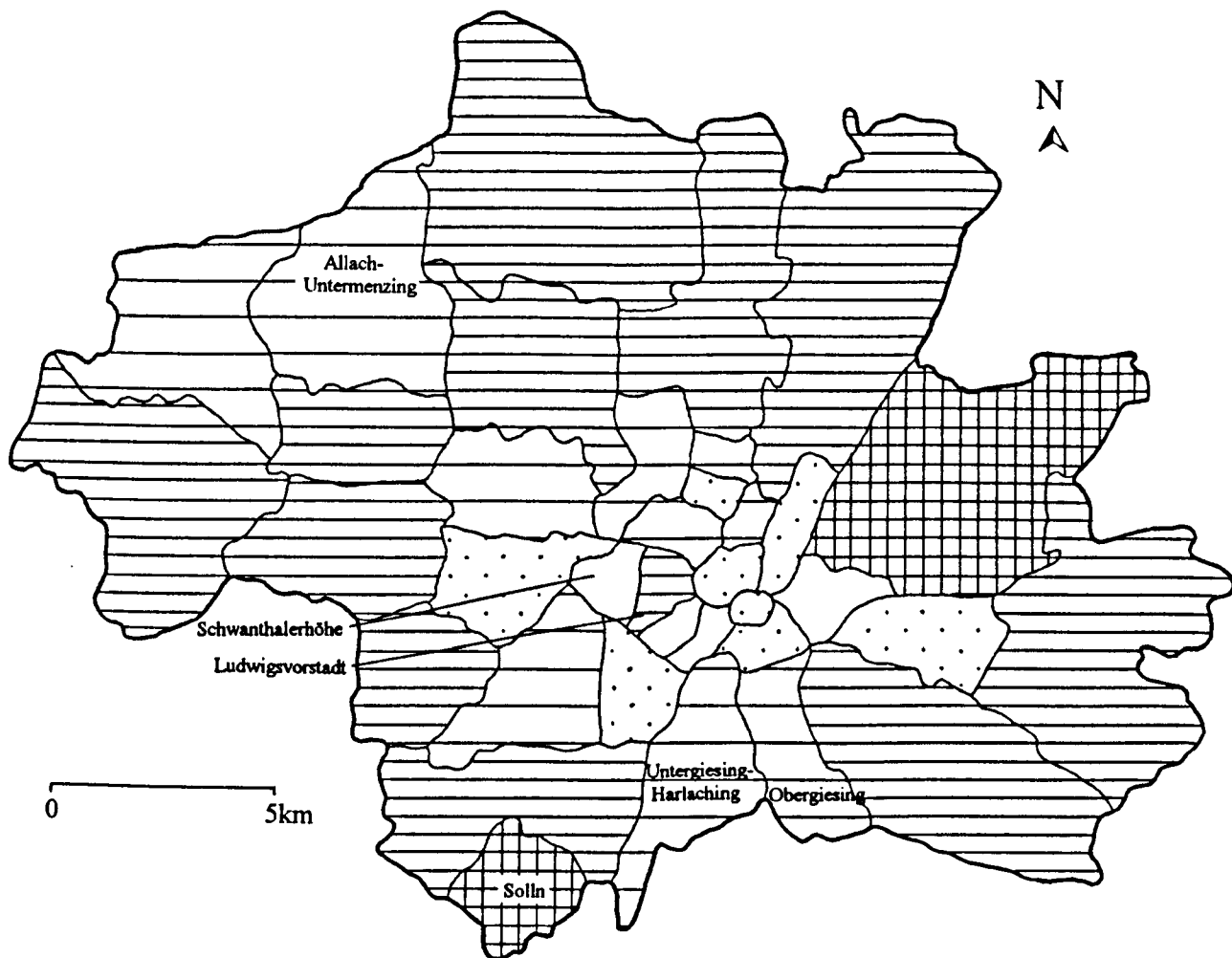
²⁴ This date is determined by the availability of data, which distinguishes between pre-1969 and constructions from 1969 onwards.

Figure 5.7: The quality of dwellings (1987)

(Percent of dwellings equipped with bathroom/shower, toilet and central heating)

(Munich: 77.4%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Schwanthaler Höhe (an area of urban renewal) with 51.4%, while the top end is represented by the prestigious ward of Soln with 94.6%.

The spatial variations are to large extent between the central areas and wards towards or at the edges of the city. To a significant extent, 'quality' (if measured with these variables) is therefore directly related to 'age', as might be expected. Within the city centre, however, Ludwigsvorstadt stands out with a very high share of good quality flats, with its surrounding wards being part of the lowest two bands. This, again, points to a certain degree of heterogeneity, even in directly adjacent wards. Further interesting exceptions, disrupting the otherwise clear centre/periphery dichotomy, are formed by Allach-Untermenzing, as well as Obergiesing and Untergiesing-Harlaching. Allach-Untermenzing and the two Giesing wards in particular represent typical areas dominated by firms such as MAN (Allach-Untermenzing), as well as being typical working-class districts (all three). Much of the housing there was built by employers (Siemens and MAN), often with fairly basic facilities. Nevertheless, almost three quarters of all dwellings in these areas are, by the definition used here, of 'good quality'. It is noticeable that standards in all the wards containing post-war *Großwohnsiedlungen* are above average. Since these areas are characterised by a high share of social housing, it can be argued that access to social housing itself seems to ensure a high residential standard for those concerned. Given that (Turkish) immigrants are over-represented in these areas (see Chapter 6), and that social housing probably plays an important role in this over-representation, their access to social housing contributes to their generally good residential provision mentioned earlier.

5.4.4 Spatial patterns of rent levels

The next question is whether these patterns of the distribution of different tenure classes and quality of dwellings lead to a certain pattern of rent levels for different wards. Rents are likely to depend on three factors:

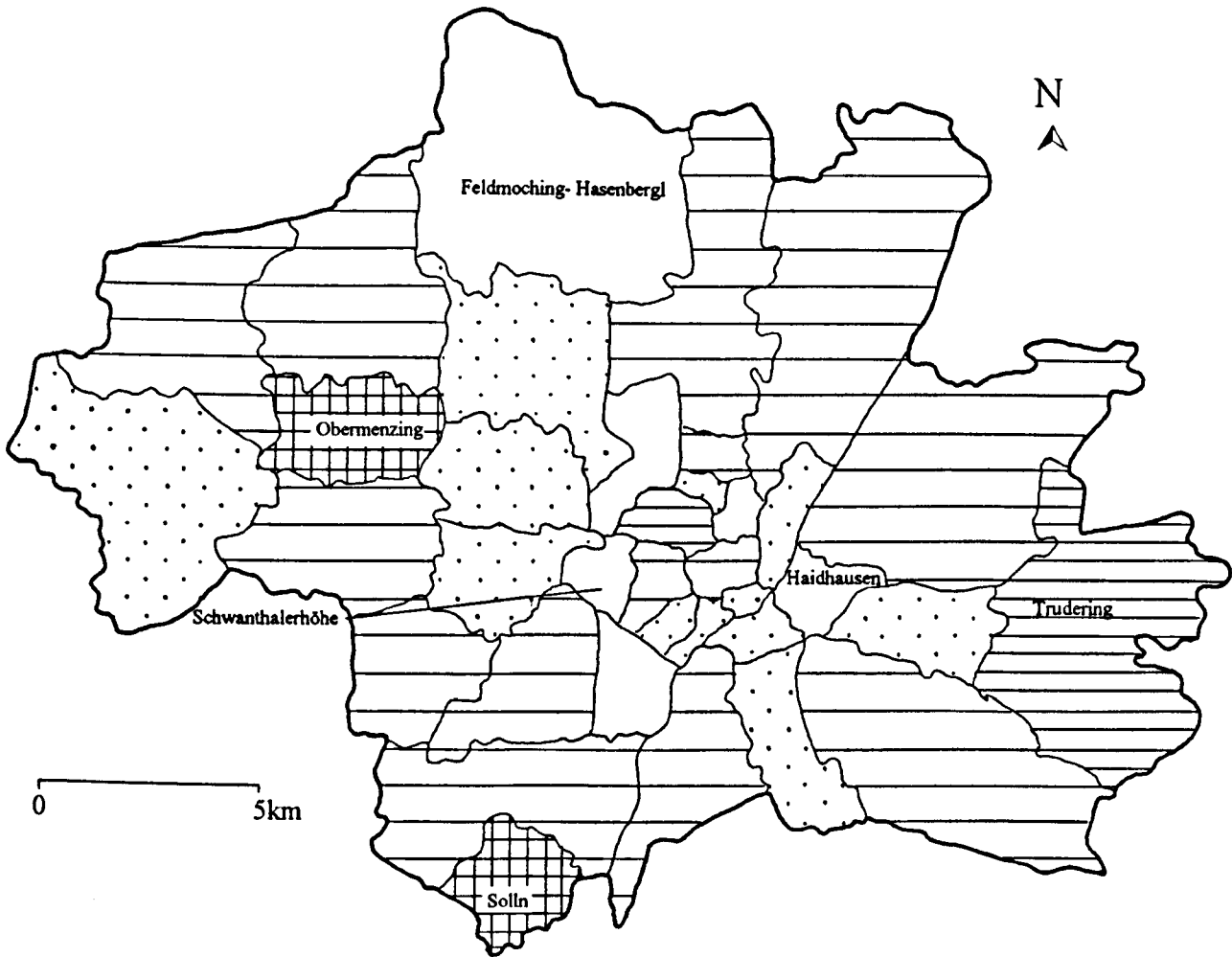
Firstly, the age of the buildings concerned, with more recently constructed ones yielding higher rent levels (as a result of their superior quality and a stronger impact of rent control²⁵ for older dwellings). An exception would obviously be modernised flats in

²⁵ For sitting tenants, rent can only be increased by 30% in three years, whereas in new or newly-let dwellings, rent levels can be fixed freely.

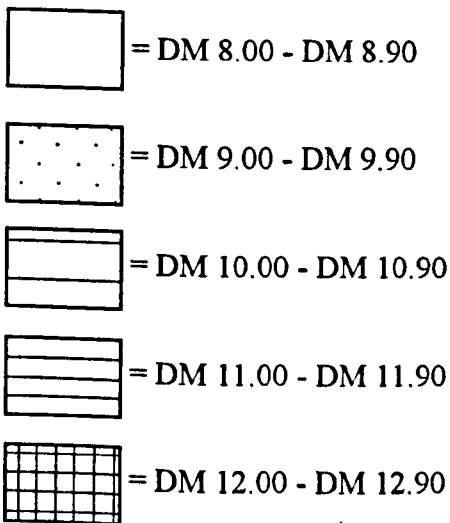
Figure 5.8: Average rent levels (DM/m²) (1987)

(Munich: DM 10.00)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Rent levels:



old buildings which, according to Wießner (1989), have rent-levels comparable to new dwellings.

Secondly, the location of the dwelling. Of particular significance will be whether the dwelling is located in a desirable neighbourhood or not.

Thirdly, the share of social housing within a given area, with a high level clearly depressing the general rent-levels. This is the result of the *generally* lower rents in public housing, despite some fairly high rents in this sector in more recent constructions (see Section 5.2).

These three factors clearly interact, and crucially influence the average rent-levels in any given area.

In Figure 5.8, the average rent levels in DM per square metre are shown for the different wards. For Munich as a whole, the average rent stood at DM10/square metre in 1987. As becomes clear from Figure 5.8, there emerges no easily identifiable pattern, so that great variations appear in adjacent wards, for example at the fringes of the inner city. This reflects the argument by Heinritz and Lichtenberger (1986) that:

“... within the city centre of Munich, there exists an extremely detailed mosaic of residential areas ... with ... different processes operating”. (p. 25)

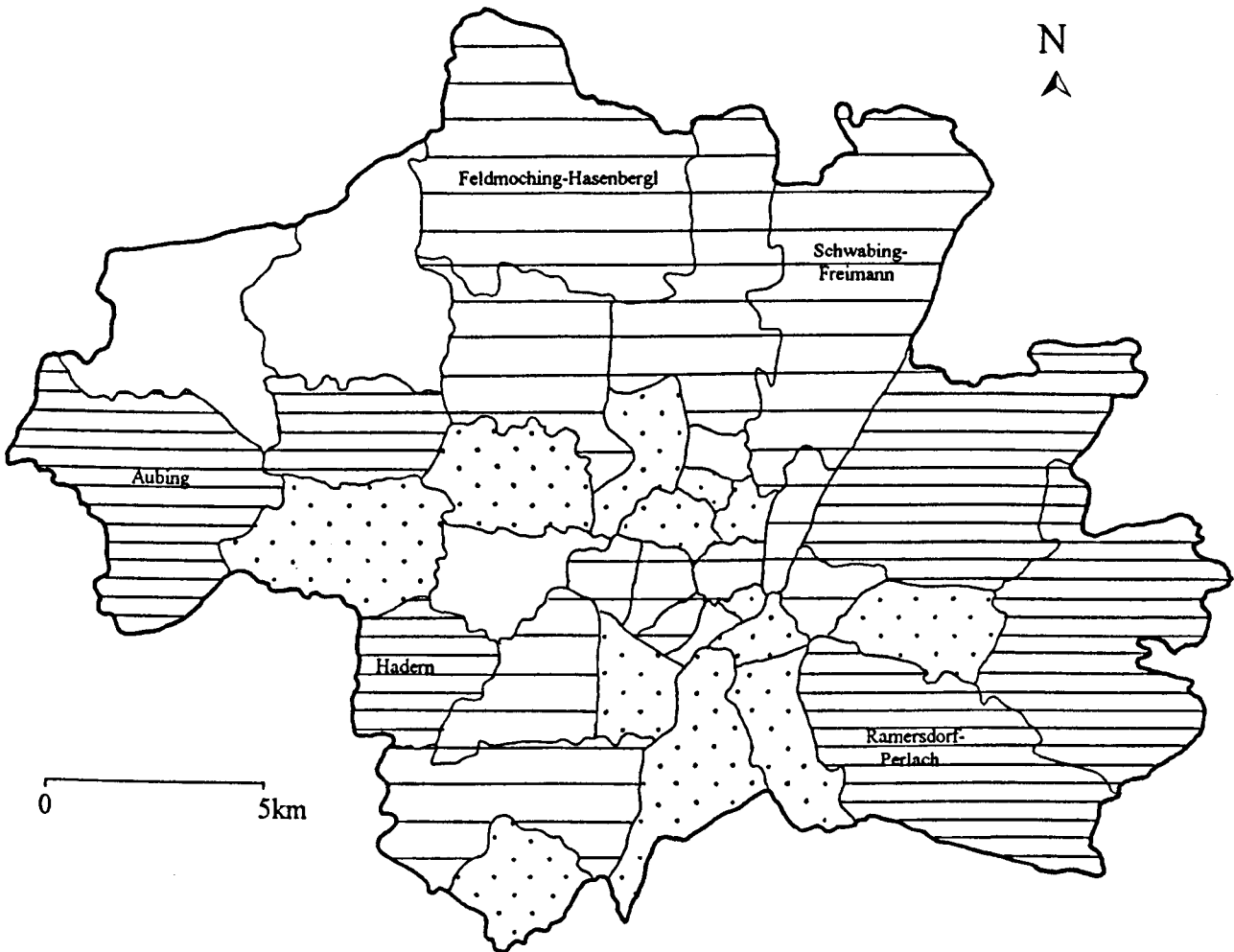
However, very low levels are found in Feldmoching-Hasenberg, where much of the construction of social housing before 1969 took place, as well as in Haidhausen and Schwanthalerhöhe, both of which have been declared zones of urban renewal and which have a significant presence of Turks, as will be seen in the next chapter. Conversely, the highest levels were reached in Solln - one of the most prestigious locations in the city - as well as in Obermenzing, a ward adjacent to Nymphenburg Castle and its extensive park. Other areas of high rents can be found in Trudering, in the east of the city. What all these areas have in common are very low shares of social housing and low representations of Turkish immigrants and their offspring (see Section 6.3).

It might therefore be useful to look at rent levels for private-rented accommodation and for social housing separately. In general, the average rent for social housing is higher in those areas where a large share of *Sozialwohnungen* was built after 1968, such as in Ramersdorf-Perlach, Hadern or Aubing (Figure 5.9). Conversely, they are lower in those areas where the majority of units were constructed before 1969, such as in Feldmoching-Hasenberg. The selective allocation of different population groups to


Figure 5.9: Average rent levels for social housing (DM/m²) (1987)


(Munich: DM 7.60)

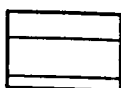
(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Rent levels:

 = DM 6.00 - DM 6.40

 = DM 6.50 - DM 6.90

 = DM 7.00 - DM 7.90

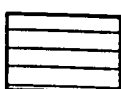
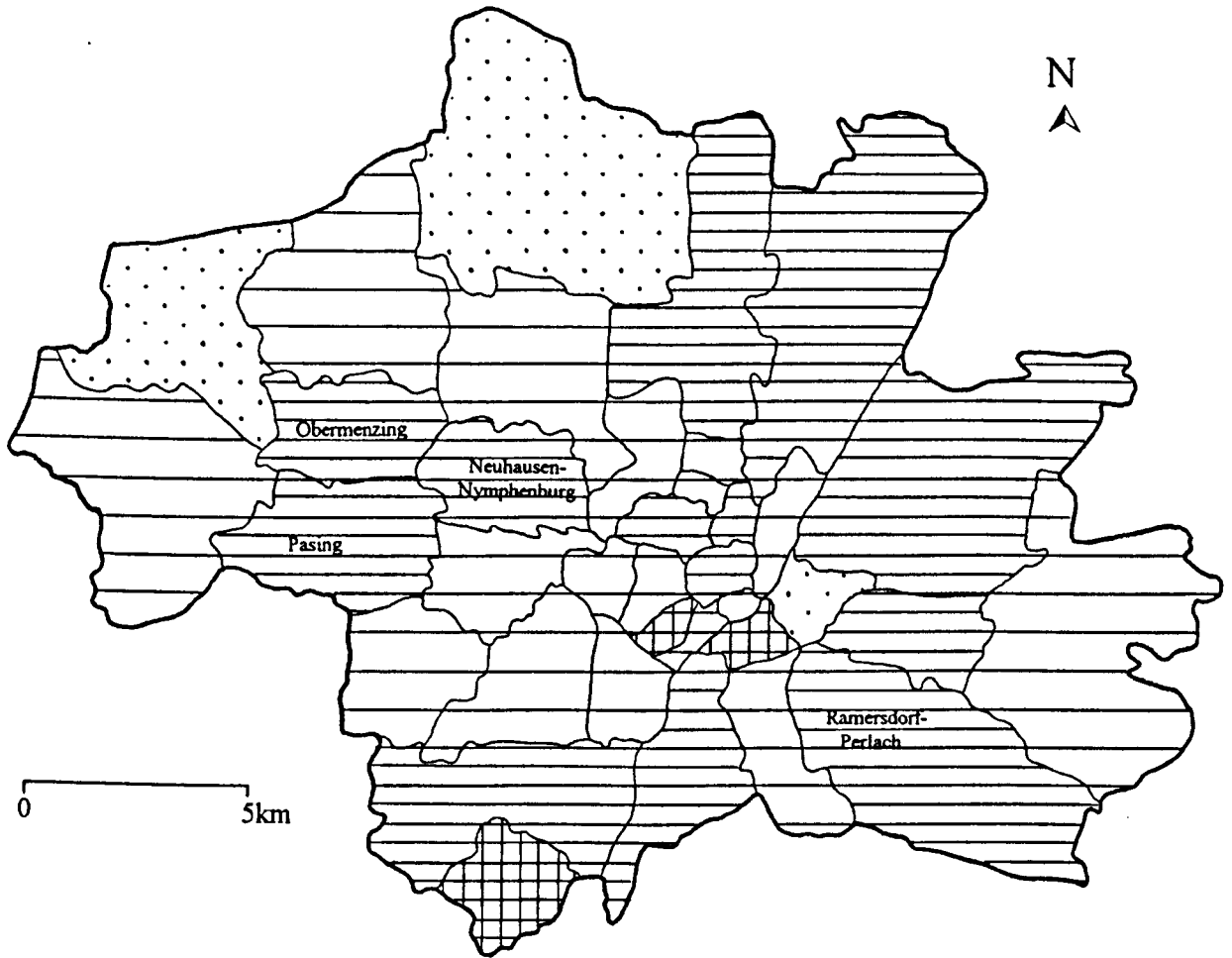
 = \geq DM 8.00

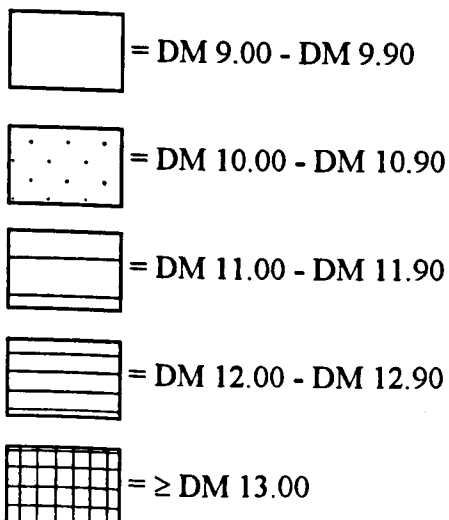
Figure 5.10: Average rent levels for private-rented housing (DM/m²) (1987)

(Munich: DM 12.10)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Rent levels:



social housing in different areas (related to their entry into the social sector at different times) is therefore likely to lead to different rent burdens for the people concerned. However, within this pattern there are variations, so that Schwabing-Freimann, where the larger share of social housing was constructed after 1968, displays lower rents than for example Ramersdorf-Perlach²⁶.

Figure 5.10 shows the average rent per square metre in private-rented accommodation, and it becomes clear that the pattern here is even more complex than in the case of social housing. In particular, the high rent levels in some parts of the inner city seem to suggest that 'location' becomes a much stronger issue here, pointing to the desirability of living in some inner-city wards. Apart from these high rents in parts of the inner city, there are a number of wards - with very diverse housing characteristics - that display rents between DM12.10 and DM13. In particular, these are areas that have experienced high rates of new, and fairly high quality, constructions of housing after 1968, such as Ramersdorf-Perlach. Other areas include Obermenzing and Neuhausen-Nymphenburg, both of which are fairly desirable locations, as well as Pasing, a relatively self-contained ward built around an old village core. Apart from a number of wards where the explanation of rent-levels appears to be fairly straightforward, however, this is more difficult in other cases and seems to point to the influence of overlapping factors discussed earlier.

5.4.5 Developments since 1987

As I have outlined in section 5.2, the housing market in Munich is currently undergoing further transformations. Although no data are available reflecting these changes at the ward-level, it is the inner-city wards that are likely to be affected in particular. The loss of social housing is likely to be greatest here, as are conversions of private-rented flats into owner-occupied dwellings. The same applies for the problem of *Zweckentfremdung*, that again hits the inner-city wards hardest. The result of all these developments is two-fold. Firstly, residential space is likely to have been lost in these areas in recent years. Secondly, the loss of *cheap* dwellings is likely to have been particularly large there, and only a limited amount of alternative, reasonably-priced housing has been created. This means

²⁶ There seems to be a clear case for a further study in which the social sector would be disaggregated further by variables such as age and quality of the dwellings in the different wards.

that social housing is now over-represented even more strongly on the edges of the city. For the less well-off inner-city inhabitants including Turkish immigrants and their families, this means that they are likely to find housing increasingly in these other areas of the city.

5.5 Summary

Since the end of the second world war, Munich has been characterised by a continuing housing shortage that has mainly affected the poorer sections of its population. Despite a significant amount of new construction of housing since then, taking place primarily at the periphery, this *Wohnungsnot* is still persisting at present. This is to a large extent the result of developments in housing policy, that have led to continuing reductions in the stock of affordable housing, so that Munich presently has an extremely low share of public housing compared to other German cities. Moreover, the continuing popularity of the city, reflected in population gains for most of the post-war period, has meant that the competition for cheap, private-rented flats has always been great. In an attempt to ameliorate this housing shortage, housing constructions have increasingly spread outward from the city centre, leading to the development of various *Großwohnsiedlungen* at the edges of the city.

This structure of the market, in particular its tight nature and the cost of housing, is likely to have particularly severe effects for the 'foreign' population and, given the arguments in the established literature, in particular for Turkish immigrants and their families. In addition to the high cost of housing, these groups are likely to face discrimination in what is already a very difficult situation. The results are likely to be little choice in the search for housing, higher costs through high rent levels, as well as the use of different sources in the search for housing (Kreibich and Petri 1982, see Chapters 6 and Part 3). Moreover, through their later entry into the market, Turkish immigrants are likely to display distinctive patterns of movement, with particular *Stadtbezirke* (such as Ramersdorf-Perlach, where much of the later construction of social housing took place) being of particular significance. Patterns and processes of residential migration and location form the content of the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Residential Location and Intra-Urban Migration

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the housing context in which residential histories are formed has been examined. This chapter now analyses locational patterns of Turks and 'other foreigners' (Section 6.3), as well as examining migration of Turkish immigrants and the group of 'all foreigners' in this context (Section 6.4), within the limitations imposed by the availability of official data discussed in chapter 4. This analysis takes a cross-sectional perspective and concentrates on aggregate populations. In order to arrive at a smaller level of disaggregation, the second main part of the chapter, formed by sections 6.5 and 6.6, starts to move from the aggregate to the individual, and from the cross-sectional to the longitudinal, by examining aspects of movement through the housing market and through space for a cohort of 72 respondents. The focus is thereby exclusively on Turkish immigrants.

This chapter therefore aims to outline these patterns and processes, both at the level of the aggregate and the cohort. In doing so, it contributes to the established literature in the field reviewed in chapter 2, as well as further outlining the context for the discussion of 'experiences', which follows in part 3.

6.2 Turks in Munich: an overview

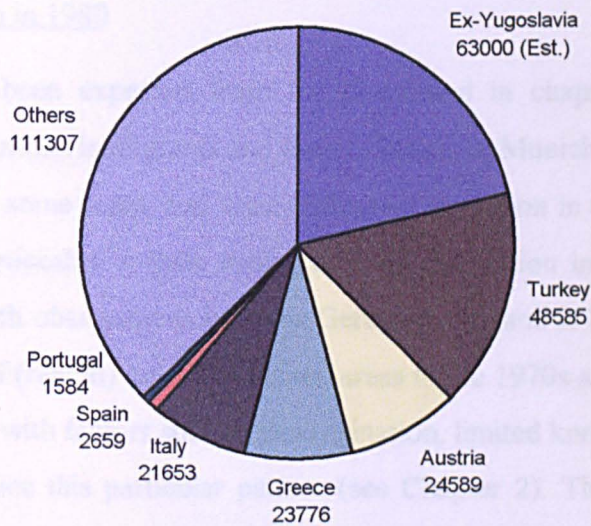
In order to contextualise the following discussion of intra-urban patterns and processes more fully, an outline of the characteristics of the population of Turkish origin and descent in Munich is provided here. While a more detailed overview of the evolution of Munich's total immigrant population is provided by Schröer (1983), the aim here is to examine briefly the most significant developments for the group labelled as 'Turks' in official statistics.

In 1950, Munich had a Turkish population of just over 300, a figure that rose to over 6600 in 1964 (5.3% of the foreign population) and then, as a result of the increasing recruitment of migrant labourers from Turkey (see Chapter 2), almost doubled between

1964 and 1967. The number of Turks then almost trebled between 1967 and 1975 when it reached more than 33000 (or 13.3% of the total foreign population). Reflecting the typical composition of a 'guestworker group' at that time, around 70% of all Turks in Munich in 1975 were male, and only 9% were aged 16 or younger.

By 1980, the population of Turkish origin and descent had reached a size of almost 40000 people (or 18% of the total foreign population). The process of family reunification led to significant changes in the sex and age compositions, so that by the end of 1980, 46% of all Turks were male aged 16 or older, 28% were females aged 16 or older, and 26% were children aged 16 years or younger.

Figure 6.1: The Composition of Munich's Foreign Population by Nationality, 31.12.1994



Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München.

While the size of the Turkish population declined between 1980 and 1985 as a result of recessionary conditions and return inducements (Schmalz-Jacobsen *et al* 1993), by the end of 1994 the population had increased to over 48000 people, or 17% of the total 'foreign' population and 3.7% of the total population of the city. Turks now form the second-largest non-German group in the city, their population being smaller only than the ex-Yugoslavs (see Figure 6.1) who have traditionally formed the largest immigrant group in Munich (Schröer 1983)¹. The composition of the Turkish population became

¹ The number of people from the former Yugoslavia is estimated at around 63000, but at present no correct figures are available.

more 'normal' still, with male adults (aged 18 or over) now forming 38% of the population, and female adults and children under 18 both constituting 31%².

This changing composition is also reflected in employment rates. In 1980, just under 60% of Turks in Munich were in employment. By 1994, this had dropped to just over 50%, which is a higher proportion than the average for foreigners in Germany (see Chapter 2). In contrast to other German cities the relative buoyancy of the economy in Munich has ensured that Turkish unemployment (at 4.3%) isn't significantly higher than their share of the total population, with just under 3000 Turks being unemployed at the end of 1994. Of these, the majority (just under 1700) were men.

6.3 Locational Patterns

6.3.1 The pattern in 1980

As might have been expected from the discussion in chapter 2, the pattern of the distribution of Turkish immigrants and their offspring in Munich in 1980 shows their over-representation in some areas, and their under-representation in others (Figure 6.2)³. What is particularly noticeable is their strong over-representation in and around the Altstadt. This is in line with observations in other German cities and is likely to be the result of a lower standard of (rented) housing in these areas in the 1970s and 1980s (see Figure 5.7), which interacted with factors such as discrimination, limited knowledge spaces and limited budgets to produce this particular pattern (see Chapter 2). The wards of Turkish over-representation in the south and south-west of the city centre as well as Maxvorstadt-Königsplatz, are relatively heterogeneous and also contain areas (such as those around the main station) that are less prestigious than those to the north of the centre, where Turks are generally underrepresented. In addition, inner-city *Wohnheime* were located mainly in the wards in the south and south-west⁴, as well as in Haidhausen. As mentioned before, the internal heterogeneity of the wards thereby places limits on explanations based purely on the structure of housing there.

² The corresponding share of under 18's amongst 'all foreigners', was 23.5% in 1994.

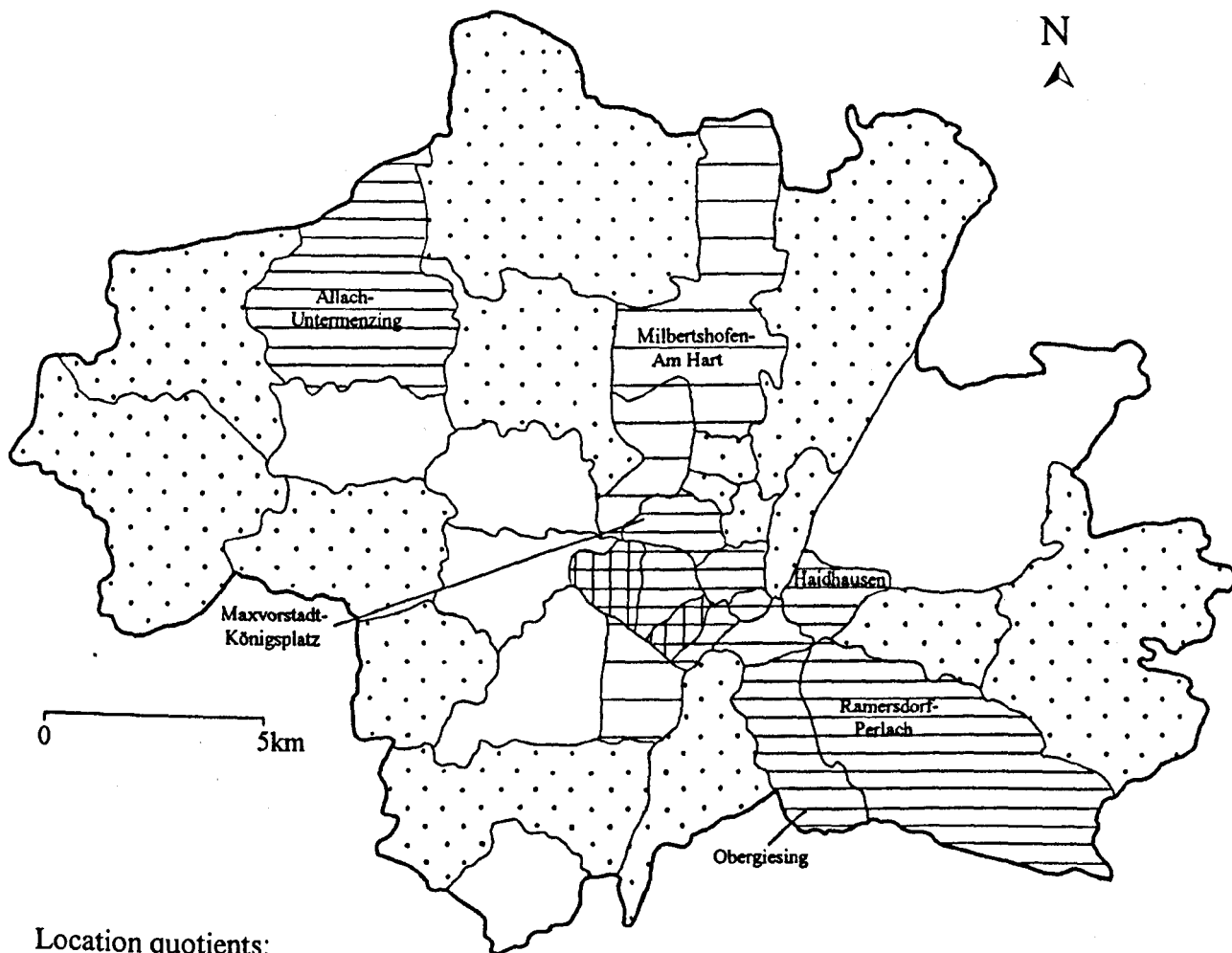
³ Location quotients are used here because, in contrast to the use of percentages, they '...circumvent the problem of ward-populations of different size and allow the comparison of foreign groups of different size', (O'Loughlin 1980, p. 259).

⁴ Information gathered through interviews with social workers.

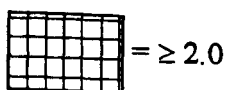
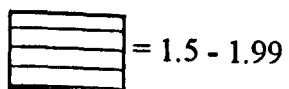
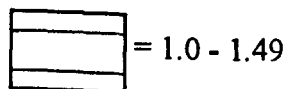
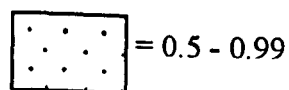
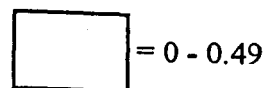
Figure 6.2: The residential distribution of Turks in 1980

(Turks as proportion of total population in 1980: 3.0%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:



Even less surprising than the patterns in and around the Altstadt are the over-representations in Allach-Untermenzing and Milbertshofen-Am Hart, both of which have been the locations of three major employers and their *Wohnheime*. In 1980, a number of Turkish immigrants were still living in *Wohnheim* accommodation (see Section 6.5). Moreover, as has been shown in chapter 2, industrial areas were characterised by an over-representation of low-status immigrants in general, either because of these wards' low prestige with their areas of low-quality housing, because of limited knowledge space and the clustering of personal contacts on the part of the non-Germans, or because of the location of employer-provided rented housing, in this case by BMW, MAN and Krauss-Maffei⁵.

The third area of strong over-representation is formed by the two wards of Obergiesing and Ramersdorf-Perlach in the south-east of the city. Obergiesing is the location of one of the Siemens-*Wohnheime*, close to the factory itself, as well as the Agfa-factory. Siemens, like other main employers, has always provided flats for some of their employees. Moreover, Obergiesing is a typical working-class district, with an over-representation of private-rented flats with fairly low rent-levels (Figures 5.4 and 5.10), and a share of flats equipped below the standard of the city as a whole (Figure 5.7). However, since there are other areas with similar characteristics, proximity to the *Wohnheim* (whether through the desire to live close to the workplace or limited knowledge-space), the clustering of personal contacts, as well as the presence of rented employer-provided flats, seem to have played an important role.

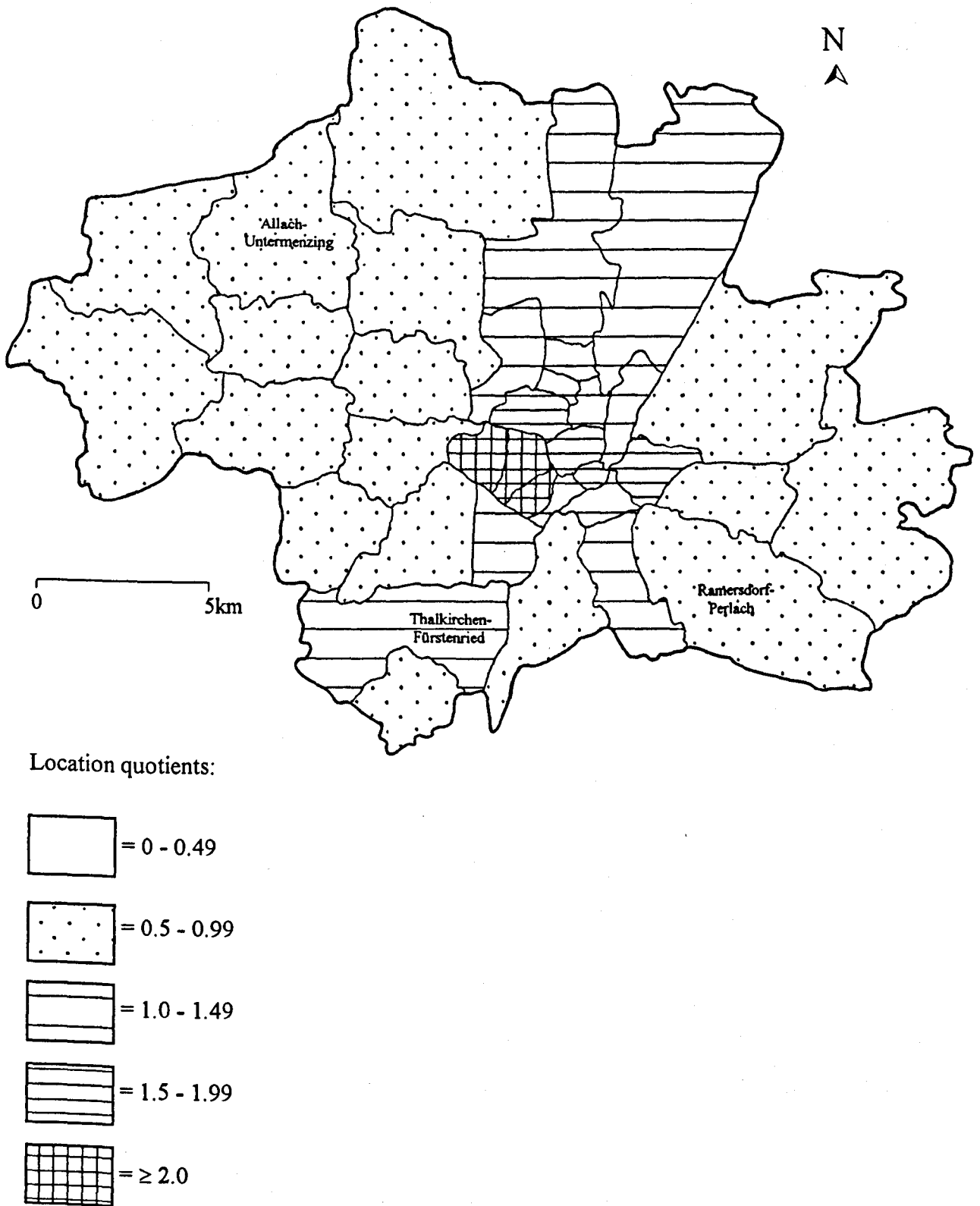
The case of Turkish over-representation in Ramersdorf-Perlach is clearly related to the large volume of construction in the ward from the late 1960s onwards (see Section 5.2), offering an abundance of dwellings in the private-rented and social sectors: as mentioned in the previous chapter, construction costs in the 1970s meant that rents in both these sectors were fairly high in Ramersdorf-Perlach. Given that Turks have traditionally been the most stigmatised immigrant group in Germany (Holzner 1982) and have therefore always had less choice in the housing market, vacancies for the Turkish population in the private-rented sector at that time were likely to open up primarily in areas such as Ramersdorf-Perlach (see Chapters 9 and 10). This is clearly also connected to their later entry into the free (i.e. non-*Wohnheim*) housing market, coinciding with

⁵ The (earlier) importance of rented (non-*Wohnheim*) accommodation provided by employers was confirmed in some of the interviews with primary immigrants.

Figure 6.3: The residential distribution of 'other foreigners' in 1980

(Other foreigners as proportion of total population in 1980: 13.9%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



construction and vacancies in particular areas of the city, discussed Chapter 5. In addition, Ramersdorf-Perlach has also been the location of one of the Siemens-*Wohnheime* (see Chapter 11).

In the light of the arguments made for Turkish over-representation in Ramersdorf-Perlach, it is not unexpected that the 'other foreigners' population⁶ is under-represented in this ward (see Figure 6.3). While this 'group' is more evenly-spread across the different wards, reflected in their lower segregation levels (see below, Table 6.1), there are some further noticeable differences from the Turks. The first is their under-representation in the industrial ward of Allach-Untermenzing, compared to a strong Turkish over-representation there. Later recruitment of Turks by MAN and Krauss-Maffei in particular is likely to have been an important factor here, with other foreigner groups already diversified into other districts or returned 'home'⁷. Secondly, the 'other foreigners' group is over-represented in Thalkirchen-Obersendling, a ward with fairly high rent-levels in the private-rented sector (Figure 5.10), where the Turks are once again under-represented. A closer look at the actual composition of the 'other foreigners' group reveals that this is the single most important ward for the location of the (higher status) Austrian population, who form the third-largest group of non-Germans in the city (see Figure 6.1).

In 1980, the main areas of concentration of the Turkish population were thus around the city centre, in particular in those wards that were or had been locations of hostel-accommodation and that contained less prestigious areas⁸, such as Ludwigsvorstadt and Maxvorstadt-Königsplatz. Turks were also over-represented in Ramersdorf-Perlach, which had experienced large volumes of new construction of housing from the late 1960s onwards, as well as in the industrial and working-class districts of Allach-Untermenzing, Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Obergiesing. Explanations related *purely* to the spatial structure of the housing market offer only limited elucidation, and it is therefore most likely that a combination of factors - revolving around socio-economic and family status, knowledge-space, the clustering of contacts, and accessibility of housing - led to this particular spatial pattern (Glebe and Waldorf 1987; O'Loughlin *et al* 1987). This pattern shows both contrasts and similarities with the distribution of 'other

⁶ This refers to Munich's total foreign population, excluding Turks.

⁷ This was implicitly confirmed by one of the interviewees who works for MAN in Allach-Untermenzing. He told me that when he arrived in the early 70s, Turks were in the minority in the company, with Italians predominating, whereas now, Turks are in the clear majority.

⁸ Here, a smaller level of disaggregation in a further study would certainly be a way forward to shed further light on these patterns and processes.

foreigners', the differences being most probably the result of different times of recruitment, different times of entry into the free and public housing markets, as well as different barriers in the housing market for Turkish immigrants and their families compared to most other foreigner groups.

6.3.2 The pattern in 1986

When the locational patterns of the Turkish population in 1986 are compared to 1980, a number of interesting differences start to emerge. Thus, while the city centre and its immediate surroundings remained important locations for the Turkish population in 1986 (Figure 6.4), the absolute values of the LQs in *all* districts bordering the Altstadt, as well as Schwanthalerhöhe and Haidhausen, were lower than in 1980 and, moreover, dropped significantly in most wards. In Isarvorstadt-Schlachthofviertel, the LQ dropped from 3.2 to 2.1 within 6 years.

Table 6.1: Segregation of Turks and 'other foreigners' in Munich 1980, 1986 and 1990 (IS).

	Turks	Other Foreigners
1980	25.1	13.3
1986	23.6	13.4
1990	22.3	13.3

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der LH München.

For the Turkish population, this stands in contrast to Castles' (1985) observation that there exists an *increasing* trend towards concentration in inner-city districts. Deconcentration is also reflected in levels of residential segregation (see Table 6.1), which point to processes of desegregation, as well as in a drop in absolute numbers of Turkish residents in inner-city wards (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Absolute changes in the Turkish population in selected inner city wards, 1980-86.

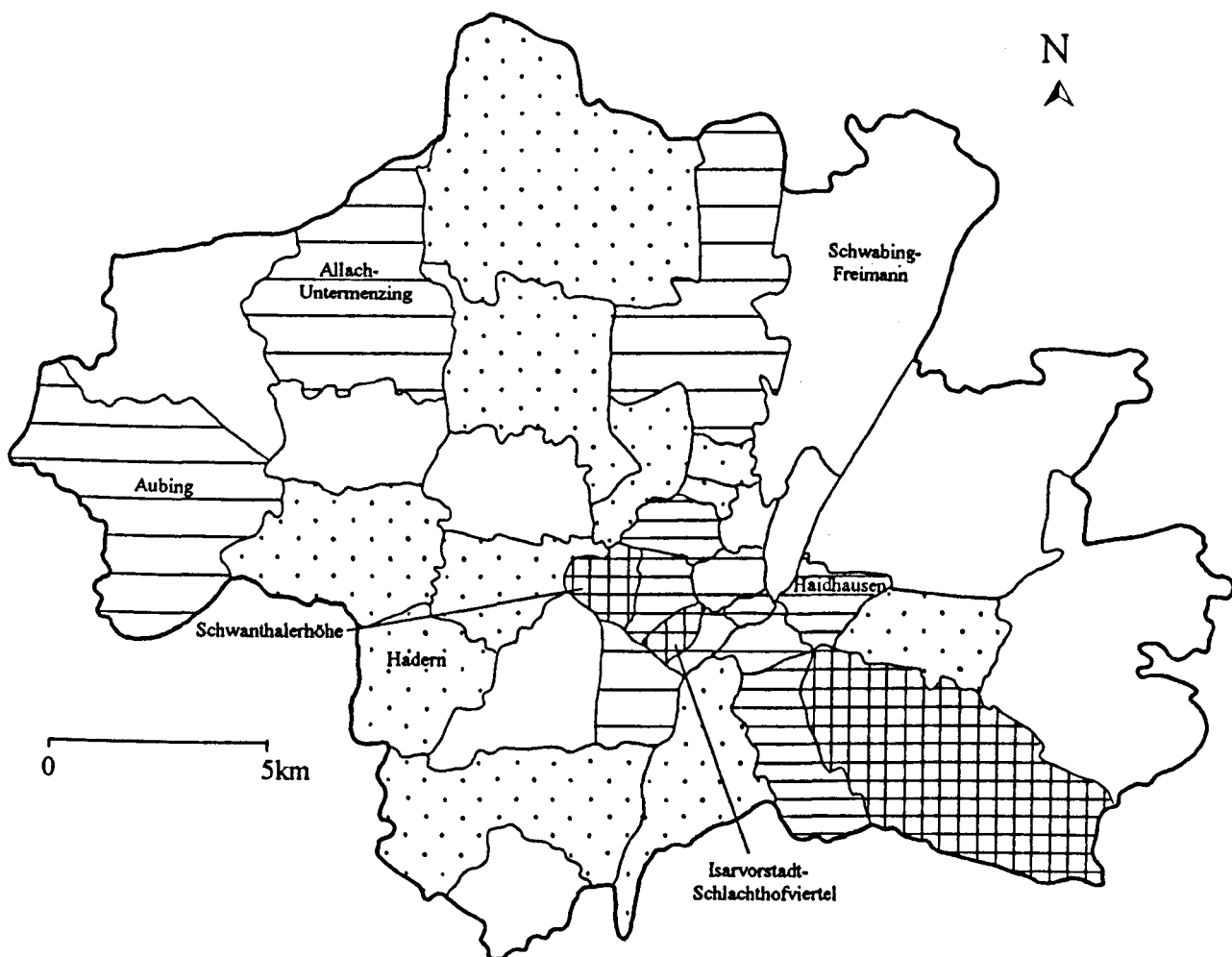
Ward	Turks 1980	Turks 1986
Altstadt	686	432
Maxvorstadt-Universität	291	168
Maxvorstadt-Königsplatz	1126	862
Isarvorstadt-Schlachthofviertel	1520	925
Isarvorstadt-Glockenbachviertel	965	854

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München.

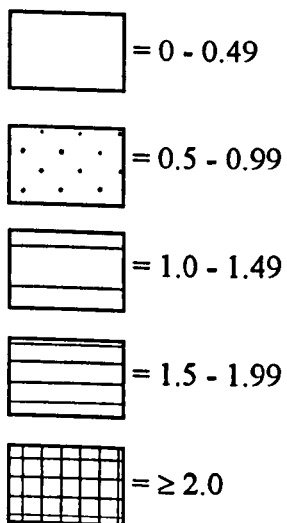
Figure 6.4: The residential distribution of Turks in 1986

(Turks as proportion of total population in 1986: 2.9%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:



In addition to the decline in these central areas of over-representation in 1980, Allach-Untermenzing experienced a strong reduction in the representation of Turks, while the two wards of Aubing and Ramersdorf-Perlach in particular displayed increases. Given that by 1987, 25% of all Turkish immigrants lived in a *Sozialwohnung* (see Chapter 5) and that the share of Turks amongst allocations to social housing increased considerably between 1980 and 1986 (Table 6.3), it is likely that the increases in these two areas are to a significant extent the result of large volumes of construction of social housing after 1969 there (see Figure 5.9), with a significant number of newcomers to the social sector likely to have moved into newly constructed flats (O'Loughlin *et al* 1987). These patterns confirm the observations by Gans (1987) for the case of Kiel, who argues that:

“At the end of 1983 Turks tended to live in areas where there was a lot of construction during the 1970s”. (p. 125)

Thus, vacancies in both the social and the private-rented sectors can be assumed to have opened *largely* in areas such as Aubing and Ramersdorf-Perlach, leading to the in-movement of Turkish immigrants and their families. However, it is also important to point out here that in other areas such as Hadern and Schwabing-Freimann, which experienced a considerable amount of construction of social housing after 1969, Turks remained under-represented, despite an increase in their absolute numbers.

Table 6.3: The annual share of different nationalities among new allocations to social housing, 1980-1987⁹.

	Turks	Greeks	Yugoslavs	Austrians	Italians
1980	4.1	0.9	3.0	1.3	1.0
1981	4.3	1.5	3.6	1.0	1.3
1982	5.0	1.2	2.9	1.1	1.0
1983	5.6	1.1	3.5	1.1	1.6
1984	5.1	1.4	4.1	1.0	1.8
1985	6.5	1.5	4.8	1.2	1.5
1986	6.9	1.2	4.3	1.1	1.4
1987	7.3	1.0	4.3	1.1	1.5

Data Source: Landeshauptstadt München. Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung 1988.

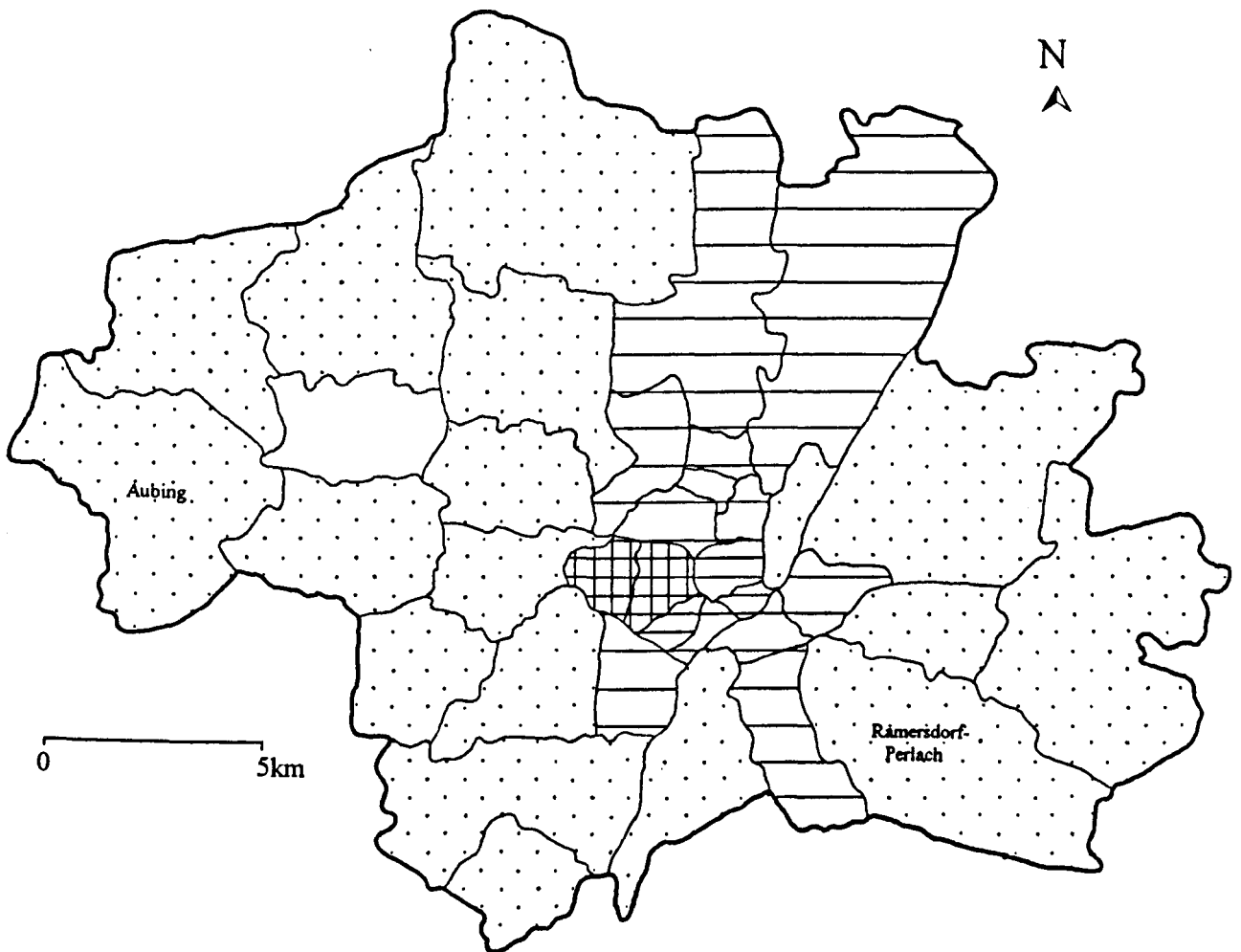
These observations of Turkish movement into (selected) areas of construction of social housing after 1968 are again given support by the pattern for the ‘other foreigners’ group, who are under-represented in both Aubing and Ramersdorf-Perlach (Figure 6.5). It

⁹ Data for separate nationalities have not been published since 1987.

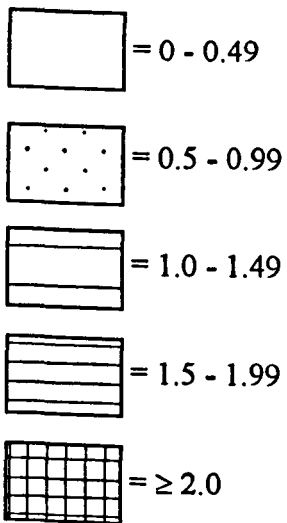
Figure 6.5: The residential distribution of 'other foreigners' in 1986

(Other foreigners as proportion of total population in 1986: 13.1%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:



is interesting to note here that, while the share of Turks amongst new allocations to social housing increased significantly between 1980 and 1986 from 4.1 to 6.9 percent, the share of most other main foreigner groups remained virtually unchanged, or increased only slightly (see Table 6.3)¹⁰, and has generally been lower than the Turkish share¹¹. As has been shown in chapter 5, this has led to a significantly larger share of Turks in social housing than is the case for other groups.

Apart from these differences, the general distribution of the group of 'other foreigners' shows a higher degree of stability between 1980 and 1986. This is confirmed by their levels of segregation (Table 6.1).

Comparing the changes between 1980 and 1986, Turkish immigrants and their families were becoming less strongly represented in all inner-city wards, while becoming increasingly over-represented in some other wards, shown in chapter 5 to have experienced a significant volume of construction of (social) housing in the 1970s and 1980s. This trend was far less pronounced for the 'other foreigners' group. For the Turks in particular, this was reflected in falling levels of residential segregation.

6.3.3 The pattern in 1990

For Munich's Turkish population, the locational changes between 1986 and 1990 display further consolidation of the processes that had taken place between 1980 and 1986 (Figure 6.6). This meant primarily the continuation of the reduction in the degrees of over-representation in inner-city areas, with a corresponding increase in the representation in Aubing in particular, pointing to a further process of selective suburbanisation into areas with a high share of social housing. The degree of representation in all other areas remained fairly stable¹², with the exception of Feldmoching-Hasenberg which displayed a continuing increase in the over-representation of Turks. This is one of the *Großwohnsiedlungen* with predominantly *older* social housing.

The locational patterns for 'other foreigners' show greater stability than the pattern for Turks, with only two inner-city districts experiencing a decline in location

¹⁰ This might be a reflection of the originally poor residential conditions of Turkish immigrants.

¹¹ Since 1980, the share of Turkish allocations has thereby been consistently higher than their share of the city's total population.

¹² While Ramersdorf-Perlach and Trudering showed decreases and increases respectively, the actual changes were very slight and the changed patterns on the map are mainly due to both areas having been close to the borders of categories before.

Figure 6.6: The residential distribution of Turks in 1990

(Turks as proportion of total population in 1990: 3.5%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)

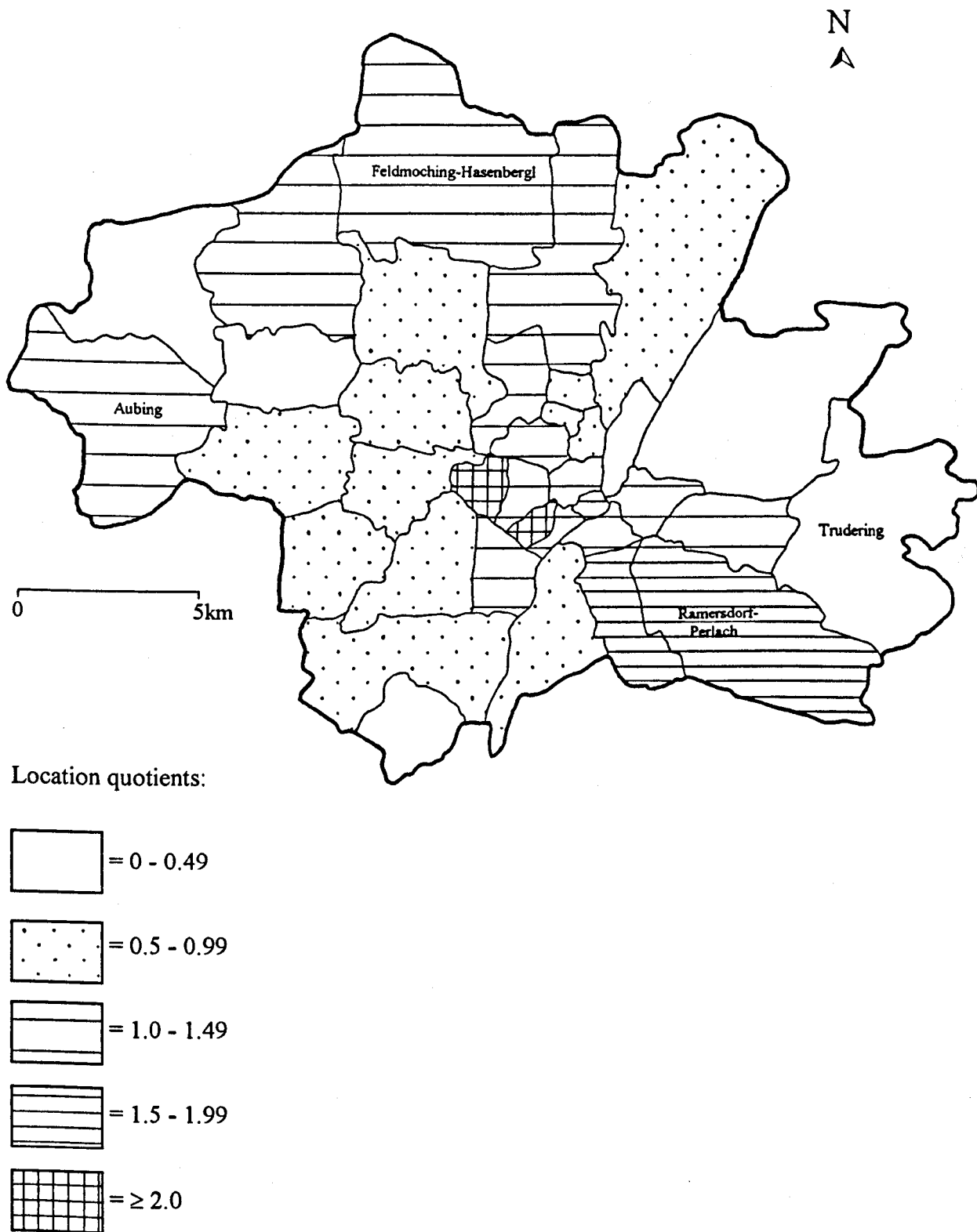
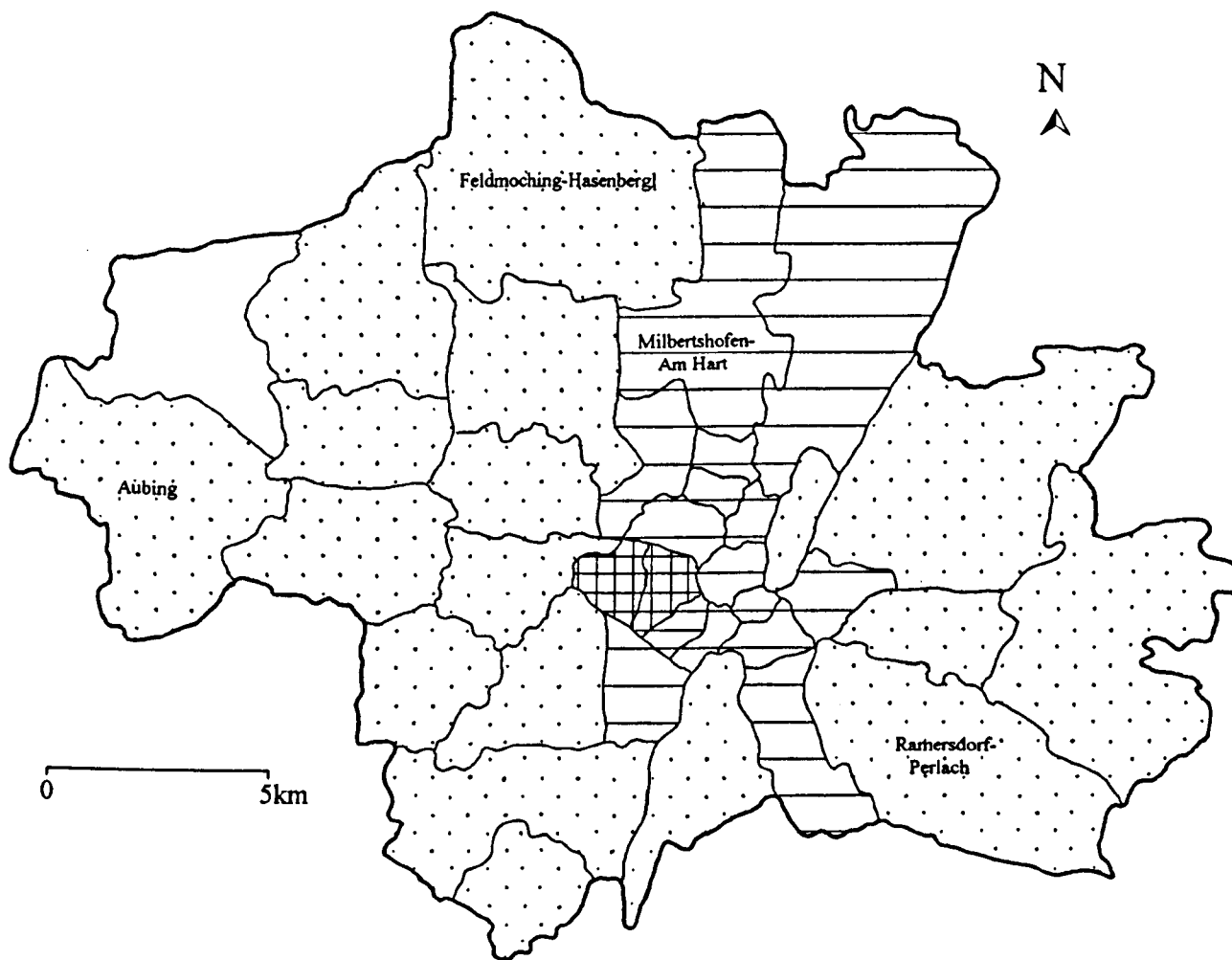


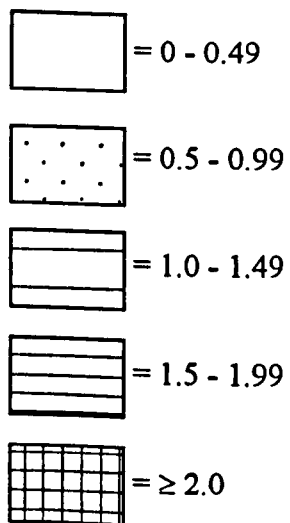
Figure 6.7: The residential distribution of 'other foreigners' in 1990

(Other foreigners as proportion of total population in 1990: 13.3%)

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Location quotients:



quotients, and the others remaining more or less stable (Figure 6.7). Significantly, the *actual values* of the LQs for 'other foreigners' in inner-city areas are generally higher than for the Turkish population, a trend that became more accentuated as time progressed. This suggests that Turks have been more able, or forced, to leave the inner city than other foreigner groups.

For 'other foreigners', all other districts remained virtually unchanged, reflected both in Figure 6.7 and in the actual location quotients, as well as in fairly stable segregation levels (Table 6.1). Compared to the Turks, this group still displayed a more even spread across the whole area of the city in 1990, with both groups, however, being strongly under-represented in areas with a combination of a low share of social housing, a high share of owner-occupation and high rent-levels (see Chapter 5).

At this point it is interesting to note that foreigners aged 18 or under, forming around 20% of Munich's total foreign population in 1990, were most strongly over-represented in three wards, pointing to the over-representation of families in these areas: Aubing (27%), Ramersdorf-Perlach (26%) and Feldmoching-Hasenberg (25%). In contrast, they form only around 14% of the foreign population in central wards, and only 17% in Milbertshofen-Am Hart. More significantly for the *changing* patterns described here, their share of the foreign population in these wards between 1980 and 1990 increased most strongly in Feldmoching-Hasenberg (+5%) and in Aubing (+4%), while the increase was less significant in Ramersdorf-Perlach (+1.5%). Increasing allocation of foreign families to social housing in these areas could therefore be an explanation for the observed patterns¹³.

6.3.4 Summary

Between 1980 and 1990¹⁴, Munich's Turkish population experienced a process of decentralisation and selective suburbanisation. While the wards in the city centre became less important (although still showing over-representations) as areas for the location of Turks, *Stadtbezirke* on the edge of the city that have become most important are

¹³ Given that the share of under 18's is significantly higher for Turks than for 'all foreigners' (see Section 6.2), these processes can be assumed to be *particularly* important for Turks.

¹⁴ For the 14 wards where the boundaries have remained unchanged since 1991, LQs were calculated up to 1995. However, the changes were extremely small (maximum change in a ward: 0.12), pointing to a pattern of stabilisation since 1990.

characterised by a combination of factors, with these factors varying for different wards: a large share of social housing (Feldmoching-Hasenberg), high volumes of construction of (social) housing after 1968 (Ramersdorf-Perlach), in addition to a low presence of Turks in 1980 (Aubing). Other non-central areas that have remained important throughout include industrial districts, particularly Milbertshofen-Am Hart, as well as Allach-Untermenzing and Obergiesing. These districts, in addition to the wards in the centre, demonstrate that 'traditional' areas of immigrant settlement, in the context of a tight housing market, are likely to *remain* important in a city that displays generally low levels of mobility (see Section 6.4.2). However, the locational patterns also show that explanations related to the spatial structure of the housing market alone seem to provide only limited explanations, and that this interacts with other factors. On the other hand, the heterogeneity of the wards should be kept in mind, pointing to the need for a further, smaller-scale analysis, for example at the level of the *Stadtbezirksviertel*, were this to be possible.

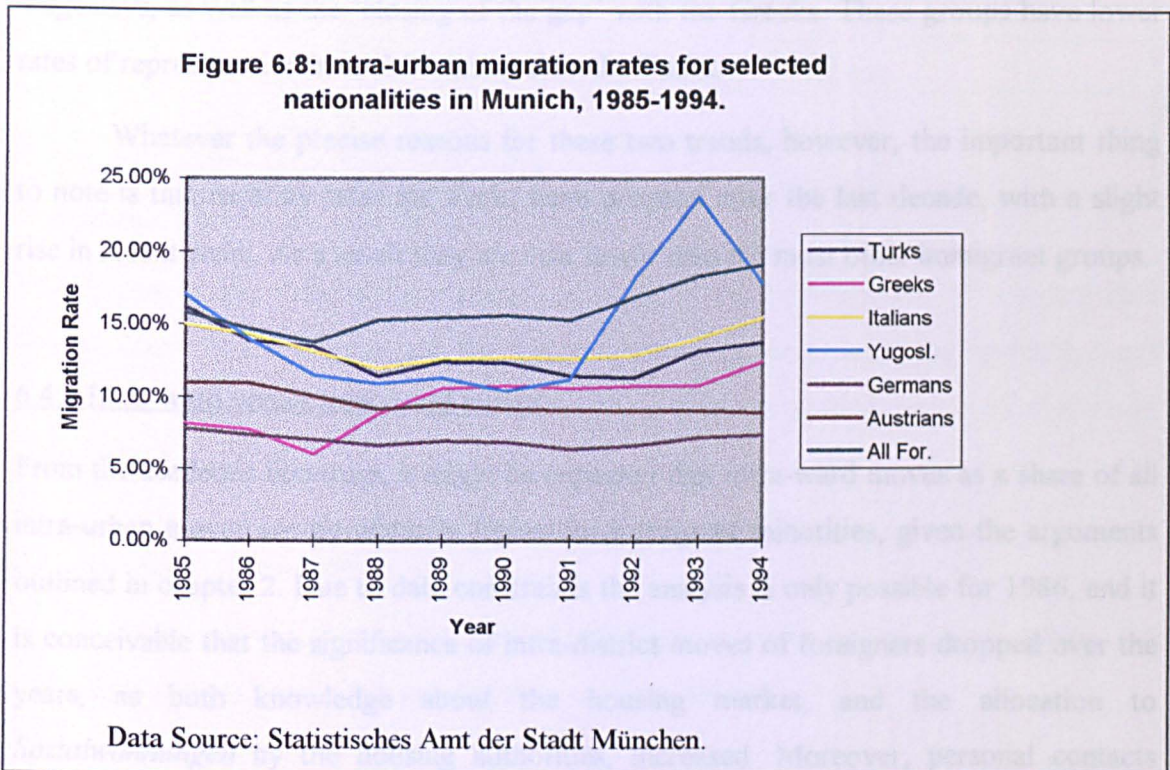
6.4 Residential Migration

6.4.1 Introduction

As has been argued in chapter 2, intra-urban migration is the main contributing factor to changes of and stability in, spatial patterns within cities. This section examines patterns of residential mobility with three aims: firstly, as significant processes in their own right, indicating processes of (selective) change or stability. Secondly, to contribute to an explanation of the changing locational patterns just discussed. And thirdly, to provide a further part of the context for the material based on the questionnaires and interviews to be discussed in this and in subsequent chapters. In section 6.4.2, the development of overall mobility rates for Turks and other nationalities are considered, whereas section 6.4.3 examines the significance of short-distance moves by outlining the share of intra-ward moves for Turks and other groups of immigrant origin. In section 6.4.4, the net-effect of Turkish intra-urban moves on different wards is outlined. Finally, in section 6.4.5, movement between wards for the 'all foreigners' group is examined.

6.4.2 Migration Rates

The general trend of higher rates of residential mobility discussed in chapter 2 is reflected in the differential annual migration rates for immigrant minorities in Munich between 1985 and 1994, who in general (except for Greeks) display annual mobility rates at least twice as high as the corresponding figures for Germans (Figure 6.8)¹⁵. The arguments about the reasons behind higher intra-urban migration rates for low-status immigrant minorities reviewed in chapter 2 are given further support for the case of Munich by the fact that migration rates for the 'high-status' Austrians, while being slightly higher than for Germans, have been consistently lower than for other 'foreigners'.



These differential annual rates for immigrant minorities and Germans are not the only difference, and it is particularly noticeable that the rates for foreigners show much higher degrees of variability. For the Turks, the most noticeable feature is the drop in annual rates between 1985 and 1992, with a slight increase from 1992 to 1994 (see Figure 6.8). As a result, Turkish immigrants and their offspring now have, with the exception of the Greeks, the lowest annual migration rates of all *low-status* immigrant groups. While having been similar until 1987, these rates are now also lower than the figure for 'all foreigners' (which includes groups not identified in Figure 6.8), and it is worth noting that

¹⁵ The figures include multiple moves within one year.

Turks, starting from higher levels, now display lower rates than longer established groups, such as the Italians.

Both these trends - lower absolute and relative mobility rates for Turks - point to a process of residential stabilisation or consolidation, which might have resulted to some extent from their increasing representation in social housing (see Table 6.3). It is possible that once people move into a *Sozialwohnung* they are less likely to move again soon, because social housing generally represents relatively good value for money, in addition to the tight nature of this sector that makes it fairly inflexible (White, P. 1984, and see Chapter 5). This would also explain their lower mobility rates compared to Italians and Yugoslavs, as well as the 'closing of the gap' with the Greeks. These groups have lower rates of representation in social housing than the Turks.

Whatever the precise reasons for these two trends, however, the important thing to note is that mobility rates for Turks have dropped over the last decade, with a slight rise in recent years. As a result they are now lower than for most other immigrant groups.

6.4.3 Intra-ward versus inter-ward moves

From the academic literature, it might be expected that intra-ward moves as a share of all intra-urban moves are significantly higher for immigrant minorities, given the arguments outlined in chapter 2. Due to data constraints the analysis is only possible for 1986, and it is conceivable that the significance of intra-district moves of foreigners dropped over the years, as both knowledge about the housing market, and the allocation to *Sozialwohnungen* by the housing authorities, increased. Moreover, personal contacts (important in the search for housing for Turkish immigrants, see Section 6.6) were likely to be more clustered in earlier periods. This is given support by the fact that the share of intra-ward moves for 'all foreigners' dropped from 27% in 1975, to just over 20% in 1986. The corresponding figure for Germans increased slightly from 23% to just over 24% in the same period.

As Table 6.4 indicates, there was relatively little variation between the different nationalities in 1986, with the Spaniards (a small group, see Figure 6.1) and 'all foreigners' at each end of the spectrum. While the share of intra-district moves is slightly higher for Turks than for other groups except the Greeks and the Spaniards, the differences are small and, additionally, their rate is similar to the Germans', thereby

contradicting the arguments of the *predominance* of intra-ward moves by Glebe and Waldorf (1987) and O’Loughlin (1988) for immigrants as a whole, and by Gans (1987) for the Turkish population.

Table 6.4: Intra-ward moves as % of all intra-urban moves for selected nationalities, 1986.

Nationality/Group	Intra-ward moves as % of all intra-urban moves
Germans	24.3%
Spaniards	31.0%
Greeks	30.0%
Turks	25.0%
Austrians	22.7%
Yugoslavs	22.4%
Italians	22.0%
All Foreigners	20.2%

Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München.

From these figures there is no evidence to suggest the predominance of a higher than average share of short moves for the Turkish population. Moreover, the figures indicate that intra-ward movement in Munich for all groups is less important than in other German cities, where:

“More than half of the intra-urban moves of each group are to residences in the same ward”, (O’Loughlin and Glebe 1984b, p. 4).

While this depends on the size of the districts, wards in Düsseldorf (Glebe and O’Loughlin 1984b) are in fact *smaller* than wards in Munich.

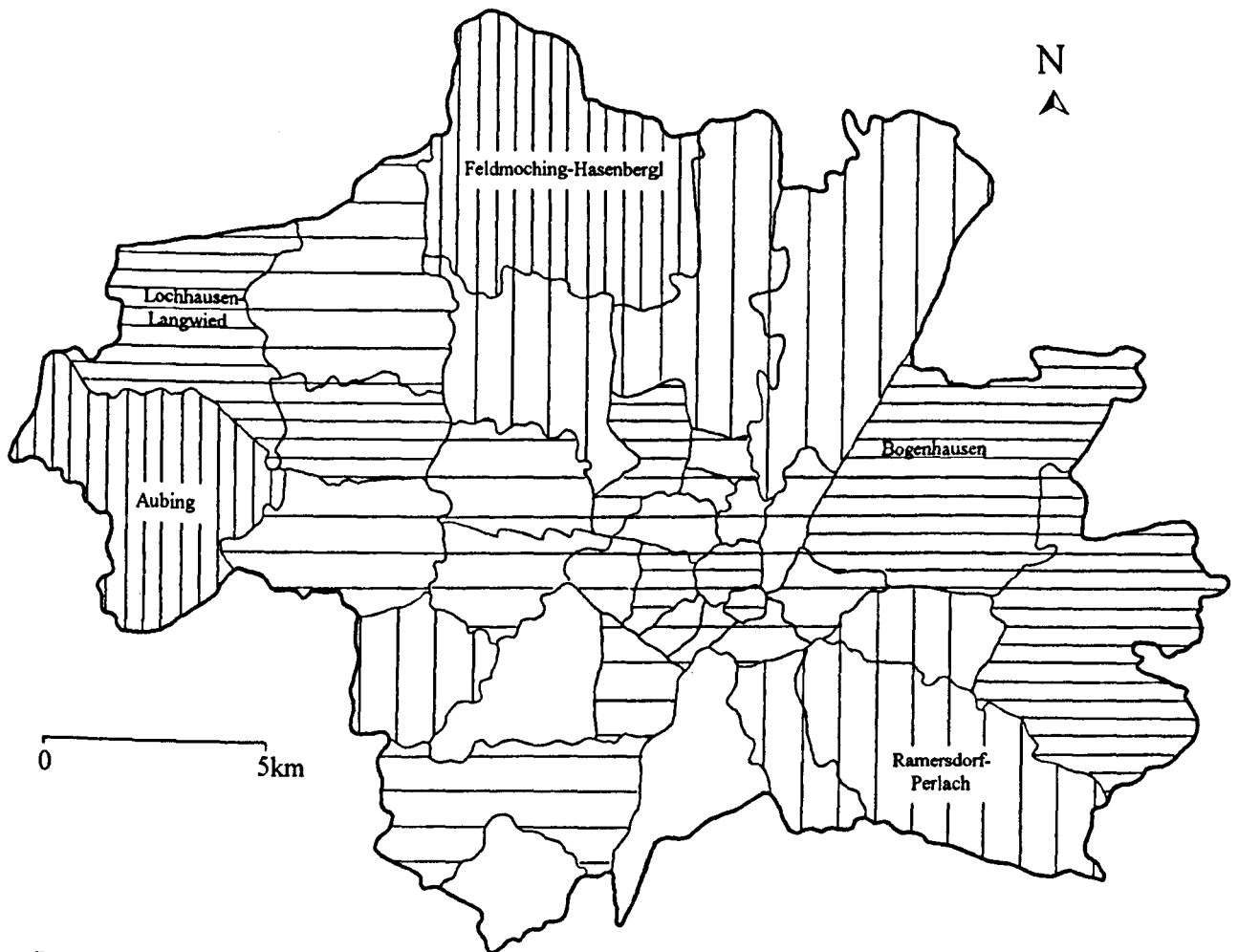
6.4.4 The effect of Turkish intra-urban moves, 1985 and 1991

The discussion so far has shown that Turkish mobility rates are not unusually high in comparison with other foreigner groups, and has indicated that their share of intra-ward moves isn’t significantly higher than for most of the other important nationalities in the city. The spatial patterns of these observations have so far been left on one side. Rather than looking at these spatial patterns as such, it is more significant to examine the *effect* of intra-urban moves on different wards in terms of net gains and losses in their populations, and relate these effects to the locational patterns examined in section 6.3.


Figure 6.9: Changes in the Turkish population through intra-urban migration (1985)


(As proportion of Turkish population resident in the wards at the end of 1984)


(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)




Population change:

 = +5.1% or more

 = +0.1 - +5.0%

 = no change

 = -0.1 - -5.0%

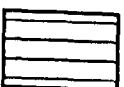
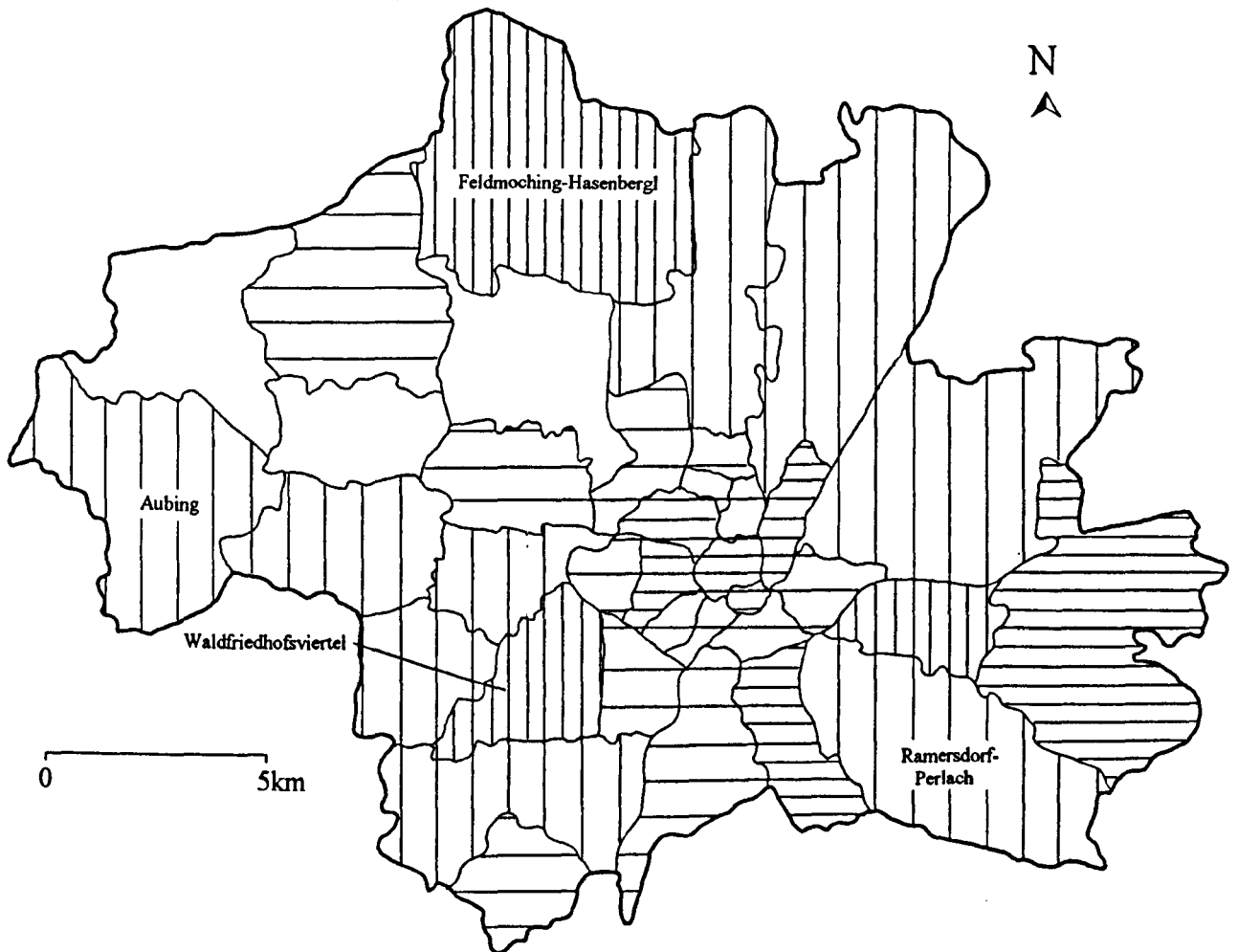
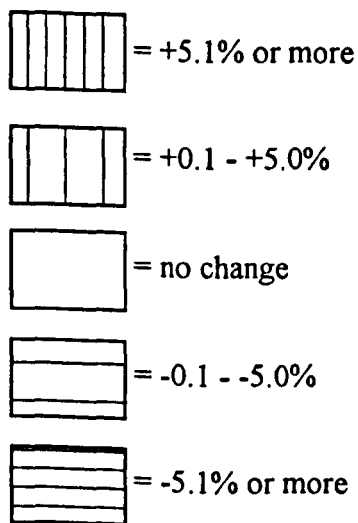
 = -5.1% or more

Figure 6.10: Changes in the Turkish population through intra-urban migration (1991)

(As proportion of Turkish population resident in the wards at the end of 1990)
 (Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Population change:



In Figure 6.9, these net gains and losses are shown for the Turkish population in 1985. A few features stand out immediately. All central wards lose Turks through intra-urban moves, sometimes at fairly high rates. This explains, to some extent, the general drop in location quotients in these districts described earlier. Moreover, wards at the periphery that were insignificant as locations for Turks in the first place, such as the higher-status *Stadtbezirke* of Lochhausen-Langwied and Bogenhausen, lose Turks at high rates, exhibiting a housing structure that is unattractive - and unavailable - for lower-status immigrants and their families.

In contrast, areas of net population gain through intra-urban mobility are found generally towards, or directly at, the edges of the city, in wards with a high significance of *Sozialwohnungen* (see Figure 5.5). Thus, it is no surprise that *Stadtbezirke* such as Aubing, Feldmoching-Hasenberg or Ramersdorf-Perlach experienced net gains through intra-urban migration. The structure of the housing market appears to have influenced net change in wards through intra-urban migration strongly in 1985, further pointing towards an explanation of processes of selective decentralisation of the Turkish population in that year.

The picture in 1991 displays a consolidation of the most significant processes and developments observed in 1985, while showing a reversal of trends in only a limited number of districts (Figure 6.10), with gains now exhibited by a few wards characterised by a low presence of Turks earlier, such as Waldfriedhofsviertel. The element of stability is provided primarily by the areas in and immediately around the Altstadt, which continued to experience net-losses of Turks through residential mobility in 1991, sometimes at accelerated rates. The process of decentralisation thus appeared to continue apace, with areas such as Aubing and Ramersdorf-Perlach, and particularly Feldmoching-Hasenberg, continuing to exhibit net gains. This again explains the *increasing* importance of Feldmoching-Hasenberg as a ward of Turkish over-representation in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

6.4.5 Movement between wards

The analysis so far suggests that Turkish immigrants are over-represented in a limited number of wards and, in general, display a tendency to decentralise away from inner-city areas. This analysis has so far left on one side movement between different wards, which

Figure 6.11: First order nodal flows, 'all foreigners' 1975

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)

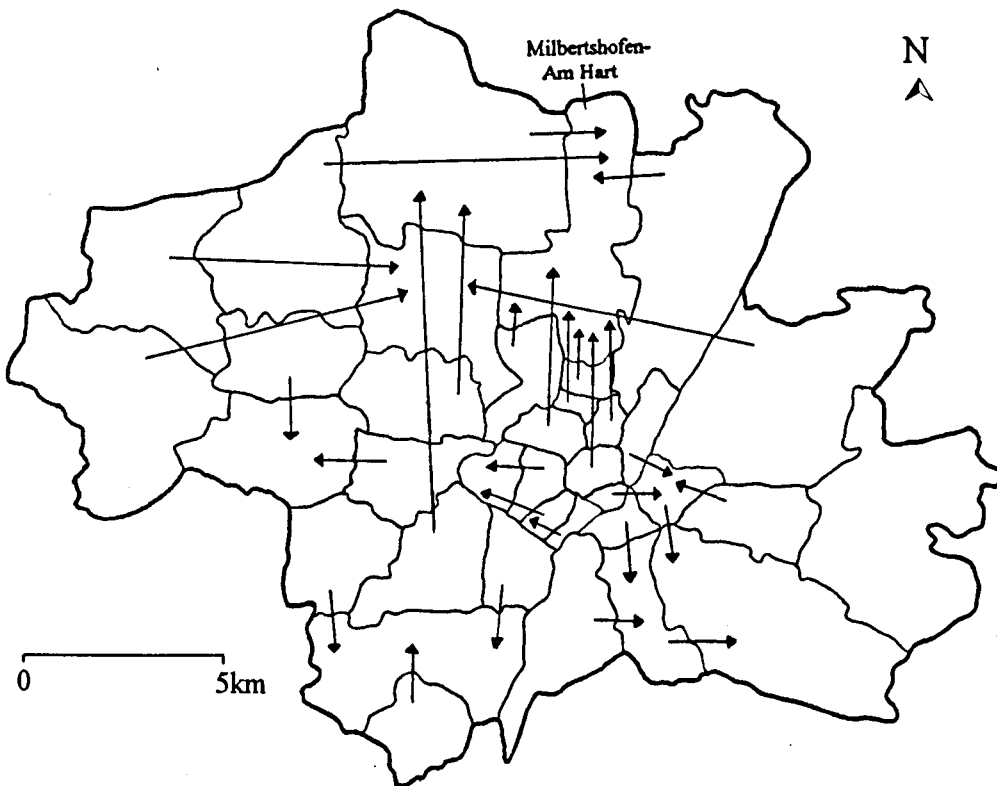
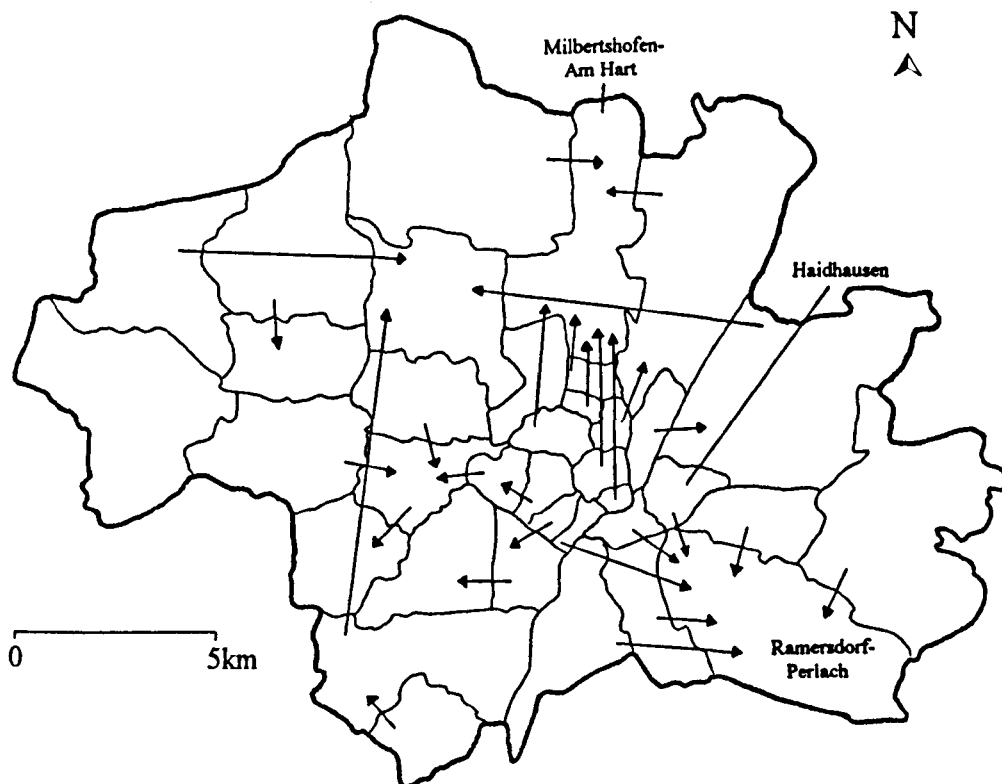


Figure 6.12: First order nodal flows, Germans 1975

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



is the subject of this section. Unfortunately, data are only gathered for the 'foreigner' population as a whole, and separate data for Turks are not available (see Chapter 4).

Rather than analysing and mapping all flows between all wards, the analysis concentrates exclusively on 'first-order nodal flows' (Bell 1980; White 1984). Wards are thereby ranked according to their total of intra-urban migrants received. The outmoves from each ward are then examined, and the largest flow is labelled a 'first-order-flow', as long as it leads to another ward that ranks higher in the list of destinations. Thereby, important destinations ('migration nodes') can be easily identified.

First-order flows for foreigners in 1975, at around which period significant movement out of the *Wohnheime* occurred, show some distinct spatial patterns (Figure 6.11). The first is the significance of Milbertshofen-Am Hart, an area of foreigner over-representation throughout the 1980s, as the major destination for moves within the city. Both the large absolute number of dwellings there, as well as its location close to the main employer (BMW) are likely to be significant here. This may suggest that the area entered into people's awareness-space through working there (Brown and Moore 1970), making it a likely destination for a move. Additionally, factors such as the provision of employer-provided housing in the ward could have played an important role. This multiplicity of factors is given support by the second feature, which is formed by the predominance of shorter moves to adjacent wards, both industrial and non-industrial, in the southern part of the city.

The predominance of short first-order flows to adjacent wards in the south, and the tendency for longer moves, mainly to Milbertshofen-Am Hart, in the north, divided the city into two fairly discrete 'mobility-sectors' with little exchange between them for nodal flows (cf. Gans 1984). This is similar to the pattern of German first-order flows which, in general, are comparable with respect to processes of movement away from the centre and the importance of Milbertshofen-Am Hart (Figure 6.12). However, in the south, Ramersdorf-Perlach plays a much greater role as a destination for German moves, whereas Haidhausen has no significance whatsoever. From the evidence of the two patterns, there doesn't seem to exist a strong tendency for foreigners to move shorter distances than Germans (cf. Section 6.4.3).

This pattern of movement of foreigners in 1975 suggests that there existed a certain spatial bias in migration processes, albeit not in wedge-shaped patterns (Adams

Figure 6.13: First order nodal flows, 'all foreigners' 1985.

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)

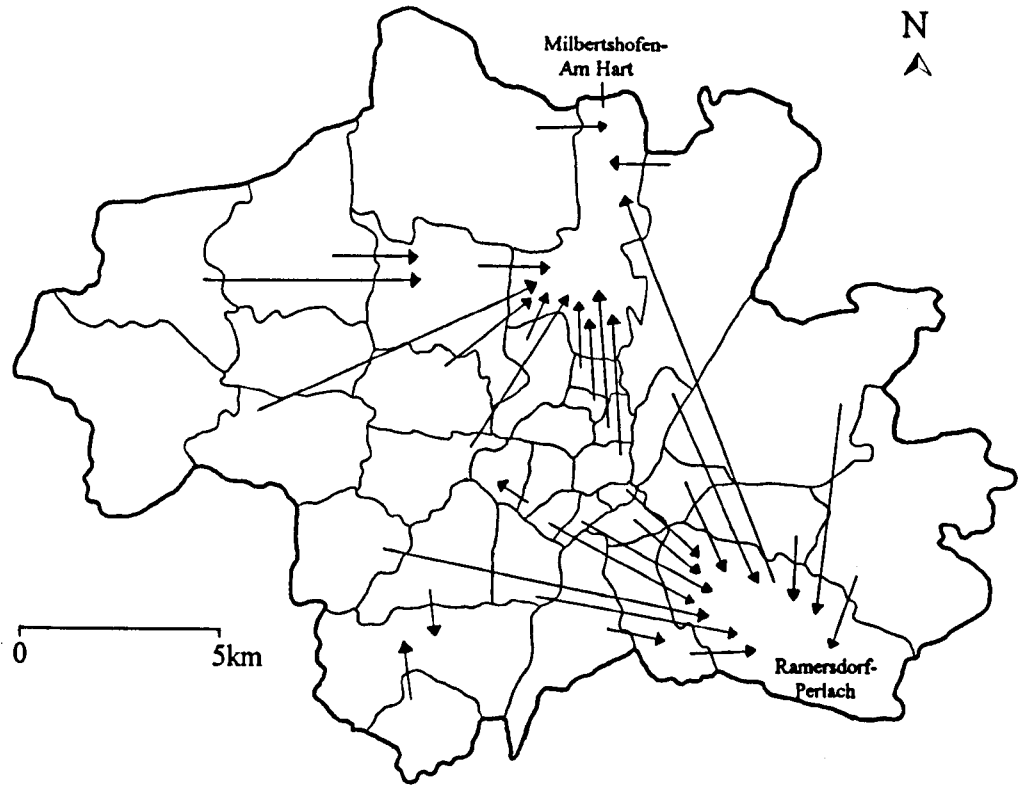
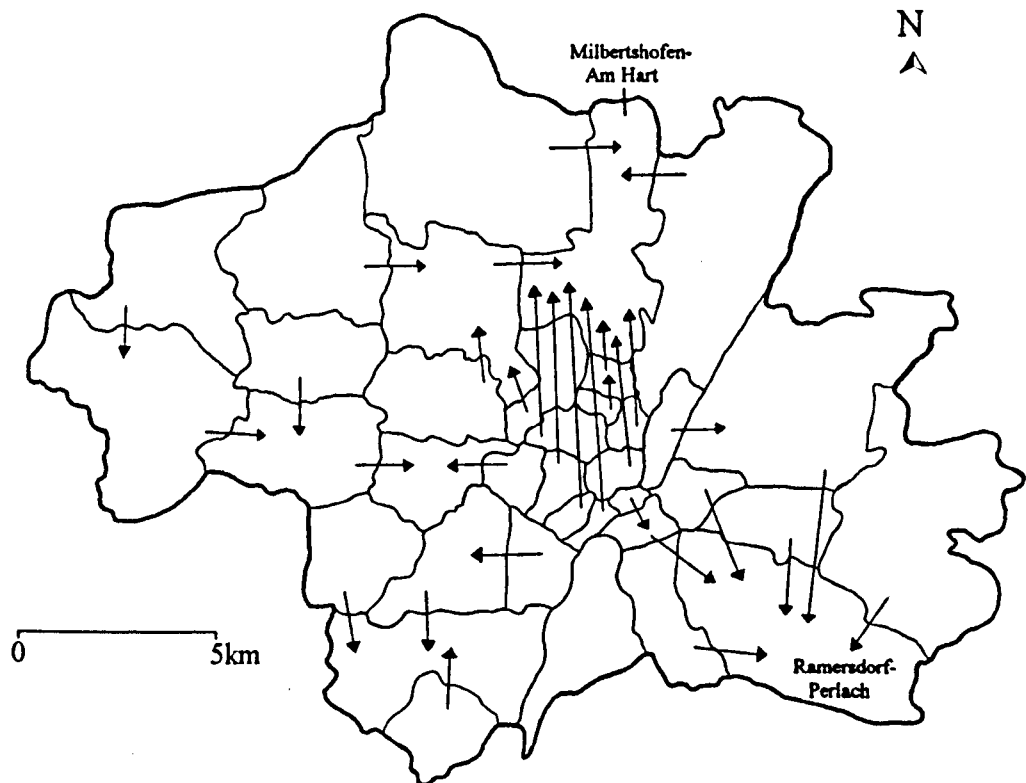


Figure 6.14: First order nodal flows, Germans 1985.

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



1969). In general, there clearly exists a tendency to decentralise, with the majority of flows pointing away from the centre (cf. White, P. 1984 for Vienna and Rome). This is more pronounced in the northern half than in the south, as it also is for Germans. While first-order flows represent only part of all moves within the city, the general outward trend again contradicts a number of studies observing increasing centralisation of foreigners in other German cities (e.g. O'Loughlin and Glebe 1984b).

By 1985, this pattern had changed significantly (Figure 6.13). What is particularly noticeable is the reduction in the significance of short-distance moves, and even stronger evidence for processes of decentralisation, outlined in section 6.4.4 for the Turkish population. While the two 'mobility-sectors' still existed to some extent, each one of them now had a single, major destination, in which the vast majority of first-order flows ended. For the northern sector, this was still Milbertshofen-Am Hart, that even *gained* in significance between 1975 and 1985. This does not mean that the reasons behind its importance have necessarily remained the same. While the large housing stock, providing opportunities in the private-rented and social sectors can still be assumed to have been significant, it is possible that the concentration of private contacts in the ward now contributed more strongly to in-migration. Moreover, allocation to social housing by the *Wohnungsamt* is another factor that might have played a more important role.

The counterpart to Milbertshofen-Am Hart in the southern 'mobility-sector' was, in 1985, formed by Ramersdorf-Perlach. As mentioned before, the ward was characterised by a high volume of construction in the 1970s and a large share of social housing (see Chapter 5). If opportunities for relocation for immigrants existed, they were likely to be in this ward to a significant extent. Moreover, the large number of *Sozialwohnungen* there means that the increasing allocation to social housing of foreigners in general, and Turks in particular (Table 6.3), can be assumed to have been a major contributing factor to its importance as a destination for first-order flows (see Section 6.6). The importance of Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach is reflected by the fact that together they featured as destinations for 24 out of 31 first-order flows.

A brief comparison with the first-order flows of the German population (Figure 6.14) indicates that, while both Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach were important destinations, there was generally a greater tendency towards short-distance moves to adjacent wards than was the case for foreigners. The argument in the literature that foreigners in German cities move shorter distances than Germans (O'Loughlin and

Figure 6.15: First order nodal flows, 'all foreigners' 1991.

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)

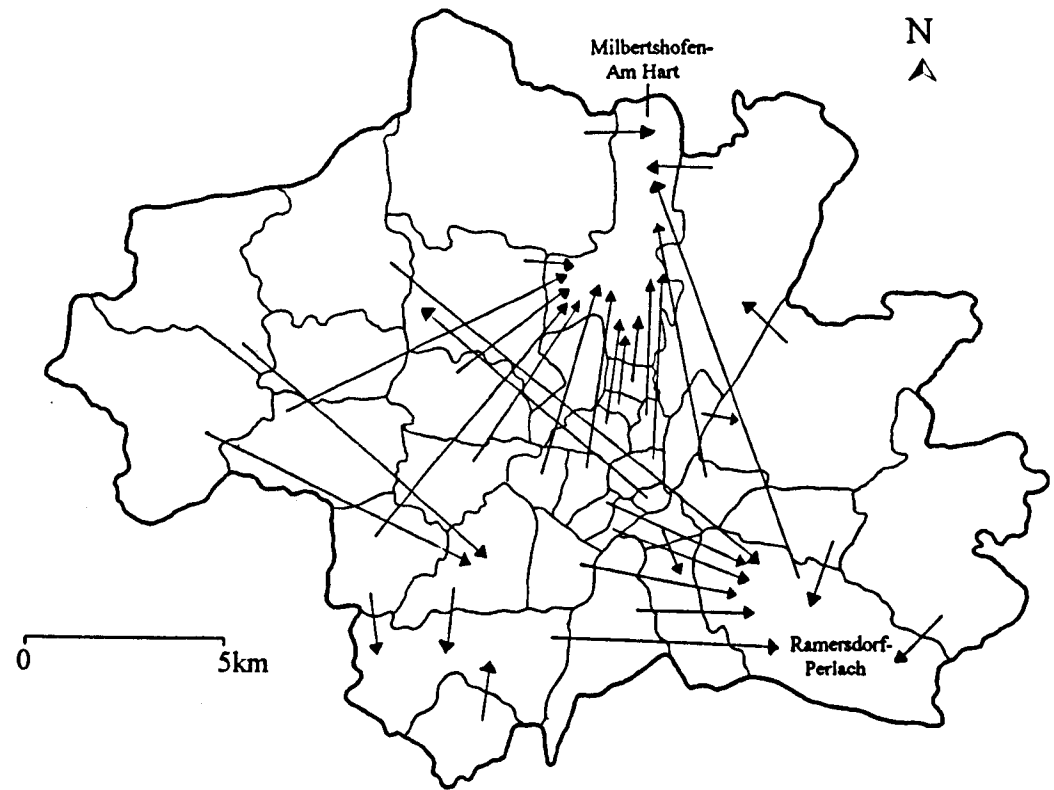
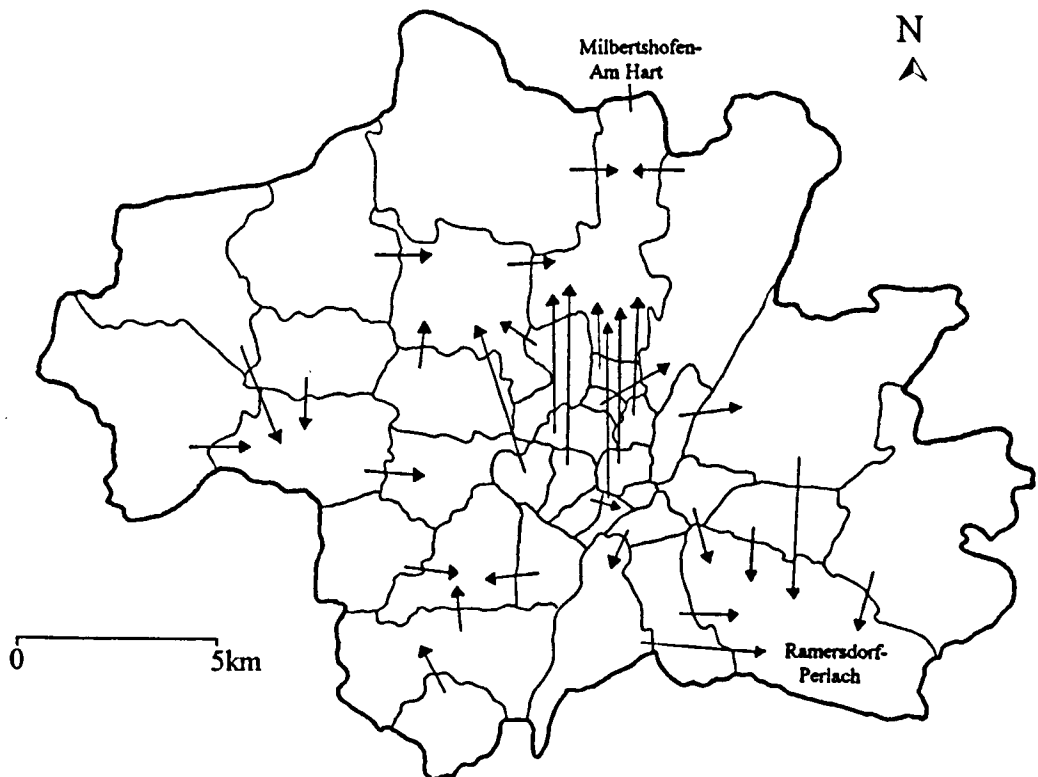


Figure 6.16: First order nodal flows, Germans 1991.

(Data Source: Statistisches Amt der Stadt München)



Glebe 1984b), already questioned in section 6.4.3, therefore doesn't seem to hold up for foreigners in Munich on the basis of first-order flows.

The changing emphasis towards longer-distance first-order flows of foreigners became, if anything, even stronger in 1991 (Figure 6.15). Moreover, there was also a clear breakdown of the two mobility sectors. Nevertheless, both Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach remained the most important destinations for first-order flows, with both wards now drawing their incoming first-order flows from further afield. Ramersdorf-Perlach, however, seemed to lose slightly in significance, receiving 8 as compared to 12 of these flows in 1985. In addition to these similarities with the earlier period, the tendency to decentralise continued, and was even more strongly pronounced. A number of explanations are possible for these patterns. The first refers again to the significance of personal contacts, that are generally argued to be important for non-German groups (see Chapter 2 and Section 6.5). Thereby, the earlier clustering of foreigners in Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach led to a concentration of contacts there, leading to more movement to these districts. The second is a generally increased awareness-space, as knowledge about housing opportunities increases with increasing length of stay. These housing opportunities are, however, concentrated in a limited number of wards. The third is, once again, the allocation of social housing by the *Wohnungsamt*, that would lead to a larger number of long-distance moves. At this point, the causes can only be hypothesised about, and some of them will be examined further in later sections and chapters dealing with the Turkish population.

Comparison suggests that the German population tended to move shorter distances in 1991 with respect to first-order flows (Figure 6.16). While the main destinations for the Germans were Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach, too, these wards were less important than for the 'foreign' population. This stronger clustering of moves for immigrant minorities points to more limited opportunities in the housing market and the possibility of a stronger reliance on personal contacts (Glebe and Waldorf 1987), as well as possible selective allocation by the *Wohnungsamt*. However, both these explanations are, at this stage, mainly hypotheses. It is also important to remind ourselves here that this analysis is based on nodal flows only.

6.4.6 Summary

From the analysis of aggregate data, a number of interesting and distinctive patterns and processes of location and migration of Turks and all foreigners in Munich have emerged.

Between 1980 and 1990, a number of wards continued to exhibit over-representations of Munich's Turkish population. These were wards in central areas, characterised by a relatively old, private-rented housing stock, as well as some wards functioning also as industrial locations, most importantly Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Allach-Untermenzing. Moreover, Ramersdorf-Perlach, characterised by a large volume of new constructions in the 1970s and 1980s, has been shown to retain and even increase its importance for Munich's Turks.

With the exception of Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Ramersdorf-Perlach, however, these 'traditional' areas of Turkish over-representation have been shown to lose in significance during the 1980s, which was reflected in their net population losses through intra-urban moves. On the other hand, a shift from shorter-distance moves in the 1970s to more long-distance moves in the 1980s and 1990s (albeit for foreigners as a whole), and net-migration gains of Turks, pointed to the increasing importance of selected suburban wards, characterised by a large share of social housing and considerable construction activity in the 1970s and 1980s. This increasing decentralisation and residential diversification of the Turks was reflected in their falling levels of residential segregation, which declined throughout the 1980s.

These patterns and processes were, tentatively, related to the changing demographic and familial composition of Munich's Turkish population, their changing residential needs and the consequent change in their distribution over different housing sectors. Since these housing sectors have a fairly distinct geography to them, as outlined in chapter 5, Turkish movement through the housing market almost inevitably led to particular patterns of movement through space. It has been suggested, however, that the *selective* nature of this movement and the changing distribution (concentrated on a *limited* number of wards), was also a direct result of the (in)accessibility of housing for Turks in some areas, rather than simply the spatial distribution of housing sectors.

These findings have emerged from an analysis of aggregate data and, inevitably, a number of questions have been left open. While it is impossible to answer all of them in

this study, moving from the aggregate to the cohort and from the cross-sectional to the longitudinal can shed some further light on these patterns and processes.

6.5 From aggregate pattern to cohort analysis (I): Movement through the housing market

6.5.1 Introduction

While the previous sections have focused on aggregate patterns and processes based on official statistics, the analysis was only quasi-longitudinal. The second part of this chapter now moves from cross-sectional to longitudinal data, outlining residential processes for a sample of 72 respondents. The focus is thereby exclusively on *Turkish immigrants*. While not being ‘representative’ for the entire Turkish population in Munich, analysing intra-urban mobility in this way nevertheless sheds light on some of the features not considered in, or left unexplained by, aggregate analyses and academic studies. Thereby, geographical movement and movement through the housing market, as well as their interconnectedness, are examined. The section starts, however, by briefly profiling the sample of respondents.

6.5.2 The respondents: demographic and occupational characteristics

Given that the aim of this thesis is to examine residential *histories*, the selection of questionnaires analysed for this section was narrowed down considerably (see Chapter 4). As it emerged, the date of immigration thereby had to be prior to the end of 1978. This date was arrived at inductively, since the vast majority of respondents arriving later had experienced very little, or no movement through the housing market. However, this cut-off date is not random and is clearly related to developments such as the recruitment stop, the impact of recessionary conditions on arrival and the completion of a significant part of the process of family-reunification¹⁶. As a consequence of these developments, none of the respondents in the *entire* questionnaire survey arrived between 1979 and 1986. However, including respondents who arrived after 1987 would have distorted the overall concern, namely the focus on residential histories, as well as representing a different

¹⁶ While family-reunification is still on-going, it is usually regarded as having dramatically declined in significance from 1979 onwards.

cohort, who arrived under very different conditions. As a result of this selection, the cohort considered here are immigrants who arrived between 1964 and 1978. Not surprisingly, this has led to the predominance of particular characteristics in the sample.

Firstly, the cohort is skewed towards males (61%), with only thirty-nine percent of respondents being female. However, the timing of immigration for males and females was remarkably similar, with a very similar distribution for both sexes arriving in the period between 1964 and 1969, and 1970 and 1974. Only in the group arriving after 1974 do women predominate, but this group is very small (7 respondents in total). In general, the most important period of immigration for the entire cohort was between 1970 and 1974 (over 65%). In contrast, just under 10% arrived after 1974, and the remaining 25% before 1970.

Secondly, the immediate reason for coming to Germany (or 'in-order-to-motive', see Chapter 3) given in the questionnaires was overwhelmingly related to 'work', with only 15% of the cohort migrating in order to join their partners. Not surprisingly, non work-related immigration was more important for women than for men, but the absolute number of those coming in order to join their partners was small (11). Migration after 1974 was exclusively family-related.

Thirdly, more than 8 out of 10 of the respondents are currently married, with 90% of those married presently living with their partners in Germany. A minority of men in particular still have their families in Turkey. On the other hand, women are more likely to be single or divorced than men. While more than 90% of respondents have children, 40 % of them now live in households without their children. A minority of children still live in Turkey (and have always done so), others have moved into their own flats.

Fourthly, the age structure of the cohort is dominated by people born between 1940 and 1949 (more than 50%), with the majority of the remainder born between 1930 and 1939, or 1950 and 1955 respectively.

A fifth point is related to the respondents' current place of residence. The use of various organisations for the recruitment of respondents (see Chapter 4) inevitably led to some spatial bias in their current residential location. As a result, just over 50% of the people now live in the three wards of Milbertshofen-Am Hart, Feldmoching-Hasenbergl and Ramersdorf-Perlach. While this figure may seem fairly large, these locations have general over-representations of Turkish immigrants in their residential population (see

Figure 6.6), and currently 33% of Munich's Turkish population live in these wards. Moreover, these *Stadtbezirke* have been shown to be important destinations of moves, as well as net gainers of residential mobility, in the previous sections. Altogether, respondents were drawn from 17 different wards, but this concentration on some wards means that processes such as movement to Aubing cannot be examined here.

Finally, just under 23% of the sample are currently not in employment. Just under 8% of the sample are unemployed, 7% are housewives and a further 8% retired. The largest proportion of those in employment work in manual jobs. For women in particular, a significant share work in non-manual jobs, such as clerical work.

While the cohort sample may therefore not be representative in all demographic and occupational characteristics for the total Turkish population, they represent a useful population for examining in more detail a number of processes for those immigrants who arrived in Munich between 1964 and 1978, in this case for primary immigrants and their partners, and thereby also provide the context for chapters 7, 8 and 11 in particular.

While the interview-respondents could have been included in the analysis, this was not done for two main reasons. Although I tried to avoid overlap between the interviews and the questionnaire survey, at least three respondents, and possibly more, have both filled in a questionnaire and were interviewed later. In order to avoid double-counting, this strategy was therefore excluded. The second reason was related to space, with the interview-respondents being drawn from a slightly narrower range of sources and wards (see Chapter 4).

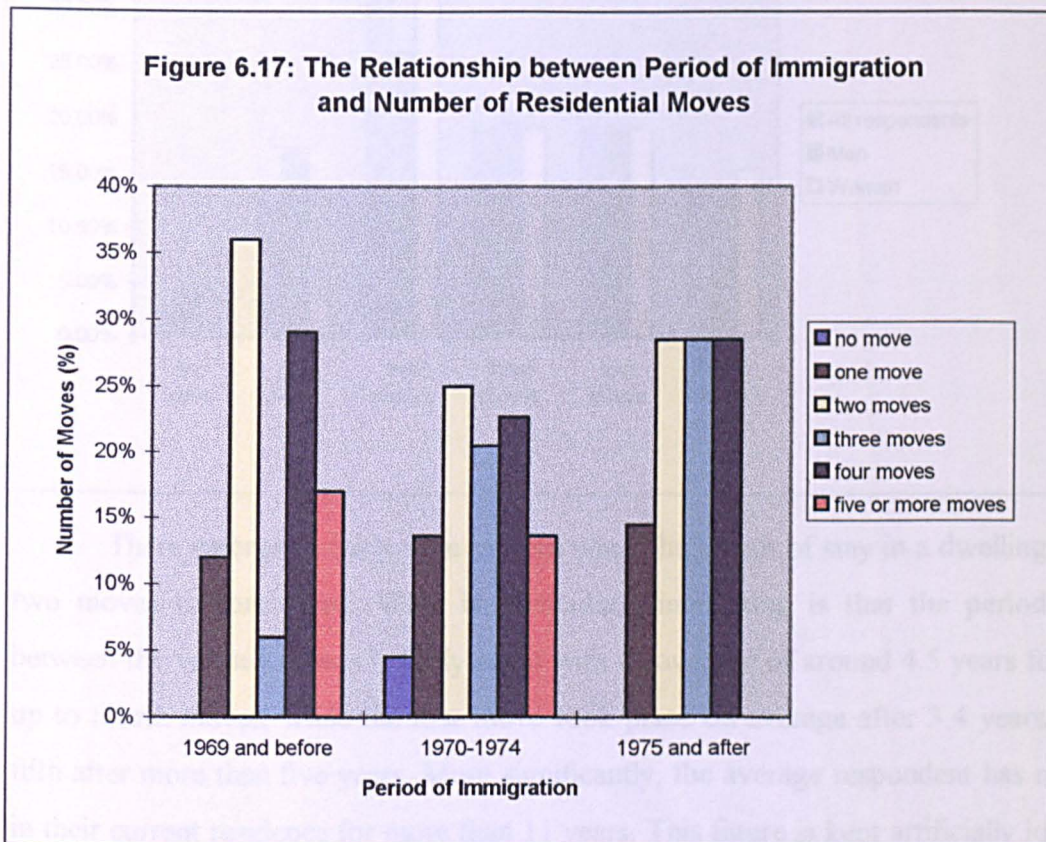
6.5.3 Mobility and the changing significance of housing sectors

As I have argued earlier in the chapter, the changing distribution of Turkish immigrants over the various housing sectors, as well as their changing locational patterns, have been achieved primarily through intra-urban migration.

On average, the respondents in the sample have made just under three residential moves within Munich (215 moves for the sample), so that the average respondent has so far lived in four dwellings within the city. Given the length of the period of time under consideration, covering more than 30 years, this figure does not appear to be excessively high. However, within it there has been a significant degree of variation, with the minimum and maximum number of moves standing at zero and eight respectively, with the

mode being two moves, and with more than 70% of the respondents having made between two and four moves.

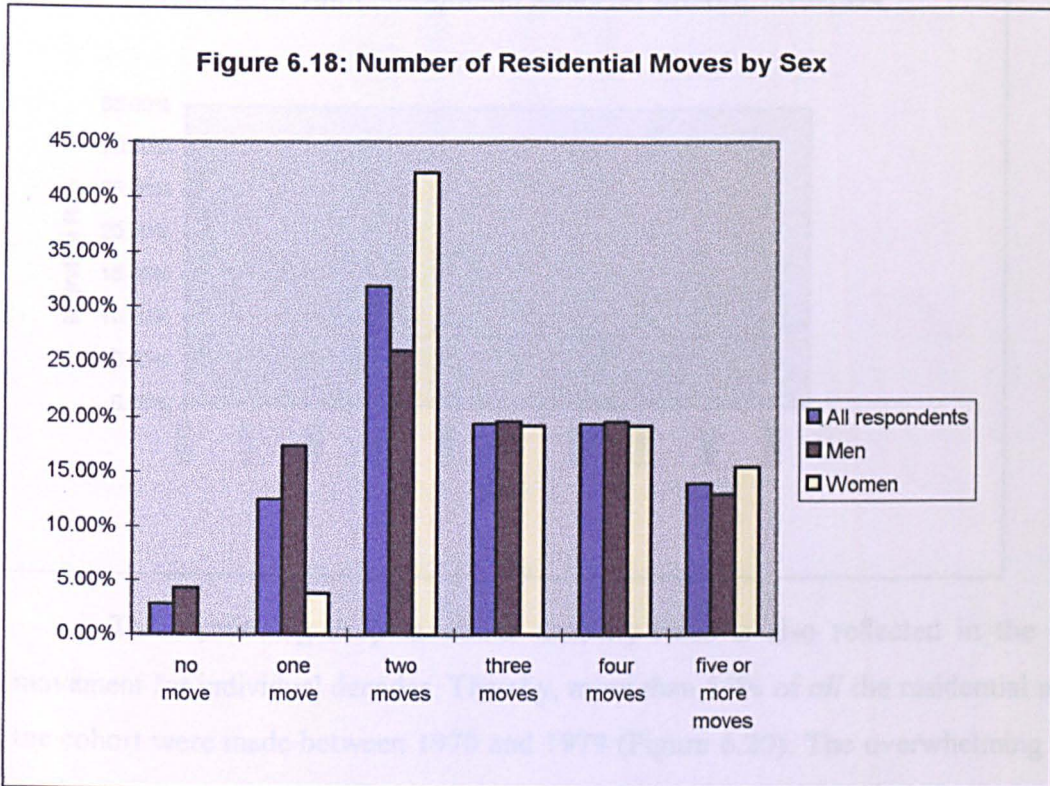
It could be expected that the number of moves a person makes is closely connected to the date of immigration, with a positive relationship between length of stay and mobility. As Figure 6.17 shows this relationship is far from straightforward. While those who arrived before 1969 were most likely to have made five or more moves by 1994, they were also most likely to have moved only twice since their arrival, and were only marginally less likely than later arrivals to have made one move. Moreover, those arriving after 1974 were more likely to have made three or four residential moves, but less likely to have made five or more. There is thus only very weak evidence for the connection between period of arrival and numbers of moves, and the findings indicate that factors other than period of immigration contribute to controlling the rate of movement.



Migration theory, building on Ravenstein's laws of mobility (Grigg 1977), traditionally suggests that women are more mobile than men. This is given some support by the cohort examined here, with women being under-represented in the categories of one move or less, but strongly over-represented in the category of two moves, and more women than men having made five or more moves (Figure 6.18). Higher divorce rates and subsequent residential problems could be one explanation for this pattern (see Chapter 8).

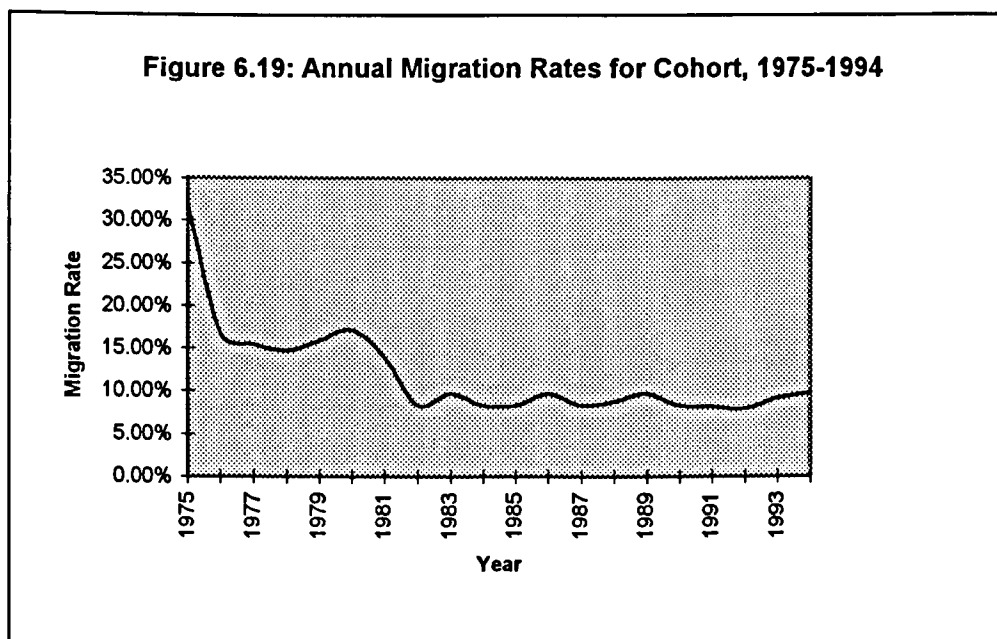
This is given some support by the sample here, with married women having made 2.9 moves on average, and the corresponding figure for divorced women standing at 4.0. However, it has to be acknowledged that only 5 of the female respondents are divorced.

Having briefly outlined the average number of moves made, as well as their relation to the respondents' sex and date of immigration, the next step now consists of looking more closely at the cohort's movement patterns, before combining 'movement' and the housing market.



There emerges a fairly clear pattern when the length of stay in a dwelling between two moves is considered. What is particularly interesting is that the period of time between the various moves is fairly equal with an average of around 4.5 years for second up to fourth moves, while the first move took place on average after 3.4 years, and the fifth after more than five years. More significantly, the average respondent has now lived in their current residence for more than 11 years. This figure is kept artificially low by the recent nature of movement into social housing (see Figure 6.21), where the average current length of stay is only seven and a half years. This suggests that mobility levels decline with increasing length of stay, pointing to what I have called earlier a process of 'residential stabilisation'. This observation is confirmed by the development of overall annual mobility rates of the cohort. Figure 6.19 shows that the earlier period after immigration was characterised by the highest mobility rates. Intra-urban mobility rates

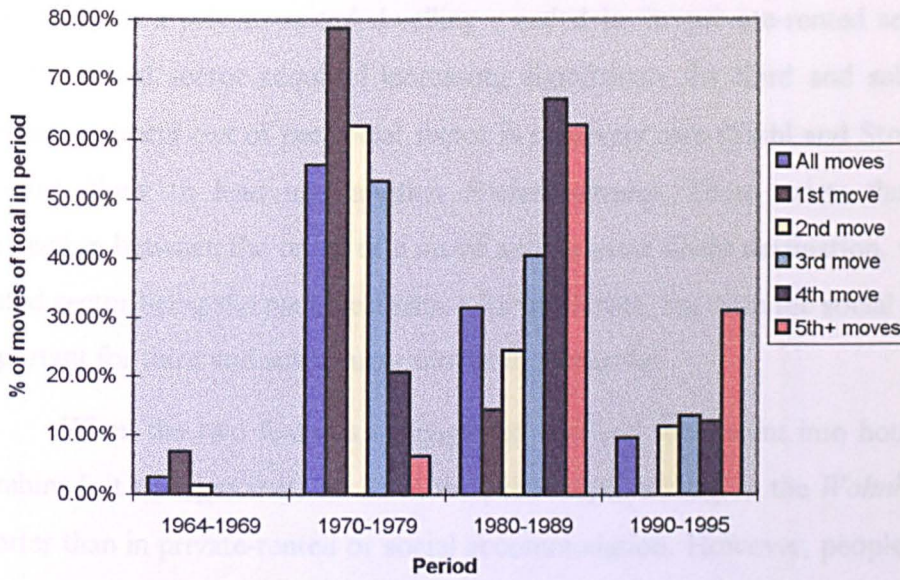
started to drop significantly from the mid-1970s onwards, with a further, sharp decline in the early 1980s. Migration rates for the sample are, however, lower than for the total Turkish population in the 1980s (Figure 6.8). Whether this is a peculiarity of the sample or a general feature of early Turkish immigrants is impossible to determine from the evidence here. However, a similar analysis for the children of primary immigrants would shed light on this question.



This continuing drop in annual mobility rates is also reflected in the share of movement for individual decades. Thereby, more than 55% of *all* the residential moves by the cohort were made between 1970 and 1979 (Figure 6.20). The overwhelming majority of first, second and third moves were also made during this period of time, with the majority of fourth, fifth and subsequent moves taking place in the 1980s.

So far, the evidence therefore suggests that mobility rates are generally high in the early period after immigration, while dropping significantly in the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the period of time in a residence before the first move was generally fairly short, and increases slightly for subsequent moves. What is particularly noticeable is that the respondents have lived in their current dwelling for fairly long periods of time. Keeping those features in mind, I now move on to consider the relationship between movement and housing sectors.

Figure 6.20: The Volume of Movement for Four Periods



In the light of the general arguments concerning immigrant housing in Germany, it is not surprising that there exists a clear pattern when the order of a move is linked to movement out of and into housing subsectors (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: The relationship between movement between housing sectors and order of moves¹⁷.

	To Wh	To Pr	To Sh	To Oo
1st move from Wh	36.8%	63.2%	-	-
2nd move from Wh	20.0%	80.0%	-	-
3rd move from Wh	16.0%	50.0%	34.0%	-
4th+ move from Wh	12.0%	38.0%	50.0%	-
1st move from Pr	9.4%	72.0%	18.6%	-
2nd move from Pr	7.0%	80.0%	11.6%	2.4%
3rd move from Pr	6.0%	70.0%	21.0%	3.0%
4th+ move from Pr	6.0%	54.0%	37.0%	3.0%

Oo=Owner-Occupation; Pr=Private-Rented; Sh=Social Housing; Wh=*Wohnheim*

Thereby, when the first place of residence was in a *Wohnheim*, almost two thirds of first moves out of the *Wohnheim* were into the private-rented sector, with the remaining one-third ending in another hostel. When the first residence was in the private-rented sector (including employer-provided non-hostel accommodation), almost three

¹⁷ Obviously, a second, third or fourth+ move taking place out of a *Wohnheim* does not necessarily mean that the respondents concerned have always lived in hostel accommodation.

quarters of all first moves also ended in this sector, with nearly 20% leading into the social sector. Eighty percent of all second moves - both when taking place out of a *Wohnheim* or a private-rented dwelling - ended in the private-rented sector. Movement into the social sector acquired increasing significance for third and subsequent moves. While movement out of the social sector is relatively rare (Stahl and Struyk 1985)¹⁸, this is most likely to lead into another *Sozialwohnung*. There exists thus a fairly clear connection between the order of a move and its most likely destination, with the private-rented sector being the main destination for all moves, but with the social sector becoming important for third and subsequent moves in particular.

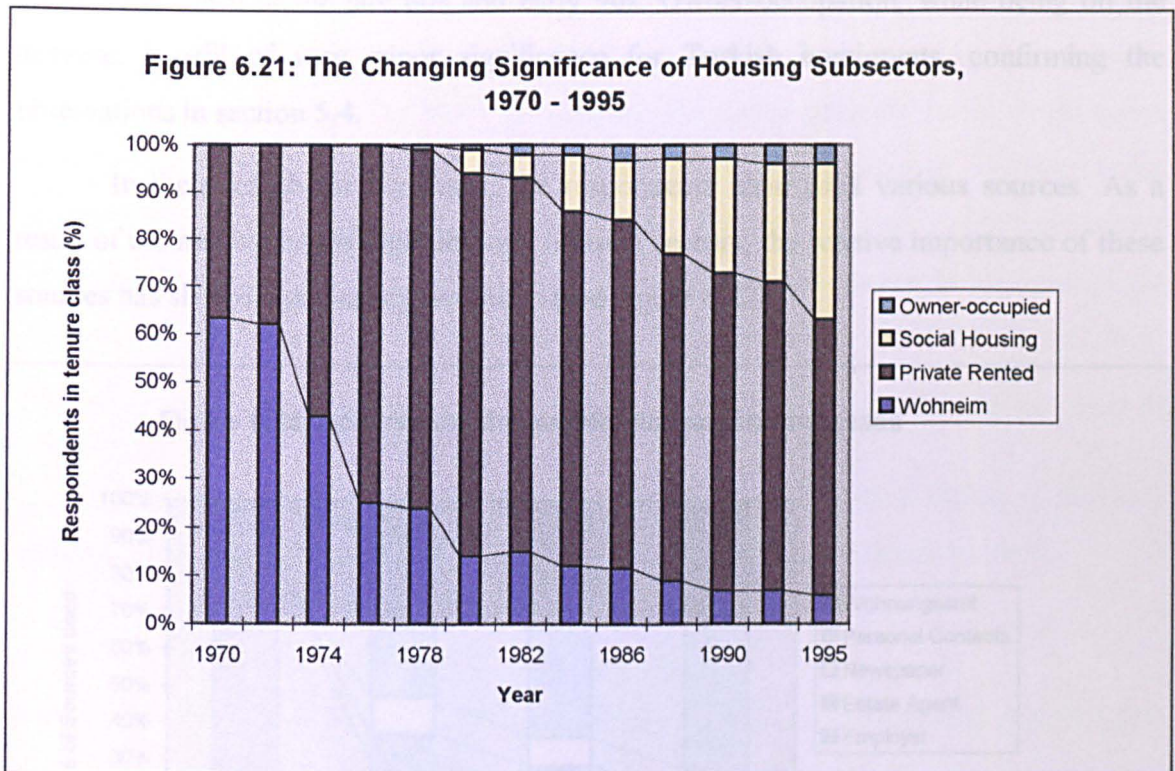
When the two features of length of stay and movement into housing sectors are combined, it emerges that, for all moves, the length of stay in the *Wohnheim* is generally shorter than in private-rented or social accommodation. However, people *currently* living in hostels (exclusively single males in the sample) have lived at their current address for more than 17 years on average, with the corresponding figures for private-rented housing, *Sozialwohnungen* and owner-occupied dwellings being 13 years, just under 8 years, and 10 years respectively. This suggests that people currently living in a *Wohnheim* are probably a residual population who are unlikely to make an intra-urban move in the near future. All those currently living in a *Wohnheim* have their families in Turkey.

Combining the features of the individual intra-urban moves with movement between housing sectors, we would expect to find a very distinct pattern of changing distributions over the different housing sectors through time. While this was hinted at and hypothesised about earlier in the chapter as well as in the established literature, little empirical evidence has so far been presented in academic studies to support this. However, as Figure 6.21 indicates, there is a very strong change over time in the significance of different housing sectors for the sample population.

In 1970, the vast majority of respondents lived in *Wohnheim*-accommodation. Given that the employer had to guarantee a dwelling for the workers recruited, this is not surprising. Additionally, many of those living in private-rented flats or houses obtained these through the help of employers (see below). Over time, and in particular from the mid-1970s onwards, the private-rented sector acquired increasing importance, particularly

¹⁸ This either lends support to P. White's (1984) argument about the inflexibility of this sector, or suggests that a higher degree of residential satisfaction is achieved in this sector. A third interpretation would be that, as a result of the generally short average length of stay there, it is yet too early to make any prediction about likely reasons. These issues are explored further in chapter 8.

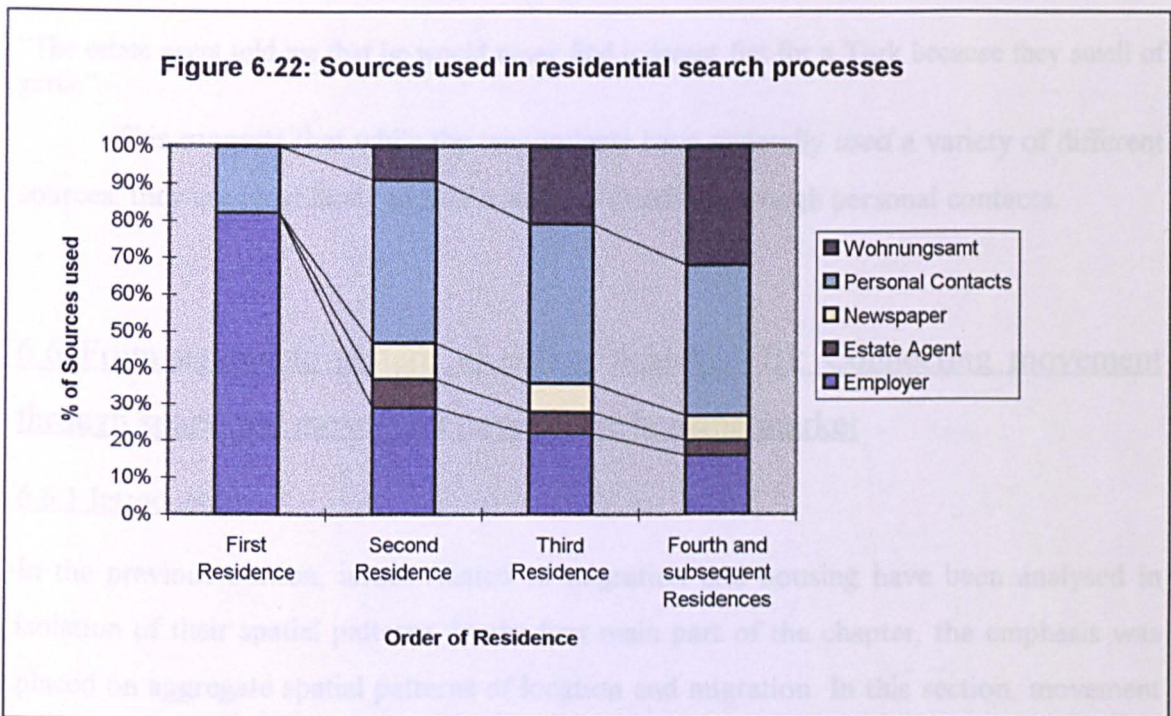
as a result of family-reunification (see Section 2.2 and Chapter 8). Since the length of stay in the *Wohnheim* was generally short, hostel accommodation started to decline rapidly in importance. As a result, by the end of the 1970s, only around 15% of the sample lived in *Wohnheime*.



This figure is possibly kept lower in the analysis here since it includes respondents who joined their partners and who were more likely to move into the private-rented sector immediately (7 out of 11 respondents, the remainder moved into a *Wohnheim*). Since the most important destination of movement has always been the private-rented sector, a fairly stable proportion of between 70 and 80% of the population have lived in this sector from 1978 onwards. This only started to decrease from the mid 1980s onwards, when the second major shift began to set in. While the proportion of people living in *Wohnheime* continued to decline, an increasing share of respondents in the cohort moved into social housing. Again, there are a number of causes behind this shift, ranging from family reunification to information flows, as well as the importance of the increasing eligibility for social housing (see Appendix 4). This change also confirms some of the hypotheses about reasons behind the shifts in locational patterns outlined in section 6.3. The increasing importance of social housing is discussed in more detail in chapter 8, where people's experiences of movement through the housing market are included. At present, the majority of respondents still live in private-rented accommodation, with more than one

third of the sample now residing in *Sozialwohnungen*. This is a higher share than the 25% of all Turks who lived in social housing at the time of the 1987 census (see Table 5.11). However, a closer look at Figure 6.20 reveals that only around 20% of the sample population had lived in public housing in 1987, so that a large share of movement into this sector took place in the late 80s and early 90s. Owner-occupation, while being on the increase, is still of very minor significance for Turkish immigrants, confirming the observations in section 5.4.

In their search for dwellings, the respondents have used various sources. As a result of the movement through different housing sectors, the relative importance of these sources has shifted significantly over time (see Figure 6.22)¹⁹.



As mentioned earlier, the nature of the recruitment process meant that employers were most significant in finding the first residence in Germany, which was primarily a place in a *Wohnheim*²⁰. For subsequent moves, the employer remained important as a source, but was increasingly replaced by personal contacts. It is here that major differences with the ‘native’ population would be expected, with newspapers and estate agents undoubtedly being the main source for non-immigrants (Gans 1984). The use of

¹⁹ This, of course, only refers to those sources which led to a move and neglects the actual variety of sources utilised, see Petri (1983).

²⁰ Those respondents who joined their partners in Germany never mentioned the ‘partner’ as the source in finding the first residence. Generally, they gave the source their partner had used, such as friends or employers.

auxiliary sources such as friends, relatives and other personal contacts suggests that immigrants would expect to have less success in the use of other sources (Petri 1983; Glebe 1990). This is explored further in chapters 8, 10 and 11. The importance of private contacts diminishes somewhat for fourth and subsequent places of residence, as the *Wohnungsamt* (which allocates all *Sozialwohnungen*) becomes increasingly important. What is slightly surprising, however, is the continuing importance of employer-involvement in the search for housing, although this takes different forms, from direct provision of housing by employers to their help in the search process. The decreasing importance of newspapers and estate agents over time suggests that earlier experiences with them had not been very successful (Petri 1983). This was indicated by some of the questionnaire-respondents. The experiences of one respondent are thereby fairly typical:

“The estate agent told me that he would never find a decent flat for a Turk because they smell of garlic”.

This suggests that while the respondents have generally *used* a variety of different sources, they are most likely to *find* a suitable dwelling through personal contacts.

6.6 From aggregate pattern to cohort analysis (II): Connecting movement through space and movement through the housing market

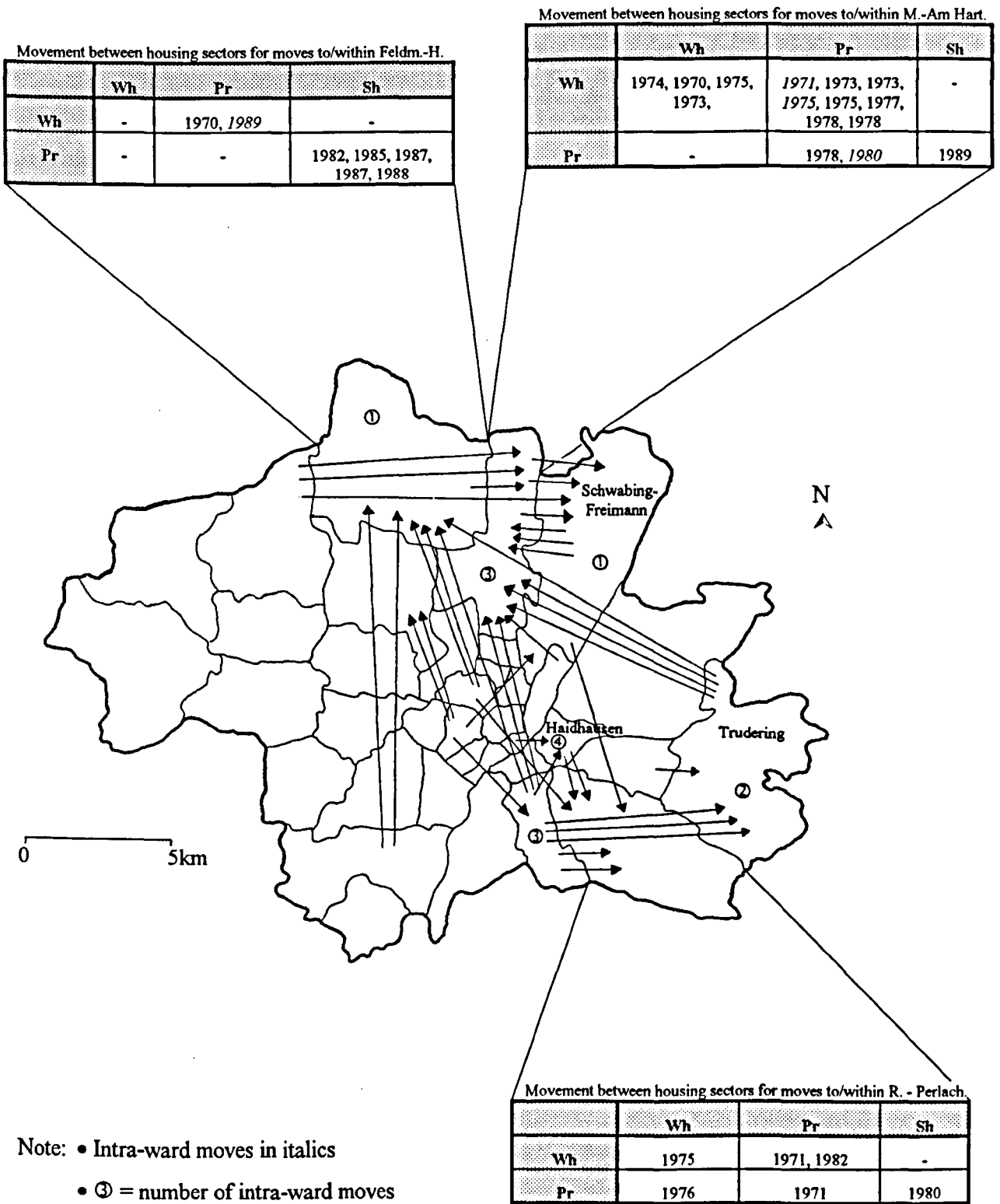
6.6.1 Introduction

In the previous section, issues related to migration and housing have been analysed in isolation of their spatial patterns. In the first main part of the chapter, the emphasis was placed on aggregate spatial patterns of location and migration. In this section, movement through space and through the housing market are therefore linked. Since the focus in the academic literature is exclusively on the temporal dimension of mobility and its geography, this section takes a different approach and, building on the material so far, focuses on the *order of moves* as well as their timing and geography, in connection with movement between housing sectors. At this point, it is important to draw attention to the relatively small sample used in the analysis, such that the findings in this section have to be interpreted with some caution. Nevertheless, they can point to some important trends and further explain some of the processes touched upon earlier.

Rather than mapping every single move, the analysis focuses only on ‘salient flows’ (O’Loughlin 1980; O’Loughlin and Glebe 1984b; Gans 1987), which I would

Figure 6.23: Salient first moves by members of the cohort

(Salient = 3 moves to or within a district)



define here as movement between any two wards (or within one ward) where the destination receives at least three (for first moves) or two (for second and subsequent moves) intra-urban movers in the sample. Thereby, between 70% and 80% of all moves are covered, and the most important destinations can be easily identified. Given the relatively small size of the sample survey, even the most important destinations only receive between four and fifteen moves.

6.6.2 Geographical movement and movement between housing sectors

In Figure 6.23, the spatial pattern of movement out of the respondents' first dwellings, and into their second places of residence, is shown. In general, movement for the sample clearly leads away from the city centre to the suburbs or, alternatively, migration takes place between wards on the fringes. Within this pattern, a limited number of wards feature as major destinations: Feldmoching-Hasenberg, Milbertshofen-Am Hart and Schwabing-Freimann in the north of the city, as well as Haidhausen, Trudering and Ramersdorf-Perlach in the south. The majority of these wards - with the exception of Trudering and Schwabing-Freimann - have been shown earlier in the chapter to display over-representations of the Turkish population from at least the early (Milbertshofen-Am Hart, Ramersdorf-Perlach, Haidhausen) or late (Feldmoching-Hasenberg) 1980s onwards (see Section 6.3). Additionally, all four *Stadtbezirke* have traditionally had fairly high absolute numbers of Turks. The three suburban wards have also been shown to be net-gainers of Turks through intra-urban migration (see Section 6.4.4), as well as receiving a large share of first-order nodal flows of the 'all foreigners' group. These features indicate that the sample indeed picks up some important *general* trends, allowing some generalisations to be made from it.

A look at the relationship between spatial movement and movement through the housing market for first moves for Milbertshofen-Am Hart, Ramersdorf-Perlach and Feldmoching-Hasenberg reveals some interesting patterns. As could have been expected from the discussion in section 6.5, first moves ended overwhelmingly in the private-rented sector, with these moves taking place primarily in the 1970s, no matter what their origin was. This is particularly clear for the case of Milbertshofen-Am Hart. On the other hand, movement into the private-rented sector plays a less important role in Feldmoching-Hasenberg, where movement into social housing - taking place in the 1980s in all three

Figure 6.24: Salient second moves by members of the cohort

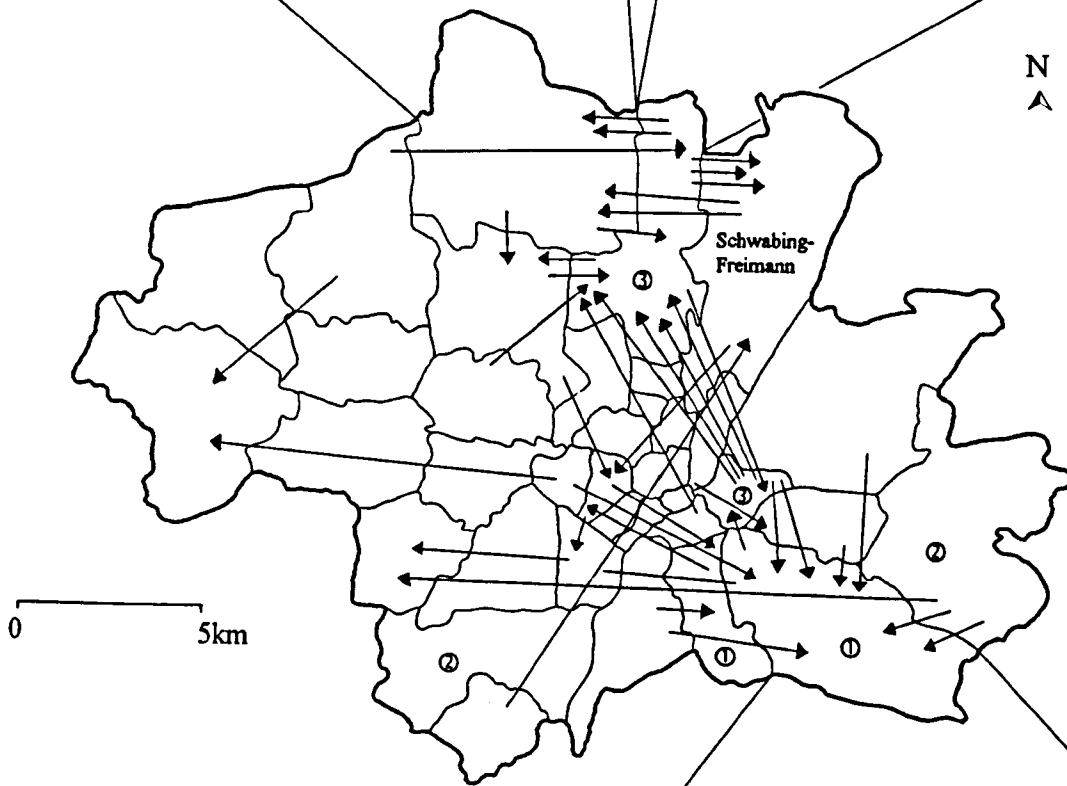
(Salient = 2 moves to or within a district)

Movement between housing sectors for moves to/within Feldmoching - H.

	Wh	Pr	Sh
Wh	-	-	-
Pr	-	1977, 1976	1992
Sh	-	-	1993

Movement between housing sectors for moves to/within M.-Am Hart

	Wh	Pr	Sh	Oo
Wh	1977	1975	-	-
Pr	-	1967, 1983, 1975, 1983, 1974, 1974, 1979	1984	1993
Sh	-	-	1983	-



Note: • Intra-ward moves in italics

• ③ = number of intra-ward moves

Movement between housing sectors for moves to/within R. - Perlach.

	Wh	Pr	Sh
Wh		1979	-
Pr	1975	1976, 1975, 1978, 1976, 1975	1979, 1983

wards for first moves - plays a much greater role. Significantly, this movement into *Sozialwohnungen* in Feldmoching-Hasenbergl takes place in the *mid to late* 1980s, which reflects its later emergence as a ward of Turkish over-representation. For first moves, movement between different *Wohnheime* also has some significance, as does movement between private-rented dwellings.

For second moves, the general pattern of decentralisation, as well as movement between different non-central wards, continues (Figure 6.24). The general importance of the three wards examined in detail above is confirmed and, given that a salient destination now only had to receive two flows, is even stronger than for first moves. Apart from the three wards on which the discussion focuses here, Schwabing-Freimann is the recipient of a significant number of second moves.

Movement between housing sectors for the three wards reflects the pattern described in Table 6.5. Movement now took place overwhelmingly out of the private-rented sector, with this sector also forming the main destination for migrants. Additionally, some movement from the private-rented sector now ended in social housing, that acquired greater significance from the mid-1980s onwards (see Figure 6.21). What is noticeable, too, is that second moves to the private-rented sector took place overwhelmingly in the 1970s. Not surprisingly, movement into the social sector was more significant in the 1980s and 1990s.

For third and subsequent moves, the spatial pattern is very similar and shows a high degree of consistency with observations made earlier in this chapter and this section (Figure 6.25). Movement is still overwhelmingly away from the centre, with Milbertshofen-Am Hart, Feldmoching-Hasenbergl and, in particular, Ramersdorf-Perlach continuing to feature as important destinations. Moreover Obergiesing, traditionally characterised by Turkish over-representation (see Section 6.3), now receives a significant number of intra-urban moves among the sample population. At this stage, it is important to point out, however, that the spatial bias in the sample acquires increasing significance for these higher-order moves. Put differently, since none of the questionnaire respondents currently lives, for example, in the Altstadt, movement into the district cannot feature in this analysis. Targeting respondents living in central wards specifically would therefore be a fruitful line of enquiry to supplement the present discussion.

Figure 6.25: Salient third and subsequent moves by members of the cohort

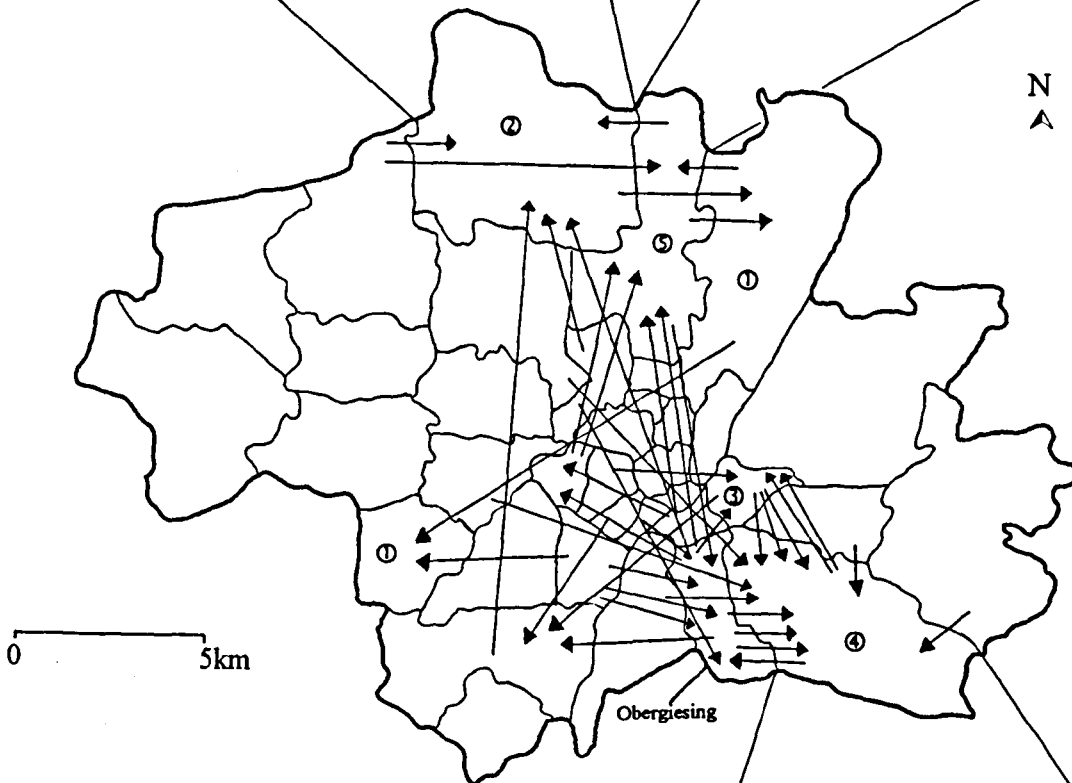
(Salient = 2 moves to or within a district)

Movement between housing sectors for moves to/within Feldmoching - Hasenberg!

	Wh	Pr	Sh
Wh	-	-	-
Pr	-	1977, 1976, 1980	1986, 1987, 1992,
Sh	-	-	1987

Movement between housing sectors for moves to/within Milb.-Am Hart

	Wh	Pr	Sh
Wh	1972	1974, 1981, 1986	-
Pr	-	1979, 1979, 1979, 1981, 1985	1982
Sh	1980	-	-



- Note: • Intra-ward moves in italics
 • ③ = number of intra-ward moves

Movement between housing sector for moves to/within Ramersdorf - Perlach.

	Wh	Pr	Sh
Wh	-	-	1982
Pr	1975	1979, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1989	1983, 1983, 1983, 1985, 1992
Sh	-	-	1986

For third and subsequent moves, movement into social housing clearly plays a more important role, explaining the shifts in the distribution of respondents over the housing sectors in Figure 6.21. Movement into social housing is particularly important in Ramersdorf-Perlach, reflecting the significance of the ward as the main location of *Sozialwohnungen* in Munich and its consequent importance for Turks in the 1980s, when they increasingly qualified for subsidised flats. Movement into social housing also remains significant in Feldmoching-Hasenberg. When this kind of movement into these two wards is compared more closely it appears that, in Feldmoching-Hasenberg, movement into *Sozialwohnungen* generally took place later than in Ramersdorf-Perlach, thereby confirming the trends observed for lower-order moves, and pointing towards an explanation of the patterns observed earlier in the chapter, when it was shown that Turks became over-represented in Feldmoching-Hasenberg in the late 1980s, with the district also gaining a significant number of Turkish residents through intra-urban migration in the early 1990s.

The importance of Ramersdorf-Perlach is further confirmed by movement into the private-rented sector there which, again, mainly took place in the early to mid-1980s. Moreover, its *continuing* importance, demonstrated also by the first-order flows for all foreigners discussed earlier, is reflected in movement into the ward in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This contrasts with Milbertshofen-Am Hart, where third and subsequent moves took place primarily in the late 1970s and early 1980s, indicating that the sample population didn't contribute significantly to first-order flows into the ward in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The low significance of movement into social housing in this *Stadtbezirk* is clearly a factor contributing towards this pattern. On the other hand, vacancies in the private-rented sector in Ramersdorf-Perlach (discussed in Chapter 5) in the early to mid-1980s, in addition to the importance of social housing, clearly provide an explanation for the continuing and increasing significance of this ward for Munich's Turkish population observed in section 6.3.

6.6.3 Summary

The sample cohort examined here displays a fairly distinct sequence of movement through the housing market, with a relative shift at first from *Wohnheim* to private-rented accommodation and, later, towards the social sector and, to a much lesser extent, owner-

occupation. However, while this relative shift towards public housing has been significant, it is the private-rented sector that has been most important for the sample cohort, thereby reflecting more general patterns for Munich's Turkish population.

In this movement through the housing market, the respondents have used a variety of sources in their search for flats, with personal contacts acquiring increasing significance for higher-order moves, pointing to the lack of success in the use of 'formal' sources such as newspapers and estate agents.

Spatial movement for the sample population reflects some of the patterns observed earlier for Munich's Turkish population and the 'all foreigners' group. These patterns involve processes of decentralisation and movement towards suburban locations and, within this pattern of decentralisation, the concentration on a limited number of wards. Ramersdorf-Perlach, Milbertshofen-Am Hart, as well as Feldmoching-HasenbergI thereby feature as important destinations for the different order moves. For the cohort examined here, there is evidence of *some* discrimination between housing sectors for the three wards, reflected also in different timing of movement. The most significant observations are thereby firstly the relative insignificance of social housing for moves to and within Milbertshofen-Am Hart, coupled with the timing of movement, which took place primarily in the 1970s and early 1980s. Secondly, movement to Ramersdorf-Perlach generally takes place slightly later, and exhibits a sequence of movement into private-rented accommodation at first and, in the mid to late 1980s in particular, increasing movement into *Sozialwohnungen*. However, for both types of movement, Ramersdorf-Perlach retained its significance throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, reflecting and explaining its status as a ward of *continuing* Turkish over-representation. Thirdly, some interesting findings have emerged concerning movement into and within Feldmoching-HasenbergI, although these have been derived from a relatively small sample. For all orders of moves, it is the generally late movement into social housing in the ward, taking place mainly in the late 1980 and early 1990s, that is noticeable. This may go some way towards explaining the later emergence of the ward as a district of Turkish over-representation.

6.7 Summary and discussion

The analysis of very different types of data in this chapter has uncovered a number of significant and distinctive patterns and processes for Munich's Turkish population. Importantly, some of these differ from observations in other cities and point to the importance of the locality in shaping them.

Over the last 15 years or so Munich's Turkish population has undergone significant processes of decentralisation, desegregation and selective suburbanisation, in particular to wards characterised by post-war *Großwohnsiedlungen*. These developments have been demonstrated by various indicators: falling segregation levels; changes in locational distributions; movement between different wards for both foreigners and Turks; and migration gains and losses in different wards. Some of the findings for the Turkish population have thereby been very distinctive and have raised questions about general assumptions about this population, which are often based on 1970 and early 1980-data. In particular, it is the relatively strong process of decentralisation for Turks that is striking in Munich, that has been a feature throughout the 1980s. Moreover, the similarity with other immigrant groups of indicators such as the share of intra-ward moves has been noticeable. These observations appear to contradict the results of other studies reviewed earlier in this thesis, and seems to point to the importance of the local context and, in particular, the local housing market.

These patterns and processes have been linked to Turkish movement through the housing market, where it has been shown that primary immigrants and their partners have undergone a very distinct sequence of movement through housing sectors. In particular, the evidence here seems to point to the importance of social housing for spatial patterns and processes of Turkish immigrants in the last decade or so. Since it has been shown that Turks are more strongly over-represented in social housing than other immigrant groups and that their share in this sector has increased considerably during the 1980s, social housing does indeed now seem to play a significant role in the residential patterns of Turks in Munich. Moreover, for the group of primary immigrants examined here, movement into social housing has clearly been shown to have occurred more recently than movement into and within the private-rented sector.

On the basis of this particular cohort, the selectivity of the processes of suburbanisation has been further demonstrated, with a few wards exhibiting a strong

importance as destinations for Turkish movement. From the evidence of this selectivity, it appears that the operation of the housing market plays a very important role in determining the precise residential locations for Turks, as well as their migration patterns and so on. However, another explanation would clearly be that moves to *particular* areas in the city are a matter of choice and are, for example, related to the desire for clustering, resulting from a strong in-group orientation. This would be one explanation for the frequent use in personal contacts in finding a residence shown here.

While we have arrived at fairly distinct patterns of location, movement through space and movement through the housing market, the analysis needs to go further to *explain* the observed patterns and processes. This is one of the central aims of the next part, where people's experiences are examined.

Part 3

Experiences

In the previous part, various patterns and processes concerning residential issues have been examined for Munich's Turkish population. This approach has shed light on the relationship between people's location in and movement through space, and its connection to the changing significance of housing sectors. However, the analysis has so far left on one side individuals' experiences of this movement through the housing market, and the way in which this is integrated into the totality of their lives since coming to Germany. Thus, while movement through space has been connected to movement through the housing market, there are still gaps in the explanation of *why* this has taken its *particular* shape. It is some of these remaining gaps that this part aims to fill.

In order to achieve this, it is at first necessary to take a step back from residential issues and focus on the evolving structure of people's lives since their arrival in Germany. In chapter 7, the focus is thereby on primary immigrants and their partners, already considered in some detail in chapter 6. In chapter 9, the same approach is taken for the case of secondary immigrants (who have so far not been considered explicitly), which here refers to children of primary immigrants who were born in Turkey but followed their parents to Germany, and who have subsequently set up their own households (see Chapter 4). This discussion is set within the background of the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 3. In chapters 8 (for primary immigrants) and 10 (for secondary immigrants), links are made to residential issues and, by taking this wider perspective, it is shown how residence is located in and integrated into this 'totality' of people's lives.

Since the discussion in chapters 7 to 10 leaves on one side movement through space, chapter 11 will outline the way in which the patterns and processes examined in chapters 5 to 10 combine to form individual residential histories in which movement through space and through the housing market are dealt with together. This is done with the help of two case studies, focusing on one primary immigrant family and one secondary immigrant family respectively. This also provides the context for evaluating an explicitly biographical approach to residential mobility in some detail.

Chapter 7

From Recruitment to Retirement: The Lives of Primary Immigrants and their Partners

7.1 Introduction

In most existing academic studies, residential issues are considered in virtual isolation from the 'rest' of immigrants' lives, rather than seeing 'residence' as firmly integrated in these lives. However, in order to arrive at a more comprehensive explanation of residential issues in general, and residential histories in particular, and thereby further explain the patterns and processes examined in chapter 6, it is necessary to take a broader perspective and take a momentary step back from housing issues. This chapter therefore examines the evolving lives of primary immigrants and their families since making the decision to migrate to Germany. In doing so, the chapter fulfils two main objectives and purposes: firstly, it provides insights into immigrants' lives since coming to Germany, which are important and interesting in their own right, and thereby contributes to the impressive literature dealing with various aspects of (Turkish) immigrants' lives in Germany. The approach taken here revolves explicitly around the concept of agency outlined in chapter 3. Secondly, it provides a significant part of the broader context which 'residence' is integrated into, necessary for a more comprehensive explanation of the respondents' movement through the housing market in chapter 8 - an explanation that can be fully achieved only if people's experiences are included and if the role of agents is thereby taken seriously, and made explicit.

The chapter is organised chronologically, tracing significant developments from the time of recruitment to the present. While residential issues are examined in more detail in chapter 8, the *Wohnheim*, as a result of its importance for most of the original *Gastarbeiter*, is included in this chapter.

At various stages in the discussion¹, excerpts from novels and poems by immigrants are used in order to back up the experiences of the interview respondents. The application of creative literature in this way has been suggested by a number of authors (e.g. White 1985b; Fischer and McGowan 1995) and, given that *Migrantenliteratur* (migrant literature) in Germany has often been written in an (auto)biographical framework, it is ideally suited for inclusion in the discussion here.

7.2 Agency, the decision to migrate and early plans

Migration of people from the southern European periphery to the industrialised European 'core' is usually assumed to have been caused almost exclusively by motives related to employment, or to economic factors more generally (Schiffauer 1992, p. 92, Chapter 2). However, as White and Woods (1980) have argued, very little is *really* known about the initial objectives of the migrants. While employment has certainly played an important role in the decision-making process of most migrants (see Section 6.5), reducing migration to one factor, or 'in-order-to-motive' alone (see Chapter 3), neglects the complexity of the issues involved, and sees the migrants 'isolated from their individual and socio-cultural backgrounds' (Riemann 1983, p.11; cf. Hübner 1985; Pazarkaya 1989). This, in turn, reduces the migrants to an undifferentiated whole, neglecting their individuality. In other words, it is assumed that similar life-paths are *causally* linked to similar starting positions, rather than examining in more detail the way in which people starting from different positions have been subjected to similar 'structural' conditions after migration, leading to what could be called 'variation within uniformity' of their life-paths (cf. Chapter 3), mediating but not rigidly determining the subsequent shapes their lives have taken.

The analysis here therefore starts by taking a closer look at the 'reasons' for migration in order to make sense of the way in which the respondents' lives in Germany took shape, and the way in which this shaping relates to residential issues. It has to start here, at the first intersection of the individual with a hitherto unknown, or only partially

¹ This also applies to chapters 8, 9 and 10.

known, structural context that presented itself as a range of opportunities, thereby providing a strong *sense* of agency to the people concerned.

The opportunity to migrate to Germany in order to work and earn money there should be seen from the start as having been enabling rather than causal, necessary rather than sufficient. Purely economic reasons, based on the assumption of selling one's labour power for a limited period of time and thereby being able to earn or save *more* money than would have been possible in Turkey, have indeed played a role in the migration of most respondents. This is not surprising, given that the system was defined by the exchange of (surplus) labour for money (see Chapter 2). However, in the present study only a few people gave *purely* economic reasons for their move to Germany. Those who did typically stated that:

“I came here in order to work”, (PM 1)².

and,

“... I wanted to earn more money..” (PM5),

very often giving a very well-defined goal that was specified before going to Germany:

“Originally, we only came here for 2 or 3 years, until we would be able to buy a flat in Istanbul, so that we wouldn't have to pay rent anymore”. (PF15m)

The actual constitution of causes was much more complex, however, and even the factors that could be summarised under 'economic reasons' were diverse (cf. Goss and Lindquist 1995). Thus, rather than migrating in order to save or earn *more* money (as is often assumed), one respondent described the decision to migrate as a question of life and death, indicating the (locally) difficult circumstances back in Turkey:

“I came to earn money in order to *survive*. Without work, this is impossible”. (PM 2)

In most cases, however, economic reasons were only one factor among many and were mentioned *in addition to* others, stressing the enabling rather than causal nature of employment opportunities, and thereby revealing much more about the respondents' lives in Turkey, the hopes and dreams they wanted to realise through migration and, thereby, their individuality:

² The codes refer to individual respondents and are explained in Appendix 3.

“I always wanted to get out of the country in order to see something else. I wanted to learn German, and possibly work as a teacher of German in Turkey later. And I wanted to save some money and to buy a flat in Turkey. That was the goal”. (PM16)

and:

“I had just finished my apprenticeship, and of course I also wanted to see a bit of the world and then I told myself ..., why don't you apply and become a *Gastarbeiter* and then you go to Europe and have a look around and earn a bit of money at the same time”. (MM3)

These explanations are indeed far more common than reducing the motives behind migration to economic factors alone, especially when the respondents were encouraged in the interviews to reflect more on leaving Turkey. The overwhelming majority thereby gave multiple reasons for migration, of which motives to do with employment were only one, albeit important, factor.

This multiplicity of reasons becomes clearer still when the migration of women is considered, and from the interviews it emerges very clearly that *purely* economic reasoning (however rare) seems to be a *predominantly* male feature. When the women (those who were *primary* migrants) talked about their motives behind migration the narratives usually took a distinctive form, immediately referring more to their lives back in Turkey and to the economic *and*, especially, non-economic opportunities of migration to Germany (cf. Rosen 1986, p. 13):

“Why did I come to Germany? I had always heard so much about the country and about *Avrupa* [Europe] and it was just a dream to travel and to see the country and to work there and that's just what I wanted to do. Work there, and see the country”. (PF13f)

That economic reasons were only one among a number of factors is given support by the fact that a surprising number of respondents stressed that they had good jobs in Turkey (cf. Evrensel 1987), and pointed out that migrating to Germany sometimes led to worse job conditions, something they obviously couldn't have been aware of before leaving Turkey:

“I had a good job in Turkey. I worked as a lab-technician for an Italian company. ... It was a really good job. It was very good, not as hard as here. I have always said, I was stupid to come here, I will never again find a job as good as the one I had in Turkey”. (PF6f)

While one of the male respondents, talking about the sense of adventure involved in migrating to Germany and thereby again indicating the multiplicity of factors, points out that:

“I was really very satisfied back there in Turkey. My salary was good, my job was good, I was a good master craftsman, a locksmith, and so there was no desperate need for me to go to Germany. It was more like, like curiosity [laughs]”. (PF12m)

For other people, predominantly although not exclusively female, the emergence of the guestworker system presented the opportunity to become active agents, too, by escaping the confines of the home, bad marriages or the expected demands of the family in the future.³ The opportunity to migrate to another country presented the chance to move from the relatively rigid order of the Turkish family, into the 'empty space' (empty in terms of an *open* future and the lack of any formal commitments other than to the employer) that was the migrants' *construction* of Germany (cf. Morokvasic 1988). Even financial commitments to the family in Turkey didn't change this, since it was still the prospect of 'active and unconstrained agency', something they seemed to be lacking in Turkey from their point of view, that was decisive:

“I wanted to get away. I wanted to see other countries. I was 25 and the whole family was still at home and my father wouldn't let us work. ... I just wanted to get away, away from home”. (PF18f)

That these considerations were not exclusive to women is illustrated further by one of the male respondents, who argues that:

“I was just happy that for the first time in my life I was able to decide independently. Because I was separated from my family, and for the first time I could make all the decisions myself. That was exciting”. (MM3).

What all these accounts show is that while selling one's labour power was an important consideration and indeed the necessary enabling condition under which international migration took place, this primarily made possible and triggered a reflection on people's lives and aspirations that had not been possible before, and made them realise that their life-paths and opportunities were fairly circumscribed (Schiffauer 1992). Moreover, it enabled the emergence of a sense of agency and a sense of being empowered through the *possibility* to act, a sense of being in active command of one's own life. Rather than merely reacting to the external stimulus of economic opportunities,

³ It was pointed out to me by Mrs. Özmenli, a social worker in Haidhausen, that for Turks, travelling was impossible before the 'guestworker'-era, because they didn't have the money, or in the case of women, didn't have control over their money. Moreover, travelling abroad was only allowed in Turkey in 1961 (Sen and Goldberg 1994). When I reported my research findings to her, she confirmed that, in her opinion, for the majority of first generation Turkish migrants who are still in Germany, economic motives were indeed only one of a number of factors. Moreover, she thinks that for women in particular, economic motives were of secondary importance.

migration to Germany was for most respondents (from their point of view), an action based on *conscious, purposeful and multi-faceted authorship* (Werlen 1993, Chapter 3), whatever the specific combination of the 'causes' was. Detailed variations in the combination of 'because-motives' clearly point to the individuality of the migrants with respect to backgrounds, goals and aspirations.

The strong sense of agency experienced by the migrants becomes clearer still when the original plans for the length and nature of stay in Germany are considered. These contain a very strong sense of belief in the control of the system by the individual, a system people entered into without much understanding of its eventual operation or underlying rationale (see Chapter 2). Consider the following description by one of the migrants, talking about the medical examination necessary for being recruited and illustrating the migrants' lack of understanding:

"... there were many people from all over Turkey and we were in small groups and were all thoroughly checked ... For us, that was really only a fun-thing, because all these young, healthy people, what should have been wrong with them? ... It was the background we weren't aware of ... We didn't even consider that they only recruited people who had to be completely fit so that they could work hard ...". (MM3)

The strong perception of individual agency was, then, a direct result of a number of factors:

firstly, the lack of information about the system, for the information itself was largely controlled by the recruiting country:

"On the streets of our town they walked around with megaphones, beating the drum for going to Germany. And we all heard, how wonderful it was there and how good the work would be there". (TW1)

This was exacerbated by the fact that first-hand information was either scarce, unreliable or both (cf. Biondi 1980a):

"I heard about the possibility of going to Germany from a friend who knew somebody in Germany and who said that it was really good there". (PM11)⁴

Secondly, as mentioned above, the possibility to migrate presented a chance of moving from the obligation, pressures and limited opportunities in Turkey, to what I have called an 'empty space' that only later became filled with concrete life and problems (see

⁴ As Schiffauer (1992) argues, information from people who had already emigrated was always unreliable since they always presented Germany in a more favourable light in order to conceal their own problems.

Section 7.3). It is instructive here to look at the work of Simmel (1978[1907]), who argues that shaking off the old pressures and difficulties always feels like a liberation, but only until it is realised that what is to come is usually never free of (different) difficulties and pressures either. Here, the main attraction was that this future was completely abstract (the migrants had never been separated from the family nor had most of them performed manual labour in factories, nor been in another country) and open, filled only with dreams and hopes. However, that future often came to assume a problematic character very soon after arriving in the new country (see Section 7.3). Individual agents clearly felt in command of the future and of the system, which is indicated by the way they speak about their early plans, in comparison to why they haven't returned:

"No, at the beginning we wanted to stay here and work for two or three years at the most, my wife even wanted to go back to Turkey after one year, but then, it has now become thirty years". (PF8m)

The early sense of authorship ('we' and 'my wife') is replaced in the explanation of why the return didn't occur by the abstract 'it'. I believe that this is not merely a linguistic feature, but indicates a change in the perception of agency from the individual's point of view. It is now again 'outside' circumstances and pressures that dominate one's life, with these outside circumstances limiting the capacity to act and, in particular, the capacity of action to make a *decisive* difference to the shape of individual biographies:

"I wanted to come here and see Germany, and work here for a couple of years in order to earn some money, and then to go back home again ... To work, see the country and then to go back. But it has been difficult, we have worked, then came the children, going to school, studying, getting married". (PF8f)

The exercising of agency with respect to return is, from the respondent's point of view (again using 'I' in the first part of the quotation), almost wiped out by demands from outside (in this case the children, in other cases the organisation of the factory-system, or financial considerations that take on a life of their own), reducing everything one can do to mere cosmetics rather than decisive agency in the sense of 'having a choice' or being able to 'make a difference' (see Chapter 3). Thus, even if it is assumed that agents always and everywhere have the 'capacity to act', this capacity is almost entirely dissolved *from the individual's point of view* in the face of evolving lives in a now very concrete *place*.

For many people, whether their 'individual authorship' was ever *actually* existent in the way they perceived it before migration, from a subjective point of view it was. For

a large number of the migrants the 'dissolution of agency' started immediately after arriving in Germany.

7.3 Coming to Germany: the dissolution of agency?

While a strong sense of being in control of one's destiny prevailed before migration took place, this soon changed for many of the migrants after they had arrived in Germany, as I have started to argue above. The difficulties of encountering a societal context different from that which respondents had been used to *and* had expected, and a feeling of losing control became evident as soon as the abstract and empty space became filled with one's own life, with concrete (and not abstract) time, with problems, loneliness and disillusion⁵. The difficulties focused primarily around four areas: language, work, the family, and residence, with these difficulties dominating the reports of this early period. This varied in length and character and usually had an end clearly defined by various events (such as family reunification or marriage). However, most respondents remember it as having been extremely difficult:

"Everything. Everything was difficult. Everywhere. I mean, at the beginning everything was difficult, the flat, the language, the people, work, and so on". (PF14m)

This obviously also had to do with the lack of information and consequently the distorted picture of what life would be like in the new country. As many people expressed it, their dreams were shattered, and the 'rules' of the system clearly dominated, while the resources people were used to falling back on (the family, friends, language) and a corresponding potential of self-actualisation were lacking:

"Everything was so different. I was so disappointed. The people were different, I was disappointed with their character, the buildings were different. I was alone and of course, the language was a major problem. I think now I can really say, I had dreamed a lot and I had dreamed too much". (PF14m)

I would argue that due to the factors mentioned in the previous section, the potential migrants didn't picture themselves in the new country *as selves* with the same

⁵ It should be kept in mind here that this refers only to the selection of respondents in the present study who, after all, are the ones who have so far stayed in Germany. The different periods may look completely different for those people who have gone back to Turkey after achieving (or failing to achieve) their original goals, and it would be interesting to do the same kind of study with both returners and non-returners, including the analysis of their housing careers.

demands and needs they had in Turkey. At that time, since the migrants were lacking the economic, social and cultural capital required to become full agents in the unknown (and sometimes hostile) society, as well as lacking the fulfilment of a number of basic psychological needs through the absence of various resources (see Chapter 3), they fell back on a number of auxiliary resources that were both accessible and manageable to some degree. Obviously, the constitution of the resource-sets drawn upon by the individual varied along the lines of ease of accessibility and the cultural and social competence of the migrants (Wallman 1984). Thus, while those migrants that could be termed 'higher-status' and those who spoke German, as well as those having family or acquaintances in Germany found the settlement easier, others felt forced to draw on resources that had the potential to cause damage to them in the future:

“It was really difficult then. I worked on weekdays, and at the weekend I bought these 2-litre-bottles of wine in shops such as 'Aldi', which I then consumed while reading Turkish books”. (PM16)

The other measure people resorted to, and a measure that they were forced to use (see below) was to limit their contacts to fellow Turks, with whom they were able to communicate and share similar experiences. While this was certainly positive at the time and made the initial process of settlement much easier through creating some feeling of belonging, the negative long-term effects were mentioned frequently:

“We were all Turks, we didn't even have to learn German, we were always amongst ourselves. That was good for us in the short term, because it felt a bit like home, but in the long run, it has of course been bad for us”. (PF18f)

This problem is also captured in the reports by Akçam (1993), when one of the key figures in his book describes the difficulties involved in learning German:

“... we were fully isolated from the Germans. We were always condemned to speak Turkish. With my friends in the bar, I spoke Turkish, of course. And at the workplace, there was no opportunity, apart from a few phrases, to learn or use German”. (p. 38)

People were clearly aware that they weren't really living and participating in German society, or in day-to-day life in Germany to the same extent as they did in Turkey. Comparisons to animals or machines were often made, which indicates that the conditions that make possible a full development and realisation of human agency were absent then and that as a result the respondent's *sense* of agency was dissolved to a significant extent:

“I only had Turkish friends at the time ... I always say, we were like a flock of sheep, like ants. We were sticking together all the time, did everything together”. (PF13f)

The limiting of the contacts was not entirely voluntary, however, and it was one of the features of the system that the segregation of workers into groups of the same nationality occurred both in the place of residence (see Section 7.4) and at the workplace. Obviously, the employers were mainly interested in the day-to-day functioning of the workers, rather than their long-term future. Moreover, native Germans encountered by the migrants at the time were often described as difficult or even arrogant, but it was admitted that this impression could have been a result of the insufficient knowledge of the language. The demands of the work entered into, and the lack of command of the language then often fed into a cycle in which daily hard work and the segregation into linguistic groups made it impossible to learn German, both at work and outside. These circumstances then sustained or emphasised a return-narrative which itself reduced the willingness to make an effort:

“But at that time I obviously didn't speak much German and therefore I had few contacts with Germans. There were only Turks I worked with at Siemens ... at the workplace, there were only Turks ... and that's why I didn't learn German ... And in the evenings I was too tired to do anything ... I was so homesick and I cried a lot. I said, no this isn't going to work, I can't take this much longer”. (TW2)

As Aras Ören (1988) in his novel *Eine verspätete Abrechnung* (A late revenge) describes the structure of the migrants' lives and its consequences:

“Then, ... they went to bed, got up at dawn and went to work. ... They lived more in the past and in the future than in the present”. (p. 184)

There existed, therefore, a strong feeling among the migrants that the picture of the new country that had been created in their minds didn't reflect reality, and that their original dreams and ambitions were not to become true. This was often exaggerated further by the lack of another resource, which some people had tried to escape from but which was nevertheless highly significant for providing a sense of ontological and emotional security, namely the family. While back in Turkey the family often seemed to limit agency from the individual's point of view (Vasaaf 1985; Schiffauer 1987, see also above), it became clear that it was nevertheless important as a source of emotional support. This very often became clear only in a new context, when a number of customary resources (of which the family is arguably the most important one) were absent:

“And the first few years here were very difficult anyway. Being alone was so hard. Being without the family was so difficult. If I had wanted to go home, I couldn't have done so ... That was obviously not easy for me”. (PF18f)

This statement illustrates the early difficulties (of being alone) even more forcefully when it is recalled that the same woman came to Germany in order to escape the confines of the family (see Section 7.2). Moreover, among many people, a feeling of guilt emerged, since very often they had left behind their children⁶:

“... it simply wasn't normal. A family must live together. But everything was simply different. Our two children were there, and my wife and I were here. This isn't normal”. (PM11),

and:

Q: “Did you find that difficult, leaving your daughter back in Turkey?”

A: “Yeah, that was really difficult, my god, it wasn't easy, I mean, especially once we had arrived here... . For the parents, the children become alienated. Really, that wasn't easy, and after two years I just couldn't take it any longer”. (PF21f)

What emerges from the interviews concerning the early years in Germany is that, in a difficult and apparently hostile context and as a result of the lack of all these crucial resources necessary for self-actualisation, the original plans (earning money and seeing another country) weren't realised and were often not thought of as being worthwhile anymore. The migrants clearly felt very much like incomplete beings, rather than agents with the capacity to act decisively and able fulfil their original ambitions, both economic and non-economic. From possessing a very strong sense of agency through the original decision they took to migrate, it was the *actual realisation* of this agency and the act of migration that at almost the same time dissolved it. Often, this seems to have become clear to the migrants when compared to their present⁷ condition, and to what it means to live in Germany now as compared to then:

“It has become much easier now, after the first period went by. We now have more strength. Earlier, we were afraid. Not really afraid, but we always waited, waited. You know. We always waited. We were so passive. And now I know my rights. I say, yes I am a Turkish woman, but I live here ... I had rights then, too, but I didn't have so much strength and self-confidence”. (PF6f)

What happened effectively to the majority of the migrants was the breakdown of the synthesis of the individual parts that constitute the self: the presence of the body in

⁶ This again illustrates the point made earlier that the migrants didn't picture themselves as selves with the same demands in the new country. While a temporal separation from the family seemed bearable when the decision to migrate was taken, it was soon realised that this was far more difficult than had been anticipated.

⁷ This refers to the time of the interviews.

the new country stood in contrast to the absence of the mind. This was still, to a greater or lesser extent, left in Turkey. This feeling of incompleteness and the resulting despair is captured in one of the poems by Gemici (1989, p. 41):

“... My hands work in Germany, but my heart is still in Turkey. In-between there are laws. I am separated from you. What remains?”

However, in order for the body to function properly, it was necessary to have at least some of those resources present that would make working in a foreign country worthwhile. This obviously contrasted with the earlier situation in which the body was in Turkey, with the mind being oriented much more towards Germany.

While the imagined *Avrupa* and *Deutschland* meant a high degree of fascination to the migrants, the Germany they experienced was different and was quickly deprived of its mystique, and could only be coped with if life there became more normal. The early place of residence thereby played a significant and ambivalent role for the respondents' sense of agency.

7.4 The ambivalent role of the *Wohnheim*

As has been shown in chapter 6, the first accommodation of primary migrants in Germany was overwhelmingly the *Wohnheim*. While this was obviously not the case for every single migrant, it played such an important role in this early period in Germany (cf. White, P. 1984, Chapter 2) that it deserves special attention at this stage. I would argue here that the *Wohnheim* functioned as a significant *process* rather than just a residential state, making settlement in Germany difficult *and* performing vital functions at the same time in a period when, as I have argued above, subjective agency was extremely constrained from the individual point of view.

The *Wohnheim* accommodation was characterised by an extremely limited physical layout⁸ that was commented upon negatively by virtually all the respondents, often being compared to animal shelters. Indeed, none of the respondents found this layout of the *Wohnheime* pleasant, a fact that is mirrored in the literature dealing with the early 'guestworker-period' (Von der Grün 1973; Dal 1979; Özakin 1982; Ören 1988).

⁸ Life in the *Wohnheim* is superbly illustrated by the descriptions and photos in Berger and Mohr (1972).

This was often closely connected to other features of the hostels which exacerbated the influence of the built environment:

“... there were 800 people in the *Wohnheim*. That was horrible. We were three or four people in one room. In bunk beds. And the caretaker was the prison officer. There was absolutely no freedom in the *Wohnheim*”. (PM2)

The lack of private space (or the absence of a 'back region', Goffman 1959) and the possibility of constant surveillance clearly resulted in a lack of intimacy and limits to agency in the sense of expressing oneself freely in the residential environment (Castles and Kosack 1973). It was mentioned by many people that they felt that this lack of intimacy and the lack of private space, i.e. the very nature of the place of residence, accentuated the feeling of being in the country for a limited period only, which of course was the 'intention' of the system:

“Everything was so difficult and provisional. We weren't really here at that time ... and the place of residence of course played a crucial role in this ... The four of us lived on 25 square metres, and the people were simply too different, they weren't all the same and, how do you say, on the same level. ... The slightest difference simply became a big problem since everything was so confined”. (TW4)

The layout of the *Wohnheim*, different people sharing one room, one bathroom and one kitchen, obviously led to problems, since people worked different shifts and had different ways of living, as well as different preferences. This situation alone, combined with segregation at the workplace and the nature of work (in the context of the absence of various resources), was probably the most decisive factor in changing the individuals' sense of agency, since it was in these settings that the nature of the system was encountered most dramatically. Moreover, since the *Wohnheim* was usually the first place of residence in the new country, the contrast to living in Turkey was emphasised further still:

"In Turkey, we had such a big flat. And here we suddenly lived like birds in their cages. It was just so different. A big flat there, and a room with three others here". (PF13f)

Life then was directly controlled and influenced by three important factors that surface strongly in the reports of the time: the demanding nature of work, the segregation at the workplace and the residential situation in the *Wohnheim*. All of these interacted with factors such as linguistic incompetence and the absence of various customary resources.

In the same way as work provided two of the crucial resources for immigrants at the time - namely money and social interaction with fellow migrants - the *Wohnheim* provided even more intensive social contacts. While the *Wohnheim* played an important role in limiting agency in the first place through segregation in an unpleasant environment, the lack of privacy and the constant comparison with life back in Turkey, it provided *at the same time* the resources necessary to deal with this situation and - in most cases - overcome these difficulties to some extent. The *Wohnheim* therefore provided both the constraint to and the possibility for becoming more fully participating agents in society. It did so firstly by giving people a sense of home (Akçam 1993), of ontological security in an unknown environment:

"I didn't want to be alone. I was very afraid at that time. The *Wohnheim* wasn't very good, but it meant a bit of security for me. Not a real substitute for home, but something similar to that". (PF18f)

Moreover, contacts with other people in the *Wohnheim*, facilitated by physical proximity, meant that together the new country and its peculiarities could be explored much more easily. Often the expertise of other people, who had come to Germany earlier and had therefore progressed further in their development of the form of competence required in the new society, could be utilised in order to acquire the social skills necessary for succeeding in what had been an unknown context:

"It [the *Wohnheim*] was a substitute for home and we were able to mutually support each other and comfort one another if necessary, äh, it was just a good *Gemeinschaftsgefühl* [sense of community]. So everything we did, we did in a group". (MM3).

Another respondent describes the *ambivalent* nature of life in the *Wohnheim* more explicitly:

"It was a small room and we were four or five foreigners together, it was very congested and unpleasant. ... But on the other hand, it was good to live there because there were other people, too. And we were together and we, at the beginning, they helped me, we did things together, like shopping, going to the authorities and so on...". (PM9)

As Akçam (1993) describes it, these positive functions were absolutely vital at the time:

"Where should I have gone to? I didn't know the paths or the streets. I knew the *Wohnheim*, the workplace and the main station. If I had gone into town alone, I would have got lost. I was dumb, didn't speak the language. Who else but my colleagues could I have turned to?" (p. 99)

The negative built environment and its difficulties mentioned above stood therefore in contrast to the positive functions of the *Wohnheim* which allowed the exercising (for example through the interaction with fellow migrants, the performance of cultural practices) and further 'development' (with regard to 'outside society') of subjective and collective agency.

I would therefore argue that the *Wohnheim*, rather than being a mere physical state or a place of residence, consisted of essentially three components. Firstly, the physical layout, that was experienced negatively by everybody and that made it difficult to experience privacy. This often led to strains in social relationships, partly through the influence of different work schedules. Moreover, the spatial situation in the *Wohnheim* (which was of course in the interest of the employers or other landlords since spatial use, surveillance and control could thereby be maximised) and the segregation by sex put an enormous strain on those people who had come with their partners or children:

"Yes, my husband lived there for 6 years and I lived for the same 6 years in the nurses' home of the hospital. It was so difficult for us, believe me". (PF8f),

and:

"It was really strange because I lived in the same city as my wife, and still we were separated". (PM20)⁹.

Secondly, what I would call an 'internal function' which refers to the way in which it provided a sense of home in a foreign country (cf. Gür 1987, p. 92) through the sharing of experiences and cultural practices with fellow immigrants who lived in physical proximity:

"We talked to each other, visited each other in our rooms. We sat there reading, or drank Turkish tea or coffee. Everything". (PM1)

This was also crucial in order to deal with the often demanding work situation, a fact that is mentioned in Dal's (1979) novel *Wenn Ali die Glocken läuten hört* (When Ali hears the peal of bells):

"After they had returned exhausted to the *Wohnheim* from work, one of them happily took to the duty of preparing tea and went to the kitchen. The others

⁹ As has been pointed out by Castles and Kosack (1973), this was a deliberate strategy by employers to exert more control on the residents of the *Wohnheime*. It led, however, to their using of various other spaces (such as hotels) to meet and live their sex-lives, indicating that 'residence' at the time encompassed different spaces for many people.

grouped themselves in the rooms. They were sitting on their bunk beds and talked to each other". (Dal 1979, p. 93)

This second component or function was that the *Wohnheim* represented a partial substitute for those resources people were accustomed to have in Turkey, and provided some of them: a high degree of ontological security and belongingness through the contact with people speaking the same language and sharing similar customs, as well as experiencing the same difficulties in the then new country. Moreover, in the same way as the train-station as a regular meeting-point at weekends, the *Wohnheim* as the place of first residence still represented a close connection to the home country:

"... I must admit, I spent most of my spare time in the *Wohnheim*. It was simply the place I knew and I was used to. After all, I felt a bit of security there and, I mean, it also was in a way the closest connection to home". (TW4)

The third component that constituted life in the *Wohnheim* was, as I have indicated above, the way in which the social relationships established there enabled people to draw on the knowledge and expertise of others and thereby prepare themselves for a more independent life in Germany:

"I didn't really know my way around too well and one or two of the girls helped me, helped me to do things at the beginning, like having my residence permit extended. And after a while, I managed alone...". (PF19f)

This 'external function' of the *Wohnheim* often made possible a higher degree of social competence and the development of the confidence to translate agency into action, or in other words, develop the *confidence in the competence to act*. Put differently, utilising the positive components of the *Wohnheim* enabled people to overcome its negative features to some extent, as well as providing the means to cope with the unknown context more generally. It is crucial to stress here that this didn't always immediately mean leaving the *Wohnheim*-accommodation for good (see Chapter 11).

In summary, the effects of living in employer accommodation for subjective agents were highly ambiguous: while constraining the integration of the migrants into German society at first through segregation, this segregation and the contacts to fellow migrants made possible the successive (re)development of a sense of agency, manifesting itself in an increased confidence and competence to act.

7.5 Deferred return and the 'flow of duration'

The majority of respondents experienced the first few years in Germany as an extremely difficult time. This resulted from the lack of a sense of agency and individual authorship, caused by the absence of resources necessary for self-actualisation, acquiring significance in an *unfamiliar and hostile context*. The *Wohnheim* played an important role in both highlighting and ameliorating this condition to some extent. But while it was possible to re-establish a stronger sense of agency through the contacts in the *Wohnheim*, this doesn't explain why the migrants, in spite of the dashed dreams and difficulties experienced, didn't return to Turkey. The answer here lies in four inter-related points, examined in more detail below: friends and contacts; the difficulty of the first few years and the comparative ease of life afterwards; the flow of duration (Schutz 1972) and related changes in identity and self-perceived agency; and the family. What is missing from the list of the four factors are 'economic issues' which were mentioned by the respondents as having been of very minor importance. This is obviously related strongly to the 'multiple motives' for migration (see Section 7.2), but it is also important to point out that most people did manage to save some money and purchase a house in Turkey - and yet they didn't return.

The difficulties of the early period in the new country and the related loss of a sense of agency from the individual point of view were frequently compared to the relative ease of life after these difficulties had been overcome (see Section 7.2). Therefore, a stronger sense of agency¹⁰ could also emerge (which was itself a factor in these changes) *as a result of* mastering these earlier problems:

Q: "When you came to Germany, did you like it immediately here?"

A: "... it took at least two years, but then we became used to it. But until then it had been a very difficult time. But then, then we felt happier and more at home and everything became easier". (PF21m)

¹⁰ While I have argued in section 7.2 that the respondents felt *more* under the control of 'outside factors' after a few years in Germany, this refers to the direct comparison with their sense of agency *before* migration. Thus, while the individual sense of agency is now stronger than it was in the early period in Germany it can, at the same time, be weaker compared to the time immediately prior to migration, because the original projected life-paths had to be adjusted and often compromised strongly. This will become clearer in section 7.6.

In order to reach this stage, however, a lot of perseverance was needed, which is often reported with some pride. This pride clearly refers to overcoming early problems *through one's own doing*:

“And in the beginning, work was hard, I got really ill in the first few weeks. I wanted to go back, but then I thought, stay here, stay here. That's what I told myself. And everybody said to me, let's give it six months, then you will surely come back. But I didn't go back after six months, and I'm still here now”. (PF18f),

What appears like individual authorship at the beginning (“... I thought, stay here...”), has to be seen in the context of the difficulty (or impossibility) of return, which often would have meant admitting defeat and weakness to friends and family in Turkey.

The question of why people stayed despite problems and adverse conditions, however, is much more difficult to answer, and it emerges that the respondents find it extremely difficult to pin down exactly *when* it was clear that they wouldn't return to Turkey in the immediate future, and what the precise reasons were. This demonstrates the importance of Schutz's (1972) concept of the flow of duration (see Chapter 3). Events (and non-events) are often simply incorporated in time and in the flow of experiences and actions:

“Now it's much easier for me here. Early on, it was really difficult. ... That's why many people returned. ... But I endured those difficulties, and it became much easier. And look, I'm still here now”. (TW1)

and:

“It has simply become our home, very slowly. I don't really know how this happened, it wasn't something sudden, it has simply evolved in time”. (PF8m),

Other respondents have experienced this ‘gradual emergence’ of Germany as home in a very similar way:

“I mean, that's not something one actively thinks about all the time. ... It's something that just happened, and there wasn't one thing that caused it. ... and I started to realise that I had settled down here and that I really felt very comfortable here”. (MM3)

and:

“You know, Munich is now my town. I came here as a young man, and I have grown old here”. (PM9)

This indicates to some extent (not completely, as will become clear in section 7.6) a ‘normalisation’ of life in Germany, the unfolding of day-to-day life more akin to what it

was like in Turkey, albeit different from what people had originally envisaged. In other words, it could be argued that a *more* complete synthesis of the individual components necessary for self-actualisation was achieved, leading to a greater sense of agency and a consequent feeling of home. As will be seen in chapter 8, residence played an integral part in this.

While the transformation of the ‘return-narrative’ and the prospect of ‘deferred return’ unfolded in time, it is clear that a number of factors have been of decisive importance for achieving this, and for finally realising that return would have to be postponed for the foreseeable future. One of these factors was increasing social contacts (which had started in the *Wohnheim*) which now often incorporated friendships with Germans:

“And slowly, slowly I got more used to living in Germany, because I then got to know more people, also Germans, and I constantly improved my German .. And, äh, I've never thought again, that I would go back to Turkey. I was simply used to it”. (TW2)

While the above respondent is more decisive than other immigrants in the recognition of the consequences of an increase in friendships with Germans and an improvement of her linguistic skills, it is clear that this has led to a different outlook on life in Germany, through what could be called a ‘normalisation of life’¹¹ there. The domination of life by work and the residential environment directly related to work (the *Wohnheim*) could be reduced and compensated for through the increasing utilisation of other resources. These were in particular language (itself providing the possibility of greater access to various other resources) and friendships and, as will be seen in chapter 8, residence. All this led to a stronger self-perceived capacity to act, and to a diminishing significance of the return-narrative. This has been directly related to a stronger perception of Germany as home, or at least *one* home (see Section 7.6):

“It has simply become our *Zuhause* (home) here very slowly”. (PF8m).

This often became clear to many people when they went to Turkey on holiday:

“It was often like this: we went to Turkey for a few weeks on holiday, and there we had a yearning for Germany And then we thought, why should we go back for good?” (PF8f)

¹¹ This might be seen here as both a normalisation compared to life back in Turkey, as well as in comparison to the lives of ‘native Germans’.

The most important factor for deferring or even giving up the idea of return to Turkey has undoubtedly been the family (cf. Mehrländer 1986b, p. 61, see also Section 7.2), and it is clearly the most important single 'cause' given in the interviews. Three factors were important here: re-unification involving the partner and the children moving to Germany, or the first marriage; the schooling of the children; and for women, the difficulties of divorce in Turkey.

The re-unification of the family was both an expression of an increase in people's sense of agency and a reason (or necessary factor) for it. It meant that the settlement process in Germany was a real prospect, although this was not necessarily acknowledged by the people concerned. However, this settlement was only worthwhile with the family being present. At the very same time, this 'resource' represented the imposition of another 'outside factor' (or constraint, when the original plans for the length of stay are considered) on people's lives (see Section 7.2). This would make it difficult to realise the potentials of agency as unconstrained as before migration, and would therefore constrain agency through making adjustments to the original plans of a temporary stay. On the other hand, it would also enable agency through providing a resource *to live in Germany* and therefore lead to the potential of increased self-actualisation and action there¹². Family reunification then, was felt to be necessary by many people, because they experienced life without the family as having been extremely difficult:

"It was very difficult for him at the beginning, he felt very lonely without his family and that's why he brought them here..." (PM10).

This, however, meant that life took a completely different shape, with 'the flow of duration' claiming a big hold on people's lives. Or in other words, a crucial 'resource' operated, at the very same time, as a serious constraint on original plans, such as staying in Germany for a limited (yet undefined) period of time only:

"Yes, I always thought I'd go back real soon. But then I got married and my husband came here, and a year later ... my older daughter was born, and then she started school, and then we said, when she finishes school, we go back ... And then my younger daughter started school, and now we're still here [laughs] ...". (PF19f)

Time, as something that is constituted by a number of (varying) factors (cf. Section 7.2), seems to have taken control over the individual with respect to their original

¹² This complexity will be shown in more detail in chapter 11 for the case of one particular family

plans. This meant the adjustment of these plans in the light of differently evolving familial structures. The family therefore often worked as both 'rule' and 'resource' (Giddens 1984), and family reunification or family formation changed the structure of people's lives and their future plans, and itself often transformed a return-narrative that undoubtedly existed for the vast majority of immigrants as part of their identities:

"Of course I wanted to go back to Turkey, you know, but look, we are now a real, solid family. If I went to Turkey, for example, next month or today and if I didn't come back, my family would stay here. Then I would be like without my arms. I want to be where my family is". (PM5)¹³

For many women, the multiplicity of factors constituting the 'flow of duration' was often dominated (in this study) by the event of divorce, that made staying in Germany the preferable option. Again, the family is important here, but now as a factor whose control has to be avoided:

"It wasn't easy for me here because I was virtually alone. ... But in Turkey I probably would have had to stay with my husband. And so it is much better for me to be here". (TW1)

and:

"I have to say, at the start [after the divorce] I thought I would take my children and go back ... but in Turkey it is much more difficult for a single woman. ... And slowly everything somehow changed. I started to feel more and more comfortable here". (TW5)

Again, while there is a clearly dominant cause for giving up the idea of return, which had been part of the original plan, the actual constitution of non-return seems to be more complex. It is a process that in general evolved slowly rather than happening at once, with a continuous transformation of the return-narrative. This transformation has taken place in the flow of duration, which is how the majority of respondents have experienced it:

"This is the most difficult question, yes. When I was here at the beginning, it was a different situation. I had one suitcase and maybe another box full of things. But now, this suitcase isn't one suitcase anymore, but two suitcases, three suitcases, four suitcases, and bigger and bigger, more and more ...". (PF6f)

¹³ It is important to mention again, however, that this refers to the respondents in this study and that many primary immigrants have gone back to Turkey, leaving their children in Germany.

7.6 One home or two?

Despite early difficulties, the respondents haven't yet returned to Turkey. The metaphorical suitcases, filled with experiences, attachments, problems and feelings are perhaps too heavy to lift. Non-return, located in the flow of duration, often dominated (though not controlled exclusively) by one factor was usually a non-option earlier due to a number of factors. This has meant both an increase in people's sense of agency in comparison to earlier life in Germany, and at the same a reduction in their self-perceived capacity to act compared to the time immediately prior to leaving Turkey respectively. The question now concerns what the current plans of the respondents are, what the exact content of these 'suitcases' is for different people, and how this relates to agency. The picture here is clearly one of diversity rather than uniformity but is essentially structured around the question of '*Heimat*' and '*Zuhause*'.¹⁴

Let me start by breaking down the concept of 'home' (which refers here to both *Heimat* and *Zuhause*) into two different components, or sets of resources, that emerge from the interviews as being constitutive of a feeling of 'home':

firstly, what I would call '*practical resources*', consisting to a large extent of infrastructural factors such as health provision, schooling, the political and economic situations; in brief, factors related very much to the organisation of society. These resources can sometimes act as constraints in their consequences (so that, for example, the resource 'employment' can lead to health problems through the nature of work);

secondly, '*emotional resources*', consisting of things such as the family (which can also act as a constraint at the same time, see above), friendship, neighbourhood, lifestyle, and even factors such as climate, and feelings of being accepted/rejected. The significance of these resources for self-actualisation have been discussed in chapter 3 and earlier in the present chapter. These two sets of resources play an important role for the location of *Heimat* and *Zuhause*, and are therefore crucial for the form and direction agency takes with respect to return/non-return orientations, and to the structuring of life in whatever

¹⁴ Unfortunately, there is no English equivalent to the two German words (only 'home' comes close to both words), so the original German words will be retained here. Whereas *Heimat* refers more to the place of origin and to the place where one perceives one's roots to be, *Zuhause* refers to the current place of residence, to where one lives.

country. The effect of this on residential issues and residential histories will be examined in chapter 8.

Many of the respondents, having been constrained by a number of factors in realising their original plans, now face the situation where active decisions about the future have to be made as retirement is approached or has been reached, as children reach adulthood, and so on. This obviously increases the capacity to act on the 'international level' (where do I want to live?), which doesn't mean, however, that people are now unconstrained in their actions. On the contrary, many 'intangible' factors beyond the direct control of the individual have assumed a dominant role. One of the main features in this, and one that is often located at the level of practical consciousness and had to be recovered by pressing people in the interviews, is that the migrants have developed a different habitus (see Chapter 3) since arriving in Germany through encountering different sets of rules and resources here:

"Only yesterday I said, when I came here from Turkey 22 years ago, I was a different person. And here I have, I can't say I've become a German, but what I've seen in Germany, I've gone into this direction. And I've acquired those things that are good here. And what I had when I left Turkey is also still there". (TW4)

Or as Scheinhardt (1993) pointed out, all individuals (while never representing the homogeneous group they have often been treated as) have again *changed* since coming to Germany through the selective appropriation, development and transformation of various ontological narratives:

"... believe it or not, we've settled here, some more, some less, *but we're not the people anymore we used to be*". (p. 73, emphasis added)

In addition to these more 'intangible' factors of change and transformation, affecting the location of *Zuhause*, the two different sets of resources outlined above play an important role in the question of 'home'. In general, whatever the strategies the respondents use or plan to use, there is a clear sense in which Germany is viewed by all respondents as the place where the overwhelming majority of practical resources are located¹⁵. This revolves primarily around factors such as health provision, which often

¹⁵ Concentration on these resources is not to deny the importance of more 'intangible' factors discussed above.

acquires great significance only through the damage to people's health caused by their demanding work (cf. Sen and Goldberg 1994):

"... here it is easier to get access to good doctors. And in Turkey it only really works when you have the money". (PM10),

Secondly, there is the more general organisation of society:

"And then I think, Germany is better. The law, the discipline and the laws. That's what I like here, and the discipline. The order But in Turkey, you can go on the street at 10 o'clock at night and have fun. I like that. But on the other hand, the respect is lacking". (PF19m).

And thirdly, the situation with respect to education:

"The school-situation is really, really bad in Turkey. It's so much better in Germany". (PF21f)

Schooling also demonstrates the inter-connectedness of emotional and practical resources at certain points: since education (a practical resource) is better in Germany, and the children (primarily an emotional resource¹⁶) should go to school there, the location of the practical resource determines to a large extent the location of the emotional resource and thereby strongly influences the shape of a 'return-narrative', and its significance in relation to other ontological narratives, such as those revolving around the family (see Chapter 11).

In contrast to the location of practical resources in Germany, emotional resources *outside the family* are primarily located in Turkey, something mentioned by the majority of respondents (though see the exception of the 'third group' below):

"... over there, social contacts are better. And the climate. I mean, contacts to neighbours and so on. The contacts". (PM11),

and:

"The hospitality is simply better in Turkey. This is different in our own country". (PF21f)

In general, Turkey is seen as an (often idealised) country that, through its lack of formal organisation, provides more non-tangible (emotional) resources, that are generally lacking in Germany or don't exist to the same extent:

"In Germany, people are very organised ..., everything is organised, all the time. In Turkey this isn't so, it's much more relaxed". (PF14m)

¹⁶ This is not to deny that children can, in later years also become a practical resource by supporting their ageing parents.

There are, then, two distinct sets of resources that exist to some extent (with the exception of the family) discretely in the two countries (cf. the poems of Gemici 1989). What becomes clear, however, is that these two sets acquire meaning only when compared to each other, making the 'home' (in its meaning as *Zuhause*) essentially a relative concept, and moreover one that is, for most people, built on a comparative 'variable' (Turkey) that is often more than 20 years old (Kordon 1992), and that has been experienced recently only through holidays. This is a fact, however, that is only realised by a limited number of respondents:

"A lot has changed there. We still think that Turkey is exactly like when we left it. But this isn't so. We have changed. And the country has changed, too". (PF15m)

Drawing on the concepts of the different resource-sets, I have identified three 'patterns' with respect to return and non-return.

The first of these patterns is characterised by a strong desire to go back to Turkey for good. The reason is that life in Turkey is generally seen as much more positive than in Germany, and even the practical resources located in Germany can't outweigh the emotional ones found in Turkey¹⁷. However, there appears to be a strong ambivalence in this pattern, an ambivalence that becomes stronger the closer the actual date of a decision comes¹⁸. Consider, as an illustrative example, the following extract from one of the couples that fit into this group. At the start, there is a clear sense of unhappiness with life in Germany, that seems essentially the result of an incomplete potential for self-actualisation through the lack of the emotional resources of social contacts and good neighbourhood, or of belonging:

"Now, I don't want to stay here any longer, I only want to go back ... I simply don't like it anymore here. I don't like this hard work all the time. We are tired, simply tired ... And there is simply no sense of neighbourhood, no friendship here". (PF19f)

Clearly, employment as a practical resource is seen, now that retirement becomes a possibility, as being essentially negative, and made more negative through the absence

¹⁷ I would disagree here with Mihciyazgan (1992) who has argued that the desire to return stems from a feeling of discontinuity in people's lives and functions to repair a 'biographical break' (p. 37). From the evidence here, return seems to be much more related to emotional and practical resources, rather than a discontinuity in people's identities.

¹⁸ I would like to avoid the expression 'myth of return' (Dahya 1974; Anwar 1979) here because it implies a sense of false consciousness among the respondents and, moreover, almost denies the possibility of return in the future, in effect denying agency.

of certain emotional resources in Germany. But later on in the interview, it emerged, when I enquired further 'around the subject' of return, that there exists a strong ambivalence as to whether return is an easy or, indeed desirable option:

"... we would have gone back earlier, but we've always thought, what happens when we become ill? There, insurance isn't so good, and it is difficult to even go to hospital there. It's either not as good, or very, very expensive. And these things are really much better here in Germany". (PF19f)

This first pattern is characterised by a perspective that still sees Turkey very much as the future focal point in life, but that also indicates a high level of ambivalence when the resources are carefully evaluated and weighed against each other, with all the imperfections that are necessarily included. While the desire to return is strong and expressed by most people, when pressed they are less sure. Moreover, those people who are in retirement already (and who originally belonged to this group) often exhibit a particular pattern of circulatory migration, that has its focal point in Turkey. However, additionally it often emerges that for the retired in this group emotional attachment to Germany is in fact much stronger than had been originally envisaged. Retaining a second *Zuhause* distinct from the *Heimat* (that also serves as *Zuhause*) is therefore the preferred option, circulatory migration the result. This group comes closest to Lichtenberger's (1984) concept of 'life in two societies'. As will be seen in chapters 8 and 11, there is no straightforward relationship between the existence of a strong 'return-narrative' as part of people's identities, and (non)investment in Germany.

The second pattern is one in which Germany is regarded essentially as the focal point of life, but where there are still strong attachments to the emotional resources of Turkey. Here, circulatory migration is usually characterised by the notion of 'spending the holiday *there*' (in Turkey), even if this lasts for 4 or 5 months (cf. Lichtenberger and Faßmann 1987), and 'living *here*' (in Germany):

Q: "Do you want to stay here or go back for good?"

A: "Now? I want to stay here! Where my family is."

Q: "For good?"

A: For good! But, probably we will spend time in Turkey, our holidays ... Nine years ago, I built a house in Turkey, close to the sea ... I want both ... When I retire, I want to spend the summer in Turkey and the winter here". (PM5)

Both the practical and the majority of the emotional resources are located in Germany, but some emotional connection to Turkey still exists (often related to the place

and its characteristics as such, independent of primary relationships with people, cf. Demirkan 1991, p. 16):

“Look, I lived in Turkey for 33 years, and for the last 31 years I have lived here. I mean, really, my *Zuhause* is here ... We now almost have two *Zuhause*. We came here when we were young and we've grown old here”. (PF8f)

and:

“I was born again here in Germany [laughs]. I've now been here for 23 years. And my favourite idea would be, to walk between the two countries. 6 months here, and 6 months there”. (TW3)

This, however, doesn't automatically imply a change in people's ethnic identity or national identification, and all the people in this group clearly 'feel Turkish', even when holding German passports, as some now do. Acquiring German citizenship is much more a practical issue than an emotional one or one of identification, and is related to the right to come back to Germany, to vote (Baykir 1984, p. 125) and to enjoy the full legal rights of a German citizen. Given the definition of Germanness outlined in chapter 2, this is hardly surprising. This definition thereby feeds into a 'public narrative' (Somers 1994) and shapes the self-identification of those excluded from the 'nation', even if they can legally acquire German citizenship (Frankenberg 1993). This is mirrored in the creative literature dealing with ethnic identity, that usually places strong emphasis on the identification of immigrants by 'natives':

“I can't feel as a German, either. They've never perceived me as one, and I'm not German. And I don't want it anymore either. It's not important anymore”.
(Biondi 1980b, p. 138)

Moreover, it is interesting to note that incidences of racism and discrimination are seen as being essentially unimportant for the shape of return/stay-narratives (in contrast to the arguments developed by Pöschl and Schmuck 1986) of this 'group', something which lends support to Goffman's (1983) concept of the functioning of the interaction order and to the importance of people's primary experiences, rather than to the influence of structural (institutionalised) forms of discrimination. Moreover, it raises doubts about the significance of Giddens' (1984) concept of time-space-compression with respect to the perception of discrimination, and further emphasises the crucial significance of the constitution and organisation of the more immediate geographical context:

“... but on the other hand, I mean in Bavaria¹⁹ the police are much stricter, äh, this is what other people have told me, too, and so I think that it is more secure here”. (PF21f)

Additionally, if discrimination was experienced, this has usually been outweighed by the positive experiences people have had, and isn't projected on the entire 'native' population:

“There are 60 million people in Germany, and it is just normal that there are 100000 or 200000 bad ones among them”. (PF19m)

Having two homes is seen by most of the respondents as being essentially positive and does not normally lead to an 'identity crisis' (Lichtenberger and Faßmann 1987). Rather, the beneficial aspects are stressed, which are in particular a stronger sense of agency (through having the choice of living in the more desirable country) and, in general, the possibility of picking and choosing:

“I find this really positive rather than negative. Yes, rather positive. It's not really negative ... I take what I like most from both countries ... But I still *feel* Turkish”. (PF8m)

The issue of ethnic self-identification is virtually identical for the 'third group' of people who have very much accepted that Germany is their permanent home, and whose connections to Turkey have disappeared to a large extent. This demonstrates that ethnic self-identification is largely independent of the choice adopted with respect to return/non-return and is most strongly influenced by the definition of Germanness and the resulting exclusion of 'others'. For this third group, Turkey is essentially a country for short holidays and the place where one developed a certain habitus, but all important current practical and emotional resources are located in Germany. Very often, the family has played a decisive role in this (cf. Scheinhardt 1983; Körte 1993):

Q: “Do you want to stay in Germany forever?”

A: “Yes, of course, it has become my *Zuhause*. My son has grown up here, and when we go to Turkey, we are foreigners there ... Germany is now my *Zuhause* because my children are here. Why do you ask whether we want to go back? We have lived here, worked here. So why do you ask that? [angrily]”. (TW1),

and:

“When our children were born our attitudes and plans changed because they attended the kindergarten and now go to school here, and it would be hard for them to go back”. (TW4)

¹⁹ Bavaria is arguably the most conservative of the German *Länder*, characterised by a policy of 'law and order' and strict policing.

In other cases, there are different (but equally important) factors that have led to a transformation of the return-narrative and a change in habitus:

“My *Zuhause* is here. Because in Turkey, I haven't got any friends left. They've either gone somewhere else or died and so on ... and then I also think, it's the political situation that has changed there, too”. (PM16)

Clearly, both the emotional and practical resources are essentially located in Germany for this group, while the attachment to Turkey has decreased significantly, with some of the importance of certain emotional resources (e.g. a better sense of neighbourhood) being effectively wiped out by negative factors (such as the political situation there). This doesn't mean, as I mentioned above, that a change in ethnic identity has occurred, and it is noticeable that many people in this 'group' are extremely reflective about their ethnic identity and on the distinction between '*Heimat*' and '*Zuhause*':

“I don't feel German, but Germany is my *Zuhause*. Sometimes people ask me, when I go back to Turkey, are you going *nach Hause* (home)? Then I say no, my *Zuhause* is here. I go to my *Heimat*. That's different”. (PM 20)²⁰

Some people have pointed out that the *Zuhause*, while becoming a state that is formed through processes located in the flow of duration, has to be actively worked for at some stage and can only emerge truly when it is accepted that return is a non-option:

“Until 1990 or 1991 I wanted to go back every day .. but now I tell myself, I'm not going back, and now it's much easier for me”. (PF13m)

This does not mean that the formation of *Zuhause* as such is a conscious process, but that its *acceptance by the individual* is. This transformation or, in some cases even dissolution, of the 'return-narrative' has important implications for many people, since it usually means a decisive shift in agency as it is directed away from being oriented *externally* towards return and to Turkey, instead being increasingly concentrated *internally* towards life in Germany (cf. Chapter 8):

“Five or six years ago, I started to think that I would stay here for good. And I became much calmer when we finally made this decision, and since then we've been able to plan our lives much better”. (PF21f)

²⁰ This was reflected in the questionnaire survey when all those who completed question 1 of section 2 indicated that Turkey is their *Heimat*.

The redirection of agency towards Germany gives life a different shape, and it will be shown in subsequent chapters that residence has performed a number of important functions, as well as itself being dependent on these processes *to some extent*.

7.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the lives of primary migrants and their partners since taking the decision to migrate to Germany, based around an examination of their 'sense of agency' through time.

From a very strong sense of agency, made possible through the opportunity to migrate to another country, the respondents experienced its virtual dissolution as a result of the problems encountered in the then new country, in the face of the absence of various resources. Coming from diverse backgrounds and migrating for very diverse reasons, being subject to this context led to a 'standardisation' of experiences in the early period in Germany. This standardisation was also caused significantly by life in the *Wohnheim*.

Life in the *Wohnheim* made settling down in Germany difficult, while at the same time performing a number of vital functions for the migrants to (re)develop a stronger sense of agency, pointing to the significance of residence, further explored in chapter 9.

This stronger sense of agency was further enhanced through family reunification or family formation. As a consequence, the respondents' lives in Germany started to become more normal, being both cause and effect of a gradual and often unacknowledged transformation of the 'return-narrative'.

Despite a variation in people's future plans and present narrative identities, complete return seems unlikely for the vast majority of respondents, pointing to a process of settlement in Germany. For most respondents, Germany has now become their *Zuhause* or, at least, one *Zuhause*.

While the role of the *Wohnheim* has already been highlighted in this chapter, residence is further examined in the context of these processes in chapter 8, pointing to

both its integration in, and significance for, the lives of primary migrants and the emergence of a feeling of *Zuhause*.

Chapter 8

Residence in Biographies I: Primary Immigrants

8.1 Introduction

For primary immigrants and their partners, the discussion so far has taken two forms. Firstly, in chapter 6, movement through space and movement through the housing market have been considered, pointing to a number of significant features such as processes of decentralisation in connection with the changing significance of different housing sectors over time. Secondly, the evolving structure of their lives has been analysed in chapter 7, based on the concept of 'agency'. While chapter 6 has analysed 'residence' in isolation from experience, chapter 7 has considered 'experience' while leaving on one side residential issues. The present chapter therefore combines these two aspects, leaving movement through space on one side.

The chapter starts by tracing the importance of residence and its significance for and expression of, an increasing sense of agency for the respondents, as well as its role for feeling *Zuhause* (Section 8.2). Section 8.3 then looks at problems in finding housing, focusing in particular on discrimination and search behaviour, and the significance of locational considerations. In section 8.4, and tying the material developed in the first two parts together, further explanations for the significance of different housing sectors are developed by combining the respondents' experiences with the structure and mechanisms of the housing market discussed in chapter 5. The last part of the discussion (Section 8.5) then concentrates on people's evaluation of their current residential situation and residential satisfaction.

8.2 The role of residence for *Zuhause*

Residence and the 'home' are crucial elements in people's lives, potentially offering feelings of ontological security by providing important resources, for example in the form of 'back regions' (Goffman 1971) which are not subjected to (official) surveillance (see

Section 7.4). However, most established research on immigrants in continental European cities has treated residence or the 'home' as relatively unproblematic categories¹, representing physical spaces incorporating an internal structure and various 'externalities'. This under-estimates the way in which residence and issues revolving around it impinge on the emergence and development of a sense of *Zuhause*, already hinted at in section 7.4, in the case of immigrant minorities. Moreover, it leaves unexamined the way in which residence is both a factor in, and an expression of, a greater sense of agency. These roles and functions of residence are examined in this section.

That residence is an important factor in people's lives has been directly stressed by the vast majority of respondents in this study, and it has been argued throughout the interviews that residential issues have often led to severe problems for immigrants and their children, in particular for primary immigrants who are considered in this section. As a consequence, people were at pains to stress the significance of residence in their lives in Germany:

"A nice flat is so important. The flat, and then work. Since we have this flat, everything's so much better". (TW3)

This importance attached to housing was underlined by the relief many people expressed over having found an adequate place to live, something that can be called 'home':

"I always say, this is my castle. I thank God every day that I now have such a nice flat". (TW2), and:

"And I was just so happy, I showed the flat to everybody. The flat wasn't completed then and when I went shopping, I always drove past the house and showed the flat to other people and said to them, look this is our flat. That's where we'll move in soon. I was just so happy and relieved". (TW4)

The significance of residence for the subjects of this study is accentuated further by the fact that, in contrast to the majority of non-immigrants, the development of their sense of agency in Germany has been crucially dependent on residential issues, in particular through their connection to the processes of family reunification and family formation in Germany (cf. Chapter 7).

¹ However, the 'home' has been considered at larger scales (e.g. Lichtenberger 1984).

In chapter 7, I have argued that family reunification, mainly taking place after moving out of the *Wohnheim*, led to a more complete *sense* of self and the scope for increasing self-actualisation through the provision of one of the most important emotional resources. This then created the conditions for providing an increasing confidence to act and a fuller sense of agency *in Germany*, as well as facilitating a greater feeling of *Zuhause* in the country. This process of family reunification and the associated change in the self-perceived status of the agent were themselves closely related to residential issues, so that many people have pointed out that it was 'residence' (in the sense of housing) that enabled or constrained their being joined by family members, in particular their children:

“Only when we got the flat were we able to bring our two children here from Turkey. This hadn't been possible earlier because we hadn't had a proper flat”. (PF8m),

and:

“... and then I said to my wife, we leave the children in Turkey with her parents ... until we find a bigger flat, and then we bring them here. And that's how we did it”. (PM22)

For some respondents there therefore existed, for a given period of time, a strong reliance on family to take over some of the responsibilities of parents as a result of residential problems. While the separation of the family earlier was often the result of choice (the desire to spend a short period of time in Germany), this separation now resulted from the multiplicity of constraints in the housing market. Therefore, while the respondents often managed to find a flat, facilitating movement out of the *Wohnheim*, these first places of residence were often insufficient to enable the complete reunification of the family:

“Yes, it was difficult for us. But we didn't have a proper flat and therefore my sister in Macedonia had to take care of the children. We only had a flat in a cellar in Pasing and it was damp, and there was damp on the walls”. (PF15f)

and:

Q: “That must have been very difficult, leaving your daughter in Turkey?”

A: “Yes, of course, that tore apart the whole family and that's why we finally brought her here. And in order to bring her here, of course, we were looking for a flat all the time. Until we found one. But my god, it was difficult and it really took us some time. We simply couldn't find a reasonable flat”. (PM20)

Finding an adequate place of residence to facilitate the (re-)unification of the family often took several years and sometimes more than a decade, since the power to act in the housing market (the power to translate agency into action with the desired

outcome) was strongly circumscribed by the conditions met there (see Section 8.3). This delay of the process of family reunification sometimes had severe knock-on effects, leading for example to serious psychological or other health-related problems for the people concerned:

“This was extremely difficult, especially for my wife. We didn't have a proper flat and thus our son couldn't join us. And she [my wife] then became slightly mentally ill, she had problems with her nerves, until our son came here”. (PM23)

For the same family, these difficulties of finding an adequate place to live even endangered their entire stay in Germany and finally finding a suitable flat has been instrumental in leading them to give up the idea of return, which existed *because of* residential problems and *in spite of* the actual desire to stay in Germany and to make it into their true *Zuhause* (see also below):

“... and I called the man at the housing authority and I said to him ... if you don't give me the flat, I will go to Lufthansa tomorrow and buy the tickets for us to go back to Turkey. ... [so] before we got this flat my wife and I had decided to go back to Turkey. We didn't really want to, but we simply didn't have the strength anymore to look for flats”. (PM23²)

In order to find a suitable place of residence for the whole family, a number of people had to reverse the process of family reunification that had taken place earlier (cf. Füzuzan 1985), because it was generally felt that children, while being one of the main reasons for looking for a different place to live, were at the same time a major obstacle to achieving this (see Section 8.3):

“And I had heard that it was easier to find a flat without children, and that was why I brought my daughter back to Turkey ... and then I left her in Turkey until I found a bigger flat”. (TW3)

Even when family reunification was achieved at the international level, however, residential problems often precluded the living-together of the family within Munich, thereby putting additional strain on people who already had to cope with the demands placed on them by work, life in an unfamiliar context and an inadequate residence as such:

A: “Yes one room. We had one room there. But not with our child. We had to give the child to ... foster parents”.

Q: “Why did you do that?”

A: “Because our landlady said, the child must not stay here. That's what she told us”. (PF12m)

² This of course does not mean that the respondent got a flat because somebody felt pity for him. The quotation merely illustrates the desperate situations some people have been in.

This, again, led to an enormous strain for the parents who, after all, felt a sense of letting their children down by not giving them the time and attention the children needed and they themselves wanted:

“Äh, this weighed heavily on our minds, because of course she was our child, but there was so little I could do for her”. (TW4),

and:

“That was of course a very difficult time for me, and for my child it was terribly difficult too. He started to cry when he had to go and it hurt me all week”. (TW5)

These difficulties caused a situation that made feeling *Zuhause* in Germany extremely difficult by not providing the individual and families with the resources necessary for a high degree of self-actualisation. This, in turn created a feeling of lacking some of the capacity to act, resulting primarily from the fact that their actions didn't lead to the desired outcome: the living together of the family. As a consequence, one of the respondents described how he rented an expensive flat in order to ameliorate this difficult situation:

“He said, 250 marks [rent per month]. That was a lot of money in those days. But I said, it doesn't matter as long as I know that my wife and my child are not separated. ... Then it is *our* flat. And there, we really lived happily, *as a family*”. (PF12m, original emphases)

'Residence' thus clearly often inhibited and delayed what I called in section 7.5 the normalisation of life in Germany and its emergence as the respondent's true *Zuhause*, summed up by one respondent:

“A good flat is so important to feel *Zuhause* somewhere. Very important. Otherwise this is difficult”. (PM11)

Legislation by the German state exacerbated the residential problems faced by many of the respondents (cf. Savasçi 1987), given the demands that, in order to be eligible for a residence permit, non-German citizens have to have enough residential-space (measured in square metres, not in rooms) for themselves and their children (Hübner 1985, see also Chapter 2)³. Since this demand doesn't exist for German citizens to the same extent, this piece of legislation must be interpreted as a means of exclusion, rather

³ At present, the legal requirement in Bavaria is a minimum of 12 square metres for each foreigner older than six and 8 square metres for each foreigner under the age of six. For Germans, the legal requirement is 10 square metres and 6 square metres respectively, but for them this is obviously not tied to a residence permit and is merely aimed at avoiding congestion in dwellings.

than being designed to facilitate integration. Moreover, it is ironic that the same demand was not applied earlier for the situation in the *Wohnheime*, where lack of space was a severe problem and made the emergence of a feeling of home very difficult (see Section 7.4). This piece of legislation has thereby always represented (and still does at present for some people) a potential threat for expulsion. Many of the respondents were therefore forced, *through the actions of the authorities*, to either defer or reverse the process of family reunification:

“At that time we had two children, and we were issued a warning by the police, either you send your children back to Turkey or somewhere else, or you look for a bigger flat”. (PF13m)

Even when the authorities didn't directly demand the repatriation of the children to Turkey, the threat of expulsion remained a constant possibility, leading to a high degree of insecurity for the people concerned:

“... And we had to go to the *Ausländerbehörde* [authority responsible for foreigners' affairs] every month in order to get the *Aufenthaltserlaubnis* [residence permit] and if the flat was too small it was only extended by a month or two. We never really knew what was going to happen”. (PF15m)

Residential issues, then, clearly played an important role in the development of a feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany.

Only once the problems directly or indirectly related to residence were solved (such as living in an unsatisfactory residential environment, the process of family reunification and the removal of the threat of expulsion), could a strong feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany emerge. Residence was therefore instrumental in achieving this sense of *Zuhause*, and the various problems associated with it often led to delaying the emergence of this feeling. This is underlined by the fact that in one of the cases examined here, residential problems still preclude the respondent being joined by his family:

Q: “And your family are still in Turkey?”

A: “Yeah, they stay in Turkey, because here we don't get a flat”.

Q: “Otherwise they would be here?”

A: “Yes, they've always wanted to come here, but I have no flat and no money. That's terrible for me and for them. It just makes me feel terrible. But what can I do?”(PM2)

The vast majority of the respondents therefore indicated that their lives in Germany only really started once these problems had been overcome:

“It really changed when we moved in here because for the first time we really lived like real human beings and we just were so happy when we found this flat. And we've now invested quite a lot of money, bought new furniture and so on. ... And I think really, Germany has since then somehow

become, I don't want to say, say our *Zuhause* forever, but we're somehow much happier now". (PM17)

Interestingly, this statement comes from a man who fits into the first category of respondents outlined in section 7.6, still oriented towards an eventual return to Turkey, indicating that residence is in some cases independent of people's current return/non-return orientation, depending on the constitution of their narrative identities. As he points out:

"For us, it has always been important to live a good life, no matter where. Whether in Turkey or here, it's always important to live a really good life, in a good flat". (PM17)⁴

These two statements give an indication of the nature of the relationship between agency and residence: a more adequate place of residence clearly leads to a greater feeling of *Zuhause*, which in turn increases the incentive to change things further, thereby becoming more active agents, this itself increasing the feeling of *Zuhause* by providing the ontological and emotional resources of a home (Saunders 1986).

The competence necessary to translate agency into action with a favourable outcome (here finding a better flat) was often achieved initially through the positive functions of the *Wohnheim* described in section 7.4. Success in finding an adequate flat that would support feeling *Zuhause* in Germany was usually difficult, however, with a number of moves often being necessary, explaining the high mobility rates in the 1970s observed in chapter 6:

"After the *Wohnheim*, we stayed at first with my cousin, for two months. And during this time we looked for another flat, and then we rented a room, we sent one child back to Turkey, and with the other child, we then rented this room. And there, we lived for another 8 months, and we found a flat in the Westend where we lived for 2 years, but that wasn't very good. Quite small and cold. And then we found a better flat through my husband's colleague in Neuperlach and then we brought the other child to Germany again". (PF14f)

'Life' in Germany thus started in and through residence, although in only a few cases was this achieved in people's first non-*Wohnheim* residence, facilitating drawing on an increasing number of resources, of which residence itself clearly represented one:

"Then, we were able to bring our children from Turkey to Germany. Before, this was impossible because we didn't have a proper flat. And with that flat, our life in Germany really started". (PF8m),

⁴ This demonstrates the complex constitution of residential issues which, for another family, is examined further in section 11.2.

and:

“I can really say that with this flat a lot has changed and that our life in Germany only really started with it. Before we moved here, everything had always been so difficult and provisional. A lot has changed, and the flat has thereby been incredibly important and decisive”. (TW4)

Moreover, for those respondents having a very ambivalent attitude towards return to Turkey before they found what they considered to be an adequate flat, finally finding this in many cases led to abandoning the idea of return through the transformation of a ‘return-narrative’, and a re-orientation of their future plans from Turkey to Germany:

Q: “Was this a serious thought, returning to Turkey?”

A: “Yes! I mean, if we hadn’t found the flat, we would have gone back to Turkey a long time ago. Ah, and then we found the flat, and we liked it a lot ...”. (MM3)

and:

“Before we got this flat, I always wanted to go back to Turkey, because we really didn’t have a good flat before. Here, it’s very good. Now we haven’t got any problems with the flat anymore ... Until 1990, I wasn’t really happy, but now I’m happy”. (TW3)

However, there is an additional dimension to the problems of finding an adequate residence that is related to a change in the return/stay-orientation (through the changing significance of the ‘return-narrative’, see chapter 11). In section 7.6 I have argued that while the formation of Germany as *Zuhause* hasn’t necessarily been a process subject to direct contemplation by the individuals concerned, its conscious *acceptance* as such was important for many people since they directed their agency more consciously towards Germany, more actively attempting to change things there. This also holds true for the connection between residence and *Zuhause*.

Residence, while being conditional for and important in developing a stronger sense of *Zuhause*, is also to some extent the result of planning at least *part* of one’s life in Germany. Thus, while residence clearly facilitates a stronger sense of *Zuhause*, frequently leading to a transformation of a return-narrative, the possibility of giving up this idea for some time to come had to exist for most people in order to look for a better flat:

“But I have to admit that at the beginning we made mistakes ourselves. We thought that we would stay for a few years only and therefore we didn’t, we didn’t *really* make an effort. And only when we accepted that we were going to stay here for longer, did we become more active, like, like looking for a really good flat and so on”. (TW4, original emphasis).

While another respondent also seems to argue that, while the emergence of Germany as *Zuhause* happened in the flow of duration without active contemplation, it

had to be *accepted* as such in order to direct their agency more fully to the country, and to improving life there, particularly in the field of housing:

“I tell you one thing: if we hadn’t always thought about Turkey and had instead spent all our energy here, like looking for a good flat and so on, then we would have really settled here much earlier. But since we didn’t do that, it was much more difficult for us”. (PM22)

Residence is therefore, for a large number of people, both cause and expression of this greater feeling of *Zuhause*. For other people, the desire to live properly *now* has been crucial for investing time and money in residential matters (see Chapter 11), ‘creating’ a resource that facilitates a stronger sense of ‘home’ in Germany.

This has led, for a number of respondents, to a much stronger feeling of belonging to Germany through a ‘normalisation’ of life there (see Section 7.6), resulting both from the feeling of a *more* complete self through facilitating the process of family reunification and through the provision of a true ‘home’, and an associated increase in the confidence in their competence to act:

“... but today we live in a house where many of the other families are German. And today I can say, only since I’ve lived in this house do I feel like a true *Bewohner* [resident] of Germany”. (PM23)

Residence has clearly played a crucial part in developing a feeling of *Zuhause* among the respondents in Germany, while at the same time not being completely independent of it for a number of people. An adequate place to live is, for the subjects of the study, an essential precondition for being able to live what they consider to be ‘normal’ lives in Germany, while some acceptance of a longer stay was in many cases also necessary in order to find what were regarded as ‘adequate dwellings’. However, finding suitable housing has never been easy for Turkish immigrants and their families. Developing this stronger feeling of *Zuhause* through residence was not only hindered by the significance of a ‘return-narrative’ itself, but was made difficult, as I have hinted at above and in previous chapters, by the conditions encountered in the housing market.

8.3 Experiencing the housing market: discrimination, search processes and the (ir)relevance of locational considerations

An adequate dwelling has been crucial for the emergence of Germany as *Zuhause*, while accepting the country itself as *Zuhause* (at least for the time being) has also impinged on residential issues. Finding an adequate flat has always been extremely difficult for the majority of Turkish immigrants, resulting both from the nature of the housing market in Munich (see Chapter 5) and the denial of access through discrimination along the lines of ethnic origin. Experiencing this discrimination has had a crucial influence on the respondents' searches for flats. Furthermore, the inaccessibility of certain sectors of the housing market has strongly impinged on locational considerations.

The housing market in Munich is perceived by the respondents as being extremely tight, and there exists an appreciation of the *general* difficulties involved in finding adequate housing for *everybody*:

"Yes, it is difficult here in Germany, and particularly in Munich. Housing is so expensive here. Other cities are not quite as bad". (PM1),

However, the respondents also think that as Turks, they are at an even greater disadvantage:

"For Turks, it is more difficult still to find a good flat, but for Germans it is difficult, too. But for Turks it is more difficult. Much more difficult". (PM11)

Moreover, there exists the general perception that Turks occupy the lowest rank in the ethnic hierarchy and, as a result, are the least desired tenants of all immigrant groups in Germany:

Q: "So, do you think it's easier for other nationalities to find a flat?"

A: "Yes, they normally find a flat immediately. Like, Italians and the Greeks. It isn't terribly easy for them, but they normally find a flat straight away. But for Turks, it's much more difficult". (PM1)

While this perception of the present structure of the housing market is shared by the vast majority of respondents, one of the findings to emerge from the interviews is that the housing market is as much an individual and group construction, based on information, experience and perception, as it is a material and social reality. Or, in other words, the housing market forms a subjective ontological narrative that also varies, sometimes in minor details, between different individuals. This is captured by the

following two quotations, indicating the importance of the *perception* of the housing market at a particular point in time:

“Äh, because in 1972 the Olympic Games were held here and because of that, flats were very expensive afterwards”. (TW4)

While another respondent, at the time, perceived the housing market completely differently:

“... back then, finding a flat wasn't such a big problem. That was shortly after the Olympics, and so much was built then, that they were glad to get rid of the flats quickly, and they weren't that expensive either”. (PM17)

The overall difficulty clearly relates to the nature of the housing market outlined in chapter 5, in particular in the sub-sector of reasonably-priced dwellings, that affects all low-income groups (Weber's concept of 'class') (Neef 1981), whereas the additional difficulties for Turks are the result of various means of exclusion, manifesting themselves in particular in active discrimination by landlords experienced by virtually all the respondents in the study (Weber's concept of 'status') (Kreibich and Petri 1982). As Glebe and Waldorf (1987) put it:

“The constrained housing market discriminates against low-income groups in general and low-class ethnic groups in particular”. (p. 155)

It is only the nature of this discrimination, its particular form, that seems to vary from setting to setting. Sometimes, this is made very explicit by the landlords (cf. Füzuzan 1985):

“I have so often tried to get a flat and have often replied to ads in the newspaper. But then people have always said, go away you Turk, we don't let flats to Turks”. (PM2)

In other instances, the refusal to let a flat is couched in less explicit terms (cf. Hübner 1985; Aghdam 1992):

“No, many landlords haven't said it directly or immediately, but it's something that's just so obviously noticeable, the way they said it and how they behaved to us. It was so obvious”. (PF15f)

In a limited number of cases, discrimination in the housing market has not been experienced directly, but has been reported by fellow immigrants, also leading to the formation of an ontological narrative revolving around the (private-rented) housing market that 'sees' it is fairly inaccessible:

“The people simply didn't get a flat, I mean the foreign people, rather Turkish people, our friends and colleagues told us that they didn't get anything, because nobody wanted them, *and so we never again looked for a private flat*, because that wouldn't have made sense”. (TW4, emphasis added)

Clearly, this perception of the housing market manifests itself in particular dispositions to act (gained both from past experience and information), so that the present 'objective' structure of the housing market is always evaluated through narrative identities or, in the case of a group, a habitus, acquired earlier. Further 'action' (including non-physical action) in the housing market then transforms or, it appears, often sustains and confirms existing ontological narratives. This then leads to particular paths of action, such as the orientation to particular sub-markets (see Section 8.4) and the use of particular sources in search processes (see below).

Nevertheless, it is clearly first-hand experience of discrimination that has been reported as being most significant and disturbing for the respondents. While often no particular reasons are given by landlords for the exclusion of Turkish immigrants from vacant dwellings, where they are these usually revolve around a stereotypical view of Turkish social life (see also Section 6.5):

"Some people have said to us, Turks are too loud and always make so much noise". (PF18f), and:
"Two landlords have said it directly. They said, it's a feature of Turks that they always get many visitors, and that's something they just don't want!" (TW6)

While another respondent was given different reasons:

"When we were looking for this flat we were told, we don't want to let to Turks! Why not? Because they are dirty, their flats are dirty! How do you know that? Everybody knows that!" (PF7f)

Discrimination along the lines of ethnic origin is not the only form of this exclusion and there appears to exist a general hostility towards children in the sphere of rented property (Aziz 1992a). While this is not only experienced by immigrants, the addition of the negatively-perceived characteristic 'with children' to the negatively-perceived feature 'Turkish' puts these immigrants into an even more difficult position in the housing market (cf. Burney 1967), resulting from their labelling as 'multiply undesirable' tenants:

"Some landlords didn't want Turks, some didn't want children. And nobody wants Turks with children". (PF18m),
and:

"Because the landlords give, I mean, most Turkish families have children. And if you have children, it's much more difficult to find a flat ... When you have a dog, it's better than with a child". (PF13m)

The preference for dogs over children in the housing market and elsewhere in German society is a recurrent theme in both the interviews and in the literature by writers of Turkish origin (Naoum 1980; Taufiq 1980; Savasçi 1987), reflecting the perception of many immigrants that dogs are valued higher in Germany than people with certain social and ethnic characteristics:

“One landlord told us, he would rather have a German with ten dogs than a Turk with one child”. (PF15f)

The family as a resource to develop the potential for self-actualisation and facilitating an increased feeling of *Zuhause* (see Chapter 7) thereby clearly adds a constraint in the search for housing and, as outlined in section 8.2, has forced a number of respondents at times to adopt strategies such as a (temporary) reversal of family-reunification.

It is clear, however, that discrimination is not an independent factor, but is dependent on the particular structure of the housing market, reflecting the significance John Rex in particular has attached to both the consumption *and* production of housing (Rex and Moore 1967; Rex and Tomlinson 1979). This means that it can be ameliorated by the intervention of policy makers. Instances of discrimination and exclusion through stigmatisation are clearly also to some extent the result of the *quantity* of housing on offer, in particular in the lower price-segments of the market. This is reflected by the fact that the respondents themselves strongly feel that their access to housing is directly dependent on price and therefore competition, and that discrimination is partly a result of this:

“Yes, you can get a nice flat as a Turk, but you have to pay more for it. With the expensive flats, they don't look anymore whether you're a Turk or not. ... But with the cheap flats, you don't have any chance as a foreigner, and especially as a Turk, and especially as a Turk with ... children”. (PF15m)

It becomes clear here that access of (Turkish) immigrants to the housing market is not a question of socio-economic status versus ethnic origin (Kesteloot 1987), but results from the interaction of these two factors both with respect to wider society (relating to the production of 'classes' in the economic sphere) and in the housing market (where housing consumption in tight housing markets is dependent on both socio-economic status and ethnic origin). This, however, is crucially dependent on the production and provision of housing, so that there clearly exists 'a politics of 'race' and residence' (Smith

1989) in the German housing market which also includes the legitimisation of discrimination discussed in chapter 2. Consequently, cutbacks in the construction of publicly-supported housing, as well as policies facilitating the increasing loss of reasonably-priced housing in the light of a general increase in the number of households (see Chapter 5), must be interpreted as factors leading directly (if not necessarily intentionally) to discrimination along the lines of ethnicity in this area (and ultimately, others), as has been implicitly and explicitly acknowledged by a number of respondents:

“If we could afford to pay a higher rent, just earn more money and spend it on housing, I could find another flat in a day. But for cheap flats, there’s just so much competition and as a Turk you’re always last in the queue”. (PM20)

and:

“... if Turks want a good flat, they have to pay more rent than Germans”. (PF18m)

Moreover, it is highly likely that these factors, indicating a realist 'structure-mechanism-event' connection in this particular setting (Bhaskar 1979; Sayer 1992), also lead to discrimination in institutions such as the *Wohnungsamt*, that has to deal with a flood of applications in a generally unbalanced ratio between these applications and vacant property (see Chapter 5), in a society that sees and treats immigrants clearly as inferior. While access to social housing is *de jure* equal for foreigners and Germans, some of the respondents' reports here indicate that this *might not* be the case in practice:

Q: “And what did the woman at the *Wohnungsamt* tell you?”

A: “She told me, I should have found a flat before having children”. (PF13m)

A: “Her exact words were: you don't have children (... *man macht ja auch keine Kinder* ...) when you don't have a flat”. (PF13f)

While this seems to refer more to children than to the ethnic origin of the respondent, it seems highly unlikely that similar things would be said to a native German, especially using this condescending wording.

Discrimination by the authorities might be more widespread than is often assumed, since these authorities have a lot of power at their discretion, for example by delaying the allocation of flats to Turks (see Sections 8.4 and 10.3). Moreover, discrimination in the

public sector can also occur when a flat has been allocated, since the landlords⁵ can always choose from at least three applicants (see Appendix 4):

“We had to wait five years for a *Sozialwohnung* although we were really desperate. But for every vacant flat, there was always a queue of four or five families. And from those, the landlord could pick one, the ones he wanted. And they simply always selected the other ones”. (TW4)

However, it was the difficulties of access to the private-rented market, as well as the exclusion by landlords of publicly-supported housing (rather than direct discrimination by the *Wohnungsamt*, which is difficult to prove) that were *mentioned* most frequently in the interviews⁶.

Experiences (both first-hand and second-hand) in the private-rented sector have led, over time, to the development of particular 'networks' in the search for dwellings, as has been indicated already in chapter 6. While most people used the 'usual' sources (such as newspapers) when they started looking for an independent flat in the private-rented sector, negative experiences have increasingly led to the use of other, more informal sources, which have, however, not *completely* replaced the use of formal sources for everybody. Direct personal contacts in particular have been mentioned as being of great importance, encompassing friends, relatives, acquaintances, employers and foreigner associations. Since the exercising of agency has been unsuccessful when other sources have been utilised, in order to achieve the desired goals this agency had to be applied to other, more promising sources. Whatever the *exact* nature of the contact, it is 'the personal' that has acquired great significance in the search for private-rented flats:

“Then, we hardly looked at newspapers again in order to look for vacant flats because as Turks we simply didn't have a chance, but we had such good contacts with each other that when somebody said they needed a flat, then we spread it, and if there was a vacancy, we knew immediately. That was of course a very good co-operation”. (PM23)

As mentioned already, this was almost exclusively the result of discrimination in this submarket, as well as the lack of success in the utilisation of other sources, such as newspapers:

⁵ See Appendix 4 for an outline of the differences between *Wohnungsamt* and the landlords of *Sozialwohnungen*.

⁶ However, a survey by the *Ausländerbeirat München* in 1995 uncovered that non-Germans are generally unhappy with the treatment they receive in the *Wohnungsamt*.

“When there was an ad in the paper, and I asked whether the flat was still vacant, they said yes, it is. And then they asked where I was from, and I said, I’m a Turk and then they said, oh no, the house is already gone”. (PM1)

and:

Q: “And where did you search for a flat at that time?”

A: “Everywhere. Friends, newspapers and so on. I mean, at that time, I could, and I’m not ashamed to tell you this, we found a few flats in the newspaper, and we often rang the people up and talked to them, and then they noticed that we were Turks and then we didn’t get the flat. We’ve experienced that a lot ... And then we only looked for flats through friends and colleagues again”. (PF14m)

Moreover, a number of respondents got the impression that estate agents, although very occasionally used successfully, often made very little effort because of their clients’ ethnicity:

“... and at the beginning, we often went to estate agents, but only at the beginning. Because they always only showed us very poor flats. I think that was because we were Turks”. (PF15m)

So as a result of these negative experiences, the use of personal contacts was seen as the only possibility to improve one’s housing situation in the private-rented market. This has often led to the replacement of one Turkish family by another. This was particularly the case in the earlier, post-*Wohnheim* period, when access to social housing was more difficult as a result of the short period of time spent in Germany, or the non-qualification for social housing as a result of the familial situation at the time:

“I found the flat through a colleague, who said he was going to move to Turkey. He asked me, do you need a flat? .. And then he said, have a look at it, and then I moved in there”. (TW1)

and:

Q: “And how did you find this flat?”

A: “Through a colleague. A friend of mine lived there and he returned to Turkey for good. And he asked the landlord whether he could pass on the flat to another Turk”. (PM17)

Replacement of one Turkish family by another has also lost in significance over time since mobility rates in general have declined (see Chapter 6), and the significance of return-migration has diminished.

Partly as a result of the problems experienced in the housing market locational considerations are, for the vast majority of the first-generation respondents, unimportant, again *ceteris paribus*, i.e. in conditions when ‘choice’ has been severely limited. This contrasts with findings in other cities such as Los Angeles (Huff 1986) and Glasgow

(Munro and Lamont 1985), and seems to point to the importance of the circumstances in a particular city and the particular group under consideration. Rather than looking for a flat in a certain area, finding adequate housing as such *has always been* of primary importance for Turkish immigrants in Munich. This has been confirmed by interviews with social workers from the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*:

“In the end, I think there isn't much difference compared to Germans, and ultimately it is clearly the flat that is more important than anything else”.

This is not surprising when the difficulties the respondents encountered are considered in the light of the importance of residence for *Zuhause* (Section 8.2). It is therefore access to the housing market and accessibility to housing in particular areas (often related to the sheer quantity of housing in certain price-categories in particular areas) that has *always* determined the distribution of immigrants within Munich:

“It was only the flat as such that was important, that was the main problem. That was so difficult, I couldn't make any demands on the ward or the neighbourhood”. (PF14f),

because usually:

“The flat was the only offer we got. I didn't look for anything else, because when you're under pressure, it is a big, big problem. In that situation it doesn't matter where the flat is”. (PM3),

and:

Q: “And did you want to move to Neuperlach?”

A: “No, that was purely accidental. We would have accepted a flat anywhere, in Neuperlach or anywhere else. Even outside Munich. We were just glad when we got this flat”. (PF13m)

The strong effect of the construction of particular types of housing on location is clearly indicated by the development of the suburb of Neuperlach, that provided a huge quantity of new dwellings in the 1970s in particular (see Chapter 5), and exerted a strong influence on the geographical pattern of immigrants within the urban area of Munich (see Chapter 6). Its importance for Turkish immigrants and their families has been acknowledged by a number of respondents:

Q: “Why Neuperlach?”

A: “Well, Neuperlach was being built around that time. Let's put it this way, as a foreigner the chances were simply good to find a flat there in the 1970s”. (PF7f)

Some qualification has to be made here, however, since a small number of people have attached significance to locational considerations, but the successful exercise of agency here has been dependent on the availability of particular practical resources (Sarre

et al 1989). Firstly, people with higher incomes (in particular those purchasing a flat) have more choice where to live, emphasising the point I have made earlier on about the relationships between discrimination and the availability of housing in particular price-segments. Secondly, those evicted through urban renewal are sometimes given a (limited) selection of properties to choose from (cf. Section 5.2.2), thereby being able to fulfil at least some locational considerations. Moreover, single divorced women in particular have pointed out that, once they reach retirement, location becomes an issue and proximity to friends becomes important in order to provide a support network that's easily accessible:

"Friends now have to fulfil many of the functions the family performed earlier. We are now more independent, but I need friends I can rely on. ... And it's important, that these friends don't live too far away. When people get older and so on, then that becomes very, very important. That friends don't live so far away and that you can meet them easily". (TW2)

and:

"You know, I'm now not quite as mobile anymore, and most of my friends now live here [in Haidhausen]. So, I'm really glad that I live here and that they live here, and we can support each other and, like, do things for each other". (TW1)

While another divorced woman, who has not yet reached retirement age, stresses the likely future significance of proximity to friends, and also makes the connection to the fear of racism:

A: "Hopefully, I'll find another job quite soon. ... But, you know, I've started to think since I'm unemployed that, when I'm retired, I really want to live closer to my friends. Because when you're alone and at home a lot, you simply need more support. I could see my friends all the time, whenever I want, but I'm scared of going on the underground because I always think, somebody could attack me because I'm foreign".

Q: "So where would you like to live when you retire?"

A: "Ideally, it would be Neuperlach. Because that's where most of my friends live". (TW5)

However, fulfilling the desire for proximity for this group has so far only been possible in a limited number of cases, usually when the respondents were attached to an organisation that itself had the discretion to allocate housing. The problems of single women of immigrant origin reaching retirement and their desire for proximity clearly need to be taken into consideration in the future provision of housing for this group, especially when dwellings are allocated by the *Wohnungsamt*. Moreover, locational issues and the need for proximity are likely to become more important *in general* as immigrant communities in Germany age, as people become widowed and thereby need increasing care and support. These issues refer mainly to the (immediate) future rather than to the

past or present, and have policy-implications that need to be addressed within the next few years or so. These implications will be discussed further in section 12.4.

Although the *Wohnungamt* asks applicants to state locational preferences on the application forms, the majority of respondents living in a *Sozialwohnung* left this section blank since they felt that this would reduce their chances of getting a flat:

“No, I didn’t tell them where I wanted to live most, because then you never get a flat. That’s what everybody says”. (TW4)

The *overall irrelevance* of location when searching for a flat further destroys the myth of ‘voluntary ghettoisation’ (Aziz 1992b; Höfer 1992) of Turks discussed in section 2.4.3. There are primarily two factors working against this.

The first factor is obviously the operation of the housing market (Glebe and Waldorf 1987), so that even if this strong ‘in-group orientation’ existed, it would be virtually impossible to achieve congregation in particular areas in the context of the Munich housing market, as the discussion so far in this study has clearly indicated.

The second factor working against ‘voluntary ghettoisation’ is that, while the respondents expressed disappointment about the neighbourhood relations amongst Germans and with Germans (see also Akçam 1993) and stressed the better sense of neighbourhood in Turkey (see Section 7.6), most of them are completely indifferent with respect to having other Turkish immigrants as their neighbours. The typical attitude is that:

“It doesn’t matter. It doesn’t matter whether my neighbours are foreigners or Germans”. (TW4) and:

“For him it doesn’t matter whether his neighbours are Turks or Germans or some other nationality. In the end, all people are the same”. (PM10)

Some people even expressed the desirability of not living close to other foreigners, drawing on the same stereotypes landlords use for rejecting Turks:

A: “But apart from that, it was really good there. Few foreigners and very quiet”.

Q: “Is this important, few foreigners?”

A: “I think so, yeah. It’s better. Fewer foreigners is simply better because it’s quiet there. If there are many foreigners there, then it’s much more noisy”. (TW3)⁷

⁷ Ironically, the interview with this particular woman was one of my most difficult ones - as a result of the noise in the flat! It has also to be pointed out that the respondents are usually not able to fulfil the wish of living in ‘foreigner-free’ buildings and areas.

This irrelevance of locational considerations and the primacy of the flat as such over its location obviously also means that, for primary migrants, the locational and movement patterns examined in chapter 6 cannot be explained by people's locational desires and preferences, but have to be looked for in the structure and operation of the housing market and its consequences, such as the use of informal sources.

Achieving a satisfactory housing situation enabling the respondents to experience a greater feeling of *Zuhause* has been difficult for primary immigrants and their partners as a result of the structure and operation of the housing market, and their generally weaker position in society. The successful exercising of agency has been constrained by active and passive discrimination by the majority population. This has led to the use of informal contacts in the search for dwellings. The changing pattern of access and the changing use of different sources have led to particular patterns of movement through the housing market already touched upon in chapter 6. These patterns are further examined and explained in the next section.

8.4 Movement through housing sectors

In chapter 6 I have shown that different sectors of the housing market have had different degrees of relative significance for Turkish immigrants over time. This section provides an explanation for these particular patterns, drawing on the respondents' experiences and incorporating the material discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, as well as the earlier sections of the present chapter.

While the period immediately after arrival in Germany was characterised by the predominance of the *Wohnheim* (see Chapter 6 and Section 7.4), it was the private-rented sector that became most important subsequently. Later, there has been a marked relative shift towards social housing and, to a lesser extent, owner-occupation. While there is some variation in this sequence for individual households, it nevertheless has a high degree of applicability, and is therefore discussed here in this aggregate way. Variations within the sequence have mainly taken three forms: firstly, some aspects of the sequence may be reversed, or some steps of it left out; secondly, the *majority of people* have not (yet) made the transition from private-rented accommodation to social housing or owner-

occupation; thirdly, the temporary nature of the *Sozialbindung* discussed in chapter 5 has meant that flats have been released from the public sector and have been transferred into either private-rented accommodation or owner-occupation. An increasing number of residents who went into the public sector are therefore no longer in it although they haven't moved.

In section 7.4 I have argued that the *Wohnheim*, while performing a number of vital functions for primary immigrants, was eventually experienced by most people as inadequate and unpleasant. This and the desire to facilitate the reunification of the family resulted in leaving the *Wohnheim* after a given period of time, often with the help of the expertise gained from other people living there (what I referred to as one of the positive functions of hostel accommodation). As has been shown in section 6.5, this mainly led to a move into private-rented accommodation, often as a result of being unhappy with the conditions in the *Wohnheim*:

"... I simply didn't like being in one room with three others. Then, a colleague told me that there was another colleague who had a flat, a big flat, and that one room was vacant there". (PM5)

Or, in other cases, people moved out as a result of wanting to live with the family and thereby facilitate the conditions for increasing self-actualisation and the consequent development of a stronger feeling of *Zuhause*:

"After [the *Wohnheim*] we rented a flat ... Together we rented the flat, which cost DM 400 per month. We found it through a friend ... Then, we were able to bring the two children from Turkey to Germany". (PF8m)

and:

"At that time, my husband was still in Turkey and then I had to find a flat so that he could come here. And with the help of my friends, I finally managed to find a flat in an attic". (PF21f)

Clearly, and as has been shown in section 8.2, finding a flat leading to a strong sense of *Zuhause* wasn't always a smooth and easy process and often resulted in multiple moves until a satisfactory residential situation and this feeling of home was achieved (see also Section 8.5). One problem many people thereby faced was that, despite having acquired a greater competence and confidence to act in the *Wohnheim*, movement *into* the private market was particularly difficult as a result of the processes outlined in the previous section:

Q: "And six months later your husband came to Munich?"

A: "Yes, he wanted to come here and that's when our housing problem started. And the flats were already so expensive when, he, äh wanted to come to Germany, and we looked for flats but we saw that the people made money out of the guestworkers' problems and that they charged incredibly high rents, and some guestworkers rented big flats and then sub-let every single room to others really expensively. I mean, we didn't get flats from the Germans, and our fellow countrymen and the Germans didn't let rooms to us". (TW4)

The private market was nevertheless the 'logical' destination after the *Wohnheim* and remained highly dominant as a destination for further moves in the 1970s and 1980s, having traditionally constituted the largest of the subsectors (see Chapter 5). While the exact form of rented accommodation varied for different people, the importance of contacts to people who had already established themselves in the housing market was mentioned frequently (see Section 8.3), in particular when attempts to use other sources had failed. 'Information' and contacts were therefore vital factors in channelling people into the private-rented sector, which is one explanation why social housing played virtually no role in the early period. There are a number of other explanations for this, however, which relate to the characteristics of the immigrants in relation to the criteria of access to social housing (see Appendix 4)⁸. In addition to these criteria, it was significant in the period just before family reunification that it has always been illegal to apply for a *Sozialwohnung* before other family members had come to Germany⁹, so that the respondents were forced to find a flat in the private-rented sector in order to facilitate family-reunification.

These factors, in addition to the general lack of information, clearly worked against a direct movement from the *Wohnheim* into social housing, that was slightly more common for higher order moves (see Section 6.5). The conditions of admission to social housing also explain why most of the people now living in a *Sozialwohnung* made at least one more move within the private sector in order to improve their residential situation, before finally getting access to social housing:

"And then I went to the *Wohnungsamt*, but they said, you're alone and you earn money and you therefore don't get a flat [from us] ... But I didn't earn much ... and that's why I looked for a private flat. And then I luckily found one in Neuperlach". (TW2)

⁸ Although this refers to present conditions of access which differ in certain details, such as income thresholds, from those operating in earlier periods.

⁹ The same applied in Britain for immigrants from the New Commonwealth (Smith 1989, p. 94).

During this earlier period, owner occupation was not an option for the majority of respondents, resulting from their inferior economic position, the desire to save money and support the family in Turkey, or the projected goal of spending only a limited period of time in Germany. Indeed, the significance of a 'return-narrative', expressed through the desire to return to Turkey was the reason given most frequently for deciding against buying a flat, despite the fact that many respondents were quickly disillusioned with the operation of a private market which, after all, offered no mechanisms of protection from discrimination (Smith 1989, p. 82, and Section 8.3.):

"... and then I said to my wife, let's buy a flat ... But then my wife was against it. She said no, if we buy a flat now, we will stay here forever". (PF15m),
and:

"But I thought I wasn't going to stay here anyway and that's why I thought, I won't buy the flat". (PM17)

This again emphasises the connection between residence and *Zuhause*, so that in these cases, a strong return-narrative precluded the move into the owner-occupied sector, once an initial move from the *Wohnheim* to the private-rented sector had been made.

Agency was, for a variety of reasons, therefore directed mainly towards the private-rented sector, despite its general tightness and the difficulties of access for immigrant minorities (cf. Smith 1989). As mentioned earlier, some people resorted to accommodation provided or found by employers, as a result of the nature of the private market, the difficulties in getting access through 'formal' sources and the lack of success in using (or a general absence of) other personal contacts. This took the form of either renting flats owned by the firms people worked for or, frequently, the utilisation of employers' contacts, highlighting the significance of (different) informal contacts for finding acceptable housing, as well as explaining the continuing importance of the employer described in section 6.5. Searching for flats in the rented market with the help of employers was thus again a direct consequence of the experiences (both first-hand and second-hand) people had had in this sector:

"I told my boss I needed a flat because I just couldn't find another one [in the private market], nobody wanted to give a flat to a Turk ... and a few days later he said, yes E., I've got something for you ... next to Siemens". (PF12m)

As a result of the processes operating in the housing market outlined earlier, four respondents were forced to move back into family-*Wohnheime*¹⁰ from the private-rented sector, which put a severe strain on families and made feeling *Zuhause* in Germany extremely difficult as a result of the nature of the dwellings:

“We looked for a private-rented flat, but with 2 children and as a Turk we didn't have a chance ... And then we had to move to the Siemens-*Wohnheim* ... and then we moved there in 75 and stayed until 85”. (TW3)

and:

Q: “Why did you move back into a *Wohnheim*?”

A: “Well, we looked for a better flat for years. But back in the early 80s, that was already difficult and we didn't find anything and that's why we had no other option”. (PM23)

While these variations in the movement through the housing market existed, it is clearly the private-rented sector that became and remained most significant after leaving the *Wohnheim*. As I have hinted at earlier, and as has been demonstrated in chapter 6, there was usually some movement through this particular market, related to various 'in-order-to-motives', and often reflecting small personal 'tragedies' such as the part-reversal of family reunification, before the social housing sector and owner occupation started to become relatively more important. At this point it is again important to stress that this refers to *relative shifts* and that, for the majority of primary immigrants (not eligible for social housing and lacking the financial means to buy a flat), the private-rented sector has remained most significant.

Movement into social housing, becoming more significant in the 1980s and 1990s, was facilitated by a change in the circumstances of the households in relation to the criteria of access to this particular sector, and by changes related to people's agency.

As the Turkish immigrant 'communities' in Germany have matured, they have acquired a higher degree of cultural competence, as well as confidence in this competence through an increased sense of agency (see Chapter 7), enabling them to act in different societal spheres, and different sectors of the housing market. This orientation towards the social sector has also been strongly influenced by earlier experiences in the private market (see Section 8.3), as a number of respondents pointed out:

¹⁰ The family-*Wohnheime* usually differed from the earlier *Wohnheime* in that they provided one large room (around 30 square metres) for one family, in addition to en suite bathroom and kitchen.

“We didn’t look for a private flat anymore because we were fed up being rejected all the time because we were Turks. And then we applied for a *Sozialwohnung* but we had to wait for such a long time until we got one”. (PF18f)

Another respondent emphasised that, for him and his family, movement into social housing in fact represented the *only* possibility to improve their residential situation:

“I really tried a lot back then. But every time, I was rejected ... I didn’t really want a flat from the *Wohnungsamt*, because private flats are often much better, but every time I was rejected”. (PM17)

'Information' has been a crucial aspect in this process, being a resource that increased in significance over time with respect to the social housing sector, as an increasing number of Turks moved into it:

“Äh there are, in our circle there are people, and from them we heard, if somebody doesn't earn much, then you can apply [for social housing]”. (PF13f)

Moreover, social services provided by some of the bigger employers such as Siemens have played an important role in the provision of information:

“Äh, I consulted the social worker at Siemens because of the *Sozialwohnung*, and she told me what to do. When I went to see her, she said, apply at the *Wohnungsamt*, because your husband doesn't work and you have a child. And that's why I applied”. (TW4)

While information, contacts and previous experiences in the private-rented market have been necessary conditions for applying for social housing, they have not been sufficient for *qualifying* for a *Sozialwohnung*. In order to be eligible for a flat in the social sector, the circumstances of the household have to meet the criteria of access to this sector (see Appendix 4). As their lives in Germany have evolved over time, primary immigrants and their families have increasingly met these criteria. There are mainly four factors that have worked towards meeting these criteria: extensions of the family (e.g. through family reunification), divorce, retirement (either as a result of reaching the age of retirement or early retirement caused by health-problems) and unemployment. All these factors have impinged on the economic circumstances of the household, either directly through reducing the household income, or indirectly through a different income/dependants ratio (see Appendix 4), as well as reducing the residential space per person in the case of family reunification and formation.

For single female respondents, divorce and retirement were mentioned as the two most significant events leading to a change in the economic situation of the household. In the case of retired single women in particular, their former concentration in certain

occupations, the small income earned there, and their relatively short working lives (influencing their contribution to the state pension scheme), have meant that their pensions are extremely low¹¹:

“I get DM 660 [per month] for 22 years of work ... And I get some money from the firm I worked for, and *Wohnhilfe* [housing benefit]. So altogether, I get DM 1100 per month ... Because when I started work, I earned only DM5 [per hour]”. (TW2)

The economic circumstances of women usually also deteriorated after divorce since they were suddenly dependent on one income alone and, with this income, usually had to bring up their children, too, while often being unable to secure maintenance from their ex-partners:

“My flat is a *Sozialwohnung* because I was a single parent with my two children, so I couldn't pay a proper rent, and that's why the *Wohnungsamt* have given this flat to me”. (TW5)

Another crucial factor leading to the entitlement for social housing has been the increase in the number of people living in a household. Thereby, the household income per capita might fall below the stated level of access, or the conditions in the existing residence might become overcrowded (or both), again leading to an increasing possibility of a change from private to social housing:

“When our daughter was born, my wife stopped working and then we applied for a *Sozialwohnung*. And shortly after that, we got one”. (MM3)

It is interesting that in two cases the housing situation of the family became so desperate, resulting in the part-reversal of the process of family-reunification, that the wife went into voluntary unemployment in order to qualify for a *Sozialwohnung* big enough to enable children to (re)join the family without violating the requirements of the Alien's Law. This again reflects the difficulties of Turkish immigrants and their families in finding adequate housing in the private market and the resulting desperation, in these cases making unemployment the preferred (and only) option, made necessary in order to meet the residence requirements and to facilitate family reunification:

A: “... both of us worked and the authorities told us that we weren't allowed to apply [for social housing] because we could afford a private flat ... Later, my wife stopped working”.

Q: “Why did she stop?”

A: “We decided that we wanted to bring our son to Germany ... And that's why we said she should stop working because then we would certainly get a *Sozialwohnung*”. (PM23)

¹¹ This emphasises the usefulness of a biographical approach applied in this study.

This demonstrates very clearly that not only do non-residential aspects of people's biographies influence residential issues, but that 'residence' itself crucially impinges on other aspects such as employment.

Competition for the cheaper vacancies in the private market has therefore meant that primary immigrants and their partners (those who haven't found an adequate flat, facilitating feeling *Zuhause*, in other sectors) have had to rely increasingly on the public sector in order to improve their residential situation, which explains the increase in Turks in social housing to a large extent. However, it is noticeable that most of the respondents now living in social housing have reported long waiting periods after applying for a *Sozialwohnung*, typically around three years but, in some cases, much longer:

Q: "And how long did you wait for the flat?"

A: "That took seven years, until we were allowed to get the flat. Seven years!" (TW4)¹²

Given that some respondents, unable to find an adequate flat in the private-rented sector, only achieved a satisfactory residential situation, and therefore a strong feeling of *Zuhause* once they had moved into social housing, this feeling could often emerge only after a considerable time spent in Germany (see Section 8.2).

Another factor responsible for the increasing significance of social housing is the rising rehabilitation of certain areas, containing significant numbers of Turks, by the MGS. This agency has to provide reasonably-priced alternative accommodation for the people evicted (see also Section 5.2.2). This type of accommodation, too, is publicly-supported and administered by the *Wohnungsamt*:

"And the house he had lived in was a private one, and then the municipal authorities took it over and wanted to renovate it, and then they offered them another flat, this flat. This is a ... *Sozialwohnung*". (PM10)

In addition to the *relative* shift from private-rented dwellings to the social sector, owner-occupation has, over time, acquired increasing significance, albeit not to the same extent as social housing. In the same way as the change to the social sector, this switch to owner-occupation was often the result of the inaccessibility of the private sector and the experiences people had had there:

¹² Since the *Ausländerbeirat München* (1992) claims that foreigners are still under-represented in social housing given their economic and social status, it would also be interesting to find out how the waiting periods for social housing compare for Germans and non-Germans.

“... and then we needed a bigger and better flat, and then I thought, if it’s better to have ten dogs than two children, I rather buy a flat. And then we bought this flat”. (PF15m)

This, however, was not a sufficient reason for purchasing a dwelling. Above, I have demonstrated that during the early period after leaving the *Wohnheim*, some respondents were reluctant to buy a flat because they had only planned a temporary stay in Germany. In order for owner occupation to increase in significance over time, a greater amount of stability has therefore been required, resulting from a different outlook on the future and a re-orientation of the respondents' lives towards Germany, or an *acceptance* of Germany as *Zuhause*, usually following a gradual transformation of the ‘return-narrative’:

Q: “And did you save money because you wanted to go back to Turkey?”

A: “Yes. But then, I mean we now have so many connections to Germany. And when we saw that we were going to stay here, we brought all our money here and bought the flat with it”. (PM5)

and:

“So I, I decided to stay here, and that’s when I decided to buy the flat. ... Because our country has become alien to us, it is, because we only ever go there on holidays, it has become very alien”. (PM3)

For one of the respondents married to a German partner, the reasons behind this connection are clearer still, with the marriage to his German wife ultimately forming a crucial ‘because-motive’ (see Chapter 3) in deciding to purchase a flat, and the acceptance of Germany as *Zuhause* therefore being a necessary condition for directing his agency to the owner-occupied market:

“If we had still thought that we were going to return, we wouldn’t have bought the flat. In order to do this, you need some security and it was important to know that we would stay in Germany”,

and:

“If I had had in the back of my mind that I would go back some time, I wouldn’t have bought this flat. And without getting to know my wife, I certainly wouldn’t have stayed [in Germany]”. (MM3)

For the respondents, owner occupation is therefore an expression of the acceptance of Germany as *Zuhause* for the foreseeable future. Moreover, it could be argued that buying a flat further strengthens peoples' attachments to Germany, itself contributing to this increased sense of *Zuhause* in Germany, further transforming the ‘return-narrative’.

As has been demonstrated in this section, movement through the different sectors of the housing market, and their changing relative significance over time, is the result of a complex combination of a multiplicity of factors. These factors are broadly related to the structure of the housing market on the one hand, and the changing lives and aspirations of primary immigrants and their families on the other. The next section now examines whether this movement through the housing market has led to satisfactory housing conditions, and evaluates the respondents' current outlook on residential issues¹³.

8.5 The current situation: residential satisfaction and 'immobile strategies'

Residence is both a crucial factor in, and to some extent an expression of, an increased feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany. Finding adequate housing has been difficult for the respondents as a result of discrimination occurring at various levels and in different forms. This, as well as changes in the wider societal context and in individual circumstances has led to particular patterns of movement through the housing market. The question now is, whether this has led to satisfactory housing conditions for the respondents from their point of view, which is not only important for the present, but also for plans relating to the immediate future, which will crucially shape migration rates.

'Residential satisfaction' is not an absolute concept or a static perception, but varies with changing conditions and contexts, both internal (to the people concerned) and external. In particular, the factors constituting good or adequate housing vary over time. Moreover, residential satisfaction is always evaluated and expressed in relation to other (potential) opportunities in the housing market and the way in which it is perceived, as well to previous housing conditions:

"The five of us lived on 41 square metres for 17 years, which really wasn't very good. And this flat is so much bigger, it's like a castle for us, really great". (PM9)

Additionally, residential satisfaction is usually experienced in conjunction with the meaning of residence (or is a part of it), so that there is clearly some variation over time as this meaning changes. In the present study, this has been related mainly to the fear of arson attacks that affected some respondents in 1992 and 1993 in particular:

¹³ This was, to some extent, touched upon in section 8.2 but still merits examination in more detail.

“Yes, three years ago I was really frightened in my flat because we always thought that somebody was going to throw a firebomb through the window, that wasn’t very good. But in the meantime I’ve almost forgotten it. But yes, for a time we really did feel threatened here”. (PM10)

and:

“Of course we felt threatened, because our name starts with an ‘Ö’, and it just makes you feel sort of, helpless. And I must say, the flat suddenly was, not just *Zuhause*, but also a place where I felt insecure for some time. Just different. But now, I don’t really think about it anymore”. (MM3)

It emerges from the interviews however that, in general, there exists a high degree of satisfaction with their present housing conditions among the respondents. This is not surprising, given the connection between residence and *Zuhause* outlined in section 8.2. This is true in particular for the 'external conditions', referring here to anything located outside the flat in its immediate vicinity. It is noticeable that only one of the respondents made strong negative comments about the location and surroundings of his flat. This does not necessarily imply that the respondents are completely satisfied with this aspect of residence, but may also reflect the general 'irrelevance' of locational considerations (see Section 8.4) and the overwhelming importance attached to the 'internal' characteristics of a dwelling. Where dissatisfaction with 'externalities' is expressed, this usually refers to the lack of contacts with neighbours (cf. Section 8.3), which clearly differ from experiences in Turkey, but these are usually more passing comments than strong statements of dissatisfaction¹⁴:

Q: “Would you like to have more contacts with your neighbours?”

A: “Of course, of course ... That's the way we were brought up. And that's different here ... Everybody comes home and shuts their doors. But you've got to accept it. That's the way it is in Germany”. (PF7m)

Since externalities related to location within the city (i.e. the neighbourhood or ward) are also relatively unimportant, 'residential satisfaction' is related primarily to two factors: the layout of the residential unit and its cost¹⁵. 'Residential satisfaction' is strongly dependent on the relationship between the two, set in the context of the perception of the housing market, as well as previous housing conditions and waiting periods for particular flats (see Sections 8.2 and 8.4).

¹⁴ Moreover, this would be the same wherever people lived within the city, because it is more related to German culture than to 'locality' as such. Despite this dissatisfaction, however, the respondents don't consider it important to have Turkish neighbours (see Section 8.3).

¹⁵ When a general question on residential satisfaction was asked in the interviews (not distinguishing between internalities and externalities), people usually *only* talked about internalities.

In general, the respondents expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the internal features of their current residence. Only one respondent expressed strong dissatisfaction with his current flat, but the overall picture is clearly positive rather than negative. Typically, the interviewees stated that:

“I am really happy here. I like the flat very much. I don't want to move”. (TW1)

and:

Q: “So you're satisfied in this flat?”

A: “Yes, yes, it's very good. We are extremely satisfied”. (PM9)

A high degree of satisfaction does not mean, however, that all respondents would describe their housing conditions as optimal. What it means instead is that, given their financial circumstances in the context they operate in (and the way in which this context is perceived), they believe they have achieved the maximum degree of satisfaction, facilitating a strong feeling of *Zuhause* for most. Thus, there is often some qualification to the expression of residential satisfaction:

Q: “And are you happy with this flat?”

A: “Yes, we are. I mean, we have to be ... We couldn't afford a bigger flat. That's out of question. We couldn't afford that. We have to be content with this flat”. (PF7m),

and:

Q: “Are you happy with this flat?”

A: “Äh, yes we are very happy here...”

Q: “So you like living here?”

A: “We have no other choice. If I had another option, I would move immediately. If I found a flat for 1000 Marks per month or so, I would move”. (PF18f)

It could be argued that the respondents' residential satisfaction is sometimes as much a comment on their residential situation, as it is about (perceived) opportunities in the housing market, and the (perceived) current structure of this market itself. It can be assumed, of course, that this 'conditional satisfaction' is not a feature peculiar to ethnic minorities, but rather that it is dependent to a large extent on the financial resources of the household. This doesn't mean that it is not at all influenced by experiences of discrimination, since this leads to particular perceptions of the possibilities of access to reasonably-priced housing (or the development of a narrative built around the housing

market), but that it is dependent first and foremost on money (see Section 8.3). This is clearly the way the respondents see it:

Q: "Have you tried to find another flat?"

A: "We've often tried it ... I applied for a flat and I got three offers, but it was too expensive, 980 marks excluding bills, but we can't afford more than 700 marks ...". (PF18m),

and:

"Why I'm not looking for another flat? Because other flats are simply too expensive. Where would I find another flat? It's impossible to find anything for under 1000 marks". (PM4)

Rent burdens are clearly an important factor preventing the respondents from improving their housing situation further, and having moved through the housing market for considerable periods of time, most respondents now clearly pay the absolute maximum rent they can afford (given their individual priorities, see Chapter 11), whether they live in a *Sozialwohnung* or a private-rented flat:

Q: "How much rent do you pay here?"

A: "Now, 1350 marks including bills. ... I wouldn't get a bigger flat from the *Wohnungsamt* for the same rent. They are very, very rare. And on the private market, that would cost at least 1600 marks, and I simply can't afford to pay more. With two children ... impossible". (PF7m)

Although the majority of people feel that they are paying very high rents in absolute terms (but still related to their household incomes), most of them also feel that they get better value for money compared to similar housing in Munich:

Q: "And how much rent do you pay here?"

A: "1100 marks. ... It's not *terribly* cheap, but for Munich it's not too bad, let's put it this way". (TW6)

and:

"I mean, of course, for me it's expensive, because I'm the only one in the family who works, but for Haidhausen and for Munich in general, it's not really expensive". (PM9)

This is a result of the fact that many have now moved into the social housing sector, where rent levels are lower, or have lived in their private-rented flats for fairly long periods of time (see Section 6.5), allowing only limited increases in rent. As one respondent explains:

"We've now lived here for more than 10 years. Well yes, even 11 years. That's how long we've lived here. And at the beginning, we paid 800 marks per month, and in the meantime, that's become 1400 marks. But if we move out now, and new tenants move in, then they would have to pay at least 1700 or 1800 marks". (PF14m)

Given the current structure of the housing market, evaluated through narrative identities formed through previous experiences and actions, there therefore exists a clear sense of conditional immobility amongst a number of respondents. In order to deal with this situation under the often constantly changing spatial demands of the households, some people have adopted various internal (internal to the residence) strategies, or 'immobile solutions', to cope with conditional immobility:

Q: "And the children are all in one room?"

A: "Yes, apart from the youngest. He sleeps in our bedroom at the moment. When he's a bit older, the children will get the big room and we'll sleep in the sitting room". (PF13f)

A similar strategy has already been adopted by another family:

"And that's why we constantly move in the flat and organise it differently. For example, last week a colleague called me and I said to him, we are moving right now, and he got excited and asked me where to, and I said, from the bedroom to the children's room (laughs). It's like that all the time. You've got to adapt to what's possible". (PM22)

Moreover, the same family has also adopted 'external' solutions to cope with this situation, a strategy employed by a number of respondents:

"As soon as the weather gets really nice, we go somewhere at the weekend. Swimming and so on. ... Because the flat is really very small for us". (PM22)

While there generally exists a high degree of satisfaction with the current place of residence among the respondents, this evaluation of their current housing conditions is not independent of previous experiences in the housing market, leading to a particular perception of its current structure. Thus, residential satisfaction is always also conditional and relative, and although most respondents would describe their current housing situation as 'good' or 'adequate', leading to facilitating feeling *Zuhause* in Germany, not everybody would see it as 'optimal'.

This has led some respondents, most of whom now clearly pay the maximum amount of rent they can afford, to apply a number of internal, 'immobile strategies'. Moreover, although most respondents think that the rent they now pay is reasonable, this is evaluated in the context of the Munich housing market, and the actual amount of money is now the maximum many people can afford:

"It is so difficult, to find another flat, and also so expensive. When I got divorced from my husband, I wanted a smaller and cheaper flat, but I asked, asked around, and I could have got another flat, but only a smaller one, not a cheaper one. ... And then there's not much choice, other than staying put. It was difficult, because I really haven't had much money, but we've had to stay here, although the flat is really too big and too expensive". (TW4)

Within the current (perceived and actual) structure of the Munich housing market, residential moves in the near future have therefore been ruled out by almost all respondents, providing (in addition to the long periods of time now spent in their current residence) an explanation for low mobility rates.

8.6 Summary and discussion

For primary immigrants and their partners, residence has been of crucial significance in developing a strong feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany, providing the conditions for increased self-actualisation and an increasing sense of agency, of being more fully participating members of society. On the other hand, the acceptance of Germany as *Zuhause* itself has been important for residential matters, for example for the decision whether or not to purchase a flat. Through the conditions encountered in the housing market, the development of this feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany has sometimes taken fairly long periods of time, often facilitated only through a move into the social sector. Movement into social housing itself has frequently been a reaction to difficulties experienced in the private-rented sector which, for reasons of accessibility and knowledge, presented the 'normal' and most common destination after the *Wohnheim*, which was ultimately experienced as inadequate and unpleasant, despite representing an important resource.

After more than 20 years in Germany, the respondents have now achieved a fairly high degree of residential satisfaction (facilitating feeling *Zuhause*) which, however, is also an expression of the tight housing market in Munich and the residential difficulties most respondents experienced at some point in time. Closer scrutiny of residential conditions has revealed that this satisfaction is therefore sometimes relative rather than absolute, and that problems such as high rent burdens and fairly congested flats are still prevalent for primary immigrants and their families. However, financial considerations in the context of the housing market, as well as specific difficulties for Turks in finding housing, preclude residential moves for most people in the immediate future, so that many households (those who would describe their housing situation as good rather than optimal) are now conditionally immobile.

The tight nature of the housing market has also meant that locational considerations are irrelevant for the majority of people, thereby ruling out the existence of processes such as voluntary ghettoisation. As a result, the patterns of location and migration described in chapter 6 are less the result of choice, and more the consequence of opportunities and constraints, pointing to the overwhelming importance of the (spatial) structure of the housing market.

While residence has facilitated a strong feeling of *Zuhause* for the time being, this role of residence is not assured automatically for the future, but is rather dependent on the continuing provision of reasonably-priced housing for immigrant minorities and the continuing acceptance that they are, and are likely to remain, in a weaker and inferior position in the housing market, despite having acquired a greater sense of agency and a feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany.

Chapter 9

From Adolescence to Adulthood: the Lives of Secondary Immigrants

'Second Generation'

At first our parents were
Driven out of the fields
Out of the mountains.
Some still have the
Scent of orange-blossoms
In their jackets
And the sun
On their hats.
They dream
Of a recuperation
In the garden of paradise.
Our mothers
Wrap themselves up
With prayers
Against the cold.
The sociologists say
That we are torn between two worlds
Two worlds.

On the one hand
The world of machines.
And the world of reality
In our dark eyes.
But our inner conflict doesn't lie
In our bilingual environment
Or in the distance between hat
And headscarf.
We carry the conflict of this world in us
We carry in us the difference.
Otherwise our lips could sing
One song from the south
One song from the north.
Our eyes could at the same time enjoy
The olive trees and the tall oak trees.

(Özakin 1982, p. 26-27)

9.1 Introduction

While chapter 7 has outlined the changing lives of primary immigrants and their partners in Germany, this chapter examines the lives of their children before and after coming to the country. So far in this thesis, secondary immigrants have not been considered explicitly, although they obviously form part of the aggregate Turkish population examined in chapter 6. Secondary immigrants deserve special attention, however, and should be considered independently for a number of reasons (cf. Riesner 1990): firstly, they usually entered Germany later than their parents and were therefore subject to different configurations and sequences of structural factors; secondly, they came to Germany at a younger age than their parents, which made their 'starting position' in the country distinctively different; thirdly, they usually joined an already 'established' family or individual, providing them with resources such as money, housing, information

and support; fourthly, they have therefore been able to structure their lives in comparison with, and often in contrast to, their parents. A fifth point is related directly to residence, since this group has started their independent movement through the housing market later than their parents did.

These factors have significantly shaped secondary immigrants' lives and have also impinged on residential issues considered in chapter 10, and thereby also contribute further to an explanation of patterns and processes observed earlier, as well as providing vital insights into future residential issues. In this chapter, I trace the evolving lives of secondary immigrants in Germany. In section 9.2, I examine the process of family reunification from the point of view of secondary immigrants, and point to resulting problems of settlement and integration. I then go on to outline how a strong sense of agency, and a strong feeling of *Zuhause* and *Heimat* developed in Germany (Section 9.3) which, however, is *potentially* dependent on the prevailing conditions in the country (Section 9.4). Finally, in section 9.5 it is demonstrated that return is unlikely unless conditions change dramatically, and that the concern for their children's well-being has tied the respondents even closer to Germany.

9.2 Family re-unification and beyond

In section 7.2 I have outlined the difficulties of the separation of families from the point of view of primary immigrants, and the consequences these separations have had. These difficulties had their counterpart in their children's experiences. They were left behind in Turkey and who had to cope, for periods of time that varied in both length and character, with being separated from their parents and sometimes their siblings. This separation was experienced as extremely difficult by the children, as it was by the parents. It could be argued, however, that while the parents felt guilt towards their children (see Section 7.3), the children felt betrayed by their parents through being left behind in Turkey, usually staying with relatives or, less commonly, friends:

"Of course it was difficult for me without my parents. Okay, I had my relatives, aunts, uncles and so on, but of course it's not the same without the parents. ... We were a constantly separated family. And of course, that was really weird". (SW1)

Additionally, through the time-span it often covered, the separation of families was a *process* that became more difficult as time went by, the reasons for the increasing length of the separation having been discussed in chapter 7. The following quotation provides a sense of the form this separation took from the children's point of view:

"I went to a boarding school in Turkey when I was 6, and I left it when I was 14. During this period, my parents were in Germany. And I only saw them for four weeks once a year". (SW1)

According to Sen and Goldberg (1994, p. 54), experiences similar to this have been a common feature for most Turkish families in Germany. The longer the separation lasted, for example through difficulties in finding an adequate dwelling (see Chapter 8), the more difficult it became for both parents and children. This led, in the cases examined here, to the inevitable result of the re-unification of families in Germany:

"The idea was that they would come here and work and save some money and then come back. But then it took longer and longer, and the separation was more and more difficult for my parents and for me and then they brought me to Germany". (SF2f)

Family reunification was often accelerated further by external factors, in particular by increasingly unstable political conditions in Turkey, cumulating in the 1979/80 take-over by the military regime (Sen 1985).

While solving the immediate problems of family-separations, the process of family re-unification threw up other problems affecting the children, in addition to the problems faced by their parents such as difficulties in finding adequate dwellings or adjustments to their original plans (cf. Chapter 7)¹. These problems were primarily related to family re-unification and the consequent child/parent relation itself; the problems of leaving friends, family and a familiar environment; and the difficulties of settling in a new country².

Despite the children's eventual migration to Germany, the often long separation from their parents was reported by many secondary immigrants to have led to strains and difficulties in the child/parent relationship, which often persist to the present day:

"Of course, it is still a child-parent relationship, but I simply can't express my feelings most of the time. There's a gap that will never be closed, I think. It's of course possible that in my subconscious, I'm taking revenge on my parents. I don't know". (SW1)³

¹ However, as I have argued in chapter 7, family reunification also meant a 'normalisation' of life for the parents.

² In chapter 10, this is connected to residential issues.

³ Cf. Akkaya and Krug (1988).

From the children's point of view, these difficulties have mainly appeared on an emotional level, however, and the traditionally strong practical relationship between children and parents existing in Turkish society (Schiffauer 1992) has persisted in most cases, even when the parents have returned to Turkey:

"I often notice that German children have no real connection to their parents. Whereas for me, this is one of my main *tasks*. To visit my parents frequently, and to ask how they are ...". (SW1, emphasis added)

For the parents, on the other hand, suddenly having their children with them in what was often a fairly unfamiliar context to the parents despite having lived there for some time, often resulted in an over-protectiveness that seriously circumscribed the activities their children were allowed to participate in. Since the children weren't used to living with their parents, and since 'normal' child-parent relationships (involving conflicts, problems and their resolution) did not develop immediately, they usually obeyed. This meant that they were not able to lead a 'normal' (in comparison to Turkey, and in comparison to native Germans) social life:

"I was the oldest daughter and I grew up in Turkey without my mother and father, and when I came to Germany my father told me, I don't want to hear that my daughter does this and that. ... Because I was afraid of my father I didn't go out". (SF3f),

and:

"My parents were quite strict at the beginning, and at the start I also had a few problems with my father and so on. For example, he didn't allow me to go out after 6pm, and I always had to be at home at 6. I really had some problems with my father. ... And I always felt I'd miss out on something". (SF2m)

The problems of re-establishing a 'normal' relationship with their parents were often exacerbated further by the financial demands placed on the parents (both by themselves and by 'the context'): while it was normal for both parents to work before being joined by their children, this couldn't be changed when the children migrated to Germany, since more money had now to be spent on items such as food and accommodation, which were more expensive in Germany. This meant that since both parents worked, the children, lacking the social competence to act in an unfamiliar environment, were often forced to stay at home alone during the day:

"And my parents ... worked for eight hours a day or more, and then they came home and we had dinner, and then they went to bed. And I didn't work at the beginning, nor did I go to school, and I had absolutely nothing to do ...". (MM2)

This 'being left alone' increased the problems of those secondary migrants who didn't go to school or work immediately (cf. Section 10.2), leading to the lack of a sense of purpose and *Zuhause* and, often, a correspondingly strong desire to return to Turkey as soon as possible. After all, the parents didn't provide the envisaged emotional resource that for example the grandparents were able to provide in Turkey. While the separation of the family was problematic for both children and parents, some difficulties clearly persisted for the children after they had joined their parents, albeit in different forms.

These difficulties were exacerbated further by the uprooting of the children from a familiar environment (Scheer 1992), consisting of the emotional resources of relatives, friends and a corresponding feeling of ontological security. Again, the problems in Germany emerged in an essentially relative way, since these resources were virtually absent, or not as well-developed, in the early period there:

"... the first year or so was really hard here. There, I had my friends and relatives, I mean, when you go to a *çai ev* [teahouse] there, everybody knows everybody else, and you can play games and pass away the time with somebody". (MM2)

and:

"As I said, building up the relationship with my parents was difficult for me and additionally, I had lost all my friends ...". (SW1)

For those secondary immigrants attending school or going to work immediately, this lack of a sense of purpose in Germany corresponded to other difficulties experienced in the new environment, in particular problems related to language. Linguistic difficulties clearly made a 'normal' life in Germany hard at that time, for example through problems in establishing contacts with Germans, making self-actualisation difficult:

"I had difficulties at school because I didn't speak the language. ... And my classmates, they wrote me letters, that they didn't want to have me there. ... I cried, and I didn't want to go to school anymore". (SF3f)

Linguistic competence was therefore clearly one of the most important factors in ameliorating these difficulties (cf. Bilge 1989; Papastamatelos 1980), and institutions such as schools offering classes in both German (with German pupils) and Turkish, as well as measures by the job office and other publicly-funded organisations to further the integration of secondary immigrants, were mentioned as having been of primary importance to solve some of these problems and forget the desire to return for some time to come:

“No, for the first year or two, I really didn’t want to stay here because I thought, that just doesn’t make sense, it’s not getting me anywhere. And then I have, then I went to school for a year ... which was such a measure for the economic and social integration of immigrants, and that was really good, because I learned German and life became much easier.” (MM2),

and:

"I told my father, please send me back, to a boarding school in Turkey. And he said no. But after I had learned the language at school, it became much, much better". (SF2f)

The significance of learning the language has also been stressed in the literature dealing with secondary immigrants, so that Rothermund (1986) argues that:

"Language is ... the most crucial issue in the integration of ethnic minorities". (p.2)

The inability to speak German at the beginning meant that certain emotional resources (such as classmates who could have become friends) could not be used fully, as well as leading to problems in the utilisation of other practical resources:

“You just don’t have any contacts, and you know, have, äh, you don’t know what opportunities there are, how you can possibly do something decent. ... And of course, the language is the big obstacle. If you don’t master the language, then you’re lost ...”. (MM2)

Only once these linguistic problems were overcome, could a feeling of *Zuhause* and a stronger sense of agency develop by making it possible to draw on more emotional resources, and to use an increasing number of practical resources more effectively (the school, the workplace).

At this stage, it is interesting to note that language, while being mentioned frequently (see Chapter 7), was not given the same importance for feeling *Zuhause* by primary immigrants. This was probably the result of their segregation at the workplace and in the *Wohnheim*, as well as other more pressing problems (such as family reunification) that were seen as having been more important in order to develop some sense of *Zuhause* in Germany. For the secondary immigrants in this study, language was seen as far more important for their integration into German society, influenced probably by their experiences at school and in the workplace, where they had to interact with Germans.

The range of difficulties experienced by the secondary immigrants as children and adolescents - the separation from their parents, family re-unification and starting life in a new country - have had crucial effects on the way their lives and future plans have been structured. These effects revolve primarily around the family and financial matters and, as

will be shown in chapter 10, have influenced and have been influenced by, residential issues. To a certain extent, then, while retaining some of the practices handed down from their parents, the secondary immigrants' lives are also structured strongly *in contrast* to those of their parents (cf. Bernhardt *et al* 1993; Füzuzan 1985):

"We just don't want to live like our parents did. I never want to be separated from my child, for example. I was separated from them for so long, and I don't want my daughter to go through the same ...". (SW1)

The first period of their stay in Germany was difficult for most secondary immigrants, and the desire to return existed amongst many of them. However, after the early problems had been overcome, this desire didn't play a role anymore for some time to come⁴. The question now is why this has been the case. The answer lies, again, in the question of *Heimat* and *Zuhause* and is related to agency.

9.3 Here for good

The early period after arrival in Germany was characterised by a high degree of forced passivity, resulting from various inter-related internal and external factors. This stood in clear contrast to the respondents' lives in Turkey, where they were able to draw on a number of emotional resources (friends and family), while being fully integrated into their main practical resource (the school). The desire to return therefore existed among most migrants in order to escape a situation that, in retrospect, is described as wasted time:

"... äh, I have to say, the first few years here, when I was here, they were simply lost for me. I had nothing to do, it was lost time". (MM2)

While these early difficulties seem to resemble those of their parent generation, they differed in one important respect. Before migrating to Germany, the migrants-to-be, as a result of their age, didn't make any major independent decision. As such, they didn't exercise their agency in the same way as their parents had done, referring here to the ability to make decisions independently of other people. Where these decisions were made, they related to emotional (and not practical) resources, such as friendships. Obviously, they were lacking this capacity to draw on the accustomed emotional

⁴ In contrast to a number of respondents from the parent generation, see section 7.6.

resources in the period after arrival in Germany⁵, which also explains to some extent why the desire to return to the emotional resources 'at home' still existed⁶.

As the capacity to act in the new environment increased due to increasing social and cultural competence as well as confidence, however, the desire to return decreased, and a very strong feeling of *Zuhause*, developed. As I have outlined earlier, this was to a large extent dependent on learning German, often with the support of different institutions:

"... without the IG [*Initiativgruppe für Ausländerfragen*]⁷, it would have been really difficult for us. Especially with the language. ... My parents didn't allow me to do very much and therefore I spent a lot of time at the IG and they also helped me with my homework and so on". (SF2f)

Learning German was important to develop, not necessarily immediately though, a strong *sense* of agency and a feeling of *Zuhause*. In other words, it acted as the most important enabling factor to draw on other practical as well as emotional resources. It was crucial as a means of making sense of the new environment and thereby understanding it more fully, discovering its structure and the problems and possibilities associated with it. The first years were lost to a large extent because these possibilities (or resources) could *not* be utilised fully. To a certain extent, learning the language meant starting their lives again in Germany:

"When you come to a foreign country, it is as if you're born once again. At the beginning, you don't understand a thing. Only in the course of the years the faces, the rhythm of life, the buildings, start to become comprehensible". (Özakin 1982, p. 83)

In contrast to the majority of primary immigrants, this process of a 'rebirth', crucially related to linguistic skills feeding into increasing social and cultural competence

⁵ Apart from the family, but see the difficulties outlined in section 9.2.

⁶ Again, the connection between emotional and practical resources is clearly demonstrated here: while the opportunity to go to school (the practical resource) was given in both countries, using this resource was made more difficult in Germany by the absence of another practical resource (language) and emotional resources (friendships, contacts to classmates).

⁷ The IG is a publicly-funded institution that works for the integration of immigrants and their offspring in Germany. Institutions like the IG have been crucial in furthering the skills needed to succeed in German society. My observations run counter to Mehrländer's (1986a) argument, where she gives too much significance to the age of entry as a factor for successful integration. The experiences of my respondents indicate that institutional support can lead to successful integration, even at a relatively high age at entry. This is despite the fact that most of them have only reached the most basic level of a school qualification, the *Hauptschulabschluss*. On the other hand, the necessity for language-support outside the state schools also indicates the inadequacy of language-teaching within schools, my observations here lending clear support to those of Menk (1986).

(the capacity to act more independently in a hitherto unfamiliar environment), means that a strong *sense of agency* was developed *in Germany*, and more importantly, *directly connected with Germany*. Thus, while more and more emotional resources were opened up as a result of an increasing competence in German (which 'levels' the comparison with Turkey with respect to these resources), more practical resources (more than at the beginning *and* more than in Turkey) were being drawn upon, thereby furthering the sense of agency (through an increasing feeling of mastering one's own life), again compared to both the early period in Germany *and* to life back in Turkey. In contrast to primary immigrants, the feeling of a *decisive* break in agency (despite some early difficulties) therefore didn't exist for the group of secondary immigrants examined here to the same extent. This group, after a difficult start, experienced an increase in the *feeling* of being able to structure their lives more independently:

"I told you that my parents were really strict, and I couldn't really do much. ... But when I started my job or rather my apprenticeship, things definitely changed and I think I changed, too. I was more independent and basically I decided what to do. I mean, I also had my own money and did something on my own". (SF2m)

Starting work was both cause and effect of this increased feeling of being in control referred to above. The decision to enter into work, training or a University course indicates a higher degree of social competence, while at the same time increasing this competence further still:

"My boss was really nice, he also gave me Wednesday mornings off so that I could learn German. And I always went to the *Volkshochschule* (Adult Education Centre) and there I *really* learned German. And from then on, I've never really thought about going back again". (SF2f)

Moreover, as a factor contributing to increasing confidence in their capacity to act, starting employment also worked towards gaining a higher, or even complete, degree of economic independence. This was mentioned as one of the most important aspects of starting work:

"I didn't want to be dependent on my father any longer and I wanted to prove that I was able to make it on my own". (SF3m)

The increasing development of the respondents' sense of agency was thus built on the pillars of language, school and work. These factors were crucial in developing a feeling of *Zuhause* that has in all the cases examined here been supported further by

establishing and drawing on an increasing number of emotional resources, represented by friends, and as time went by, their own families:

Q: "When did you really feel that here is your *Zuhause*?"

A: "Really, you mean really? I mean at the beginning it was difficult and then it improved. I had more German friends and more friends in general and I started work and so on. But really since I've been married. Since then, I *really* feel at home here". (SF2f)

All these factors have, as the respondents have argued, led to significant changes in their 'behaviour' or 'mentality', indicating changing 'dispositions to act', a changing habitus (see Chapter 3), or different sets of dominant ontological narratives. These changes have resulted from encountering and drawing on both the emotional and, most crucially, practical resources located in Germany. This, as has been the case with the primary immigrant respondents, has occurred mainly at the level of practical rather than discursive consciousness, and again had to be more actively worked for in the interviews (see below).

From the changes experienced by the secondary immigrants examined here, it becomes clear that the habitus or narrative identities are *processes* that constantly change as a result of experiencing changing institutional frameworks and of moving within the interaction order (Goffman 1983), interpreted through particular socio-biographies, manifested in existing narrative identities. These processes are significant for a feeling of *Heimat* and *Zuhause* and for a sense of the possibilities of, and limits to, agency, as becomes clear in section 9.4.

While using different terminologies, which reflect the way in which these changes are intelligible to the respondents themselves, the perception of a change in dominant ontological narratives becomes clear from the answers the respondents gave with respect to their perception of individual changes (cf. Tekin 1992; Tibi 1992):

"If we're honest, we've already acquired the German mentality, without noticing ...". (SF3f),
and:

"We still say we're Turkish, but really we do *so many things* in exactly the same way as the Germans, maybe we even think like Germans, but probably a bit like both. We've changed a lot since we've come here, I mean like through going to school, work and so on ...". (SF3m, emphasis added)

It is interesting that this is here seen as a collective ('we') rather than an individual feature, which reflects the agents' monitoring of encounters in the interaction order with

people in similar positions and 'possessing' a similar habitus. These changes, however, have occurred as very gradual processes which, as I have outlined before, are located mainly at the level of practical consciousness and were uncovered by enquiring 'around the subject' (see Chapters 3 and 4). This gradual nature of the process explains to a large extent why this change in habitus has happened almost inevitably, in particular when it is considered that this is a generation who developed confidence in their competence to act, their sense of agency, primarily in Germany:

"... you don't realise it immediately. Having said that, it's possible to notice it when you think about it. What's going on? Or, what was I like in the past? When you compare this, then you see, ah that's different. But when you don't think about it, then you just change without being aware of it. ... And one day I noticed: whoops, am I really still a Turk? My *Zuhause* is really here now. I'm really, the way I react, how I live and my ideas and so on, they're more German than Turkish". (MM2)

The respondents have found it difficult to explain exactly what this change in habitus encompasses in practice (other than being 'change'), and it has been described mainly by comparing those features that are *significantly* different in the organisation of life between the two countries, and that could illustrate these changes best. People thereby often exhibited a tendency to draw on stereotypes as examples:

"The best example is punctuality. This is simply not an issue in Turkey. ... At the beginning, I waited for one or two hours when I had an appointment with somebody. Now I wait for 5 minutes and then I'm gone". (MM2)

Another respondent argues that these changes encompass both 'thought' and 'action', but that they become *very* clear only when compared to people who didn't migrate and who have stayed back in Turkey:

"Yes, when you see, the others, where you come from. When you see them, right, for example when they're on visits from Turkey or when you go there and you see, how they are and how they live then you see, that's how I used to be. Otherwise I don't think, when you haven't got this comparison, it would be hard to notice that you've adapted. But when you see others, you see that you simply behave and think differently". (SF3m)⁸

While returning to Turkey represented a strong initial desire for most respondents as a result of a difficult start in Germany, increasing linguistic competence and a subsequent increase in the ability to draw on more emotional and practical resources have led to an increasing sense of agency directly connected to Germany. Thereby, a feeling of

⁸ As I have argued above, this includes the comparison with other secondary immigrants in the same position.

Zuhause, and sometimes even *Heimat*, has developed. This is also strongly indicated by two other factors. Firstly, in contrast to many first generation immigrants, the date of immigration seems to be insignificant as a constant point of reference when talking about their lives, indicating that the focal point of life is now very clearly in Germany. Secondly, accompanying the changes in habitus mentioned earlier, the relationship to Turkey has altered significantly. This is indicated by the decreasing number of visits to Turkey most people now make⁹:

"Now, we go to Turkey less and less. One year after we got married we went there, and then we didn't go for four years. And then it took another two years until we went again". (SF2f)

Additionally, the orientation of interests has clearly shifted from Turkey to Germany (which doesn't mean that the interest for Turkey has disappeared completely, see Section 9.4):

"... but I can't really interfere too much there, because from outside you can't influence politics. And I really leave the decisions and the movements to the people living there. I now try to change things here, try to be very active. It is more important now to get organised here and change things here, because after all we live here". (SW1)

This stands in contrast to the early period, when the interests were directed more towards Turkey:

"When I came here it was, I told myself that the situation there was more important. But when your *Lebensinhalt* [purpose in life] is here, then it is more important what happens here. What do I get out of changing things there?". (MM2)

The secondary immigrants' orientations have clearly shifted from Turkey to Germany. The majority have developed a habitus that has been significantly influenced by the German context. This is both cause and effect of a shift in the focal point of their lives, that is now the current place of residence, the *Zuhause* for all, *Heimat* for some.

The next section demonstrates, however, that *Heimat* and *Zuhause* in particular are, for the group of secondary immigrants, always also contingent on the prevailing conditions. As will be seen, this has important implications for questions of ethnic identity, and whether the respondents are really 'here for good' (Castles and Kosack 1984).

⁹ This is similar to the 'third group' identified in section 7.6.

9.4 ... or the contingency of *Zuhause*

The previous section has shown that the focal points of the secondary immigrants' lives are now clearly located in Germany. This, I have argued, is the result of the development of a large part of their *sense* of agency there, having led to significant changes in narrative identities through a (re)socialisation in both the practical and emotional resources found in Germany. Despite frequent complaints about the lack of closeness within certain emotional resources in Germany (friends, the family), the respondents now see Germany, *ceteris paribus*, as their *present Zuhause* and even *Heimat*. This is the result of a number of factors in addition to the ones already mentioned. For example the contrast in the organisation of life in Germany compared to Turkey was mentioned frequently:

"Life there is simply different and we have now lived here for such a long time that we're not used to many things in Turkey anymore. We've become used to the way things are here now, like the organisation and medical care and so on". (SF2f)

Moreover, for the women in the sample, a strong 'gender-narrative' (cf. Chapter 11) has emerged that revolves around contrasts in the position of women in German and Turkish society:

"It's much more difficult to live as a woman in Turkey than it is here. Here, I worked, did my job training and so on. But there, you're at home all the time, you've got to do the cooking and look after the children and so on. As a woman, it's much better to live here". (SF2f)

Additionally, a strong desire to live in Germany for good exists as a consequence of the length of stay here which has led to the formation and utilisation of important emotional and practical resources here:

"It is clear, I mean, I came here when I was 14, and that was 15 years ago ... Sometime, the interests simply changed. The friends sharing my interests are now here. And down there, I don't have friends anymore". (SF2m)

This strong desire to stay in Germany was often expressed to me in a very forceful way, similar to the 'third group' of primary immigrants identified in section 7.6. This reflects the fact that questions about return create a feeling of unease among the respondents. They now feel that they shouldn't be in a situation any more where they have to justify their feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany, and that assumptions of return shouldn't be the norm:

"My god, I have lived here for more than 12 years now, I went to school here, my family is here and my children were born here, and I simply feel that this is my *Zuhause*. I simply have a stronger feeling of *Heimat* here". (SF2f)

However, while Germany is clearly the respondents' current *Zuhause* or *Heimat*, there generally exists a much greater awareness of and sensitivity to (greater than among the first generation) discrimination and disadvantaging along the lines of ethnic descent, an awareness that, as will be shown below, leads to questioning the stability of the home *in the future* and some *doubts*¹⁰ about investing in Germany at present.

While the significance of *personal* experiences of discrimination has been mentioned by most respondents as being of significance for the perception of *Zuhause*, there generally exists a greater sensitivity towards discrimination in *all* spheres of life and at *all* levels of society than is the case for the first generation. This sensitivity towards discrimination revolves around personal experiences in areas such as the workplace, in which a feeling of systematic disadvantage has been experienced by a number of respondents:

"... there are great disadvantages for Turks. I have experienced the disadvantages when I worked for Siemens. I really felt disadvantaged there because I was a Turk". (SF3m)

Moreover, incidences of racism and discrimination outside the workplace are given much greater weight than is the case for the first generation, who often viewed these as one-offs (see Section 7.6):

"And then she started: go home, *blöde Ausländerin* [stupid foreigner], go home, you shouldn't be here in the first place, and so on. That really gets to you when you have to listen to things like that again and again". (SF3f)

and:

"... and this man was yelling at the child ... and then I went across the road and asked him why he yelled at her and then he said, *hau ab du Ausländer* [bugger off, foreigner]. ... And it took me very long to overcome this experience". (SW1)

Interestingly, a number of respondents mentioned that incidents of 'daily racism' (on the street, the workplace, in public places) have increased significantly in the period since German unification (cf. Ayim 1992):

¹⁰ These doubts do not necessarily imply that investments (as one example) are not made as a consequence, but rather that the respondents are more reflective about possible future paths and their exact nature. This will become clearer in chapter 10, when investment in housing is examined, and where it is shown that investment is made irrespective of these concerns.

"It wasn't like that earlier, and now everything is so bad. I don't know why this is the case, but since re-unification it has become much worse in Germany. ... I have now lived here for 20 years, but I never thought that things would develop so negatively here". (SF4f)

Discrimination isn't only perceived as being more significant at the level of the interaction order, but there is a much greater awareness of it at the level of the 'institutional order' (Goffman 1983), or structural discrimination. This revolves in particular around the denial of access to a number of practical resources (such as maternity- or family benefits), that feeds into a strong feeling of being constantly *systematically* disadvantaged and therefore being relegated to second-class citizens:

"We Turks have all the duties but no rights. That's how it is". (SF2m)

This feeling of inbuilt systematic discrimination at the institutional level is further exacerbated by the automatic granting of a larger number of citizenship rights to EU-citizens. This has led to a stronger sense of being undesired residents in Germany:

"We have so many disadvantages here, as Turks in Germany. Especially compared to the Greeks and so on. I have also paid around DM 1000 in taxes per month. For example, EU-citizens get family benefits and we don't. I think this is unfair". (SF3f)

The feeling of stronger discrimination relative to EU-citizens has been mentioned frequently as the factor that makes systematic disadvantage towards Turks even more disturbing to the people concerned (cf. Condé 1992), and the respondents are well aware of an ethnic hierarchy that places them at the very bottom, as are most of the primary immigrants (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Secondary immigrants, then, perceive discrimination based on their origin and descent in a much *stronger* way than the majority of primary immigrants and take it much more seriously, and these issues were much more significant topics in the interviews, being much more frequently raised by the respondents themselves. This stronger perception and significance of discrimination at various levels means that the respondents are forced into being prepared for a more insecure future, depending on political and social developments in Germany. I would argue that this *stronger* sensitivity towards racism and discrimination is the result of three factors in particular.

Firstly, language while having been important to develop a sense of agency in the then new country has started to work, in addition to still being a positive practical resource, as a negative factor. By improving their linguistic skills, the functioning of

society at all levels (at the level of the interaction and the institutional orders) has become more transparent to the individuals, who have thereby been more able to detect the systematic discrimination built into these levels:

"... I now think that people who don't speak German are much happier here, because they are not so aware of the *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* [hostility towards foreigners]. Maybe, it was easier for me when I came here, because I wasn't aware of it and because I was in the phase when I learned the language". (SF3m)¹¹

Secondly, having been socialised to a large extent in German institutions and in the German context more generally, the understanding of this system is inevitably greater than that of the majority of primary immigrants, making it again more transparent.

Thirdly, it is possible that the operation of the system is monitored more anxiously by this group, since 'return' would lead to a greater break in their lives as a result of the strong feeling of *Zuhause* and, often, *Heimat* in Germany. It should not be forgotten that life in Turkey was consciously experienced only for relatively short periods of time by most respondents, and that it is indeed no more than a holiday destination now.

While this strong feeling of home in Germany exists, however, the awareness of official and public (daily) discrimination leads to a *potential* ambivalence towards this *Zuhause*, that is regarded by many as being contingent on the prevailing conditions. As a consequence of this ambivalence, and despite significant shifts in the constitution of identities and the perception of *Zuhause* and *Heimat* in Germany (*ceteris paribus*), some degree of forced orientation towards Turkey and a questioning of the stability and duration of the *Zuhause* in Germany exists among most respondents:

"Although we've really settled down here now, when you experience this [racism] every day, it makes you think, my god, where am I here? And will I be able to stay here forever?" (SF3f)

The feeling of home and the exact shape of a return/non-return narrative is therefore crucially influenced by the development of the prevailing conditions in Germany:

"I really think a lot about these things. If the situation here deteriorates, then there will be no other option than to go back. We don't want to, because our *Zuhause*'s here, but maybe we won't really have a choice one day". (SF2m)

Although return would be a far more difficult issue for the secondary immigrants than for many primary immigrants, the respondents are *forced* to consider return as a

¹¹ 'Easier' here doesn't refer to life in general, but to the experience of racism and discrimination.

possibility and *to constantly monitor* the situation in both Turkey and Germany, which essentially leads to an open future and to some insecurity at present:

"I sometimes think about return, but it's difficult to tell, really. It's also dependent on the political situation here and in Turkey. That's the only thing it depends on. If the situation gets worse here, then there will be no other option than to return. But on the other hand, it's not that easy in Turkey either. Not stable. So it's really difficult for us, and sometimes *it makes you think*, should we also plan for return?". (SF2m, emphasis added)

There thus exists a strong forced ambivalence concerning the future (and consequently some issues in the present) that results in a reluctance among some to *fully* settle for good in the country *mentally*, although this clearly is the respondents' desire:

"I don't know how long I'll be able to live here. I don't want to go back, but I must always have in the back of my mind that I might be forced to go back. So in a way, I'm always forced to look closely at what's going on in Turkey". (SW1)

The strong awareness of discrimination at all levels of society has a crucial influence on the respondents' ethnic identity. While having been socialised to a large extent in and through German institutions, thereby having developed a strong German-influenced habitus, the respondents find it difficult to *truly* identify with their *Zuhause*. Their identification by natives thereby feeds directly into their ethnic identity, and it has been argued by many secondary immigrants that this is also influenced greatly by the official definition of Germanness (see Chapter 2), which in turn is perceived to lead to the daily discriminations experienced:

"... I still feel as being a Turk. But I have always thought, I mean I have now lived in Germany for 16 years, and if I had lived in the US for so long, I would certainly identify myself as an American now. Although I want to stay in Germany, I will never be able to call myself a German ...". (SF4m)

and:

"... in Germany, citizenship is dependent on the *Blutprinzip* [blood principle]. That means, if you're not of German descent, you're not a German and not a real citizen either. So I could never identify as a German."(MM2)

This official definition of Germanness makes the complete identification with Germany difficult or virtually impossible for a generation that is well aware of the operation of the system. This official definition, leading into frequent experiences of disadvantage and discrimination, may also explain the following comment by one of the respondents who, earlier, had claimed to feel *Zuhause* and *Heimat* in Germany:

Q: "What do you think is better in Turkey than here?"

A: "Probably that you feel more like being *in your own country*. That you don't feel so much as a foreigner there". (SF2f, emphasis added)

However, her husband then reflects on his wife's words and outlines the dilemma faced by 'German Turks':

"But it's really more complex than that. Incredibly difficult. I mean here, we are Turks. But in Turkey, we are not regarded as normal Turks, people there don't see us as real Turks". (SF2m)¹²

At an earlier point in the interview it became very clear, however, where the couple really want to live, and where they perceive their *Zuhause* (again *ceteris paribus*) to be:

"It wasn't clear at the beginning, but now I can say, I don't really want to go back. I don't want to go back, and she doesn't want to go back either". (SF2m)

This dilemma is captured in many of the poems of Aras Ören. Consider for example the following excerpt:

"When we separated in Munich, we smiled and said nothing. I am a foreigner in a foreign country, which has now been my *Zuhause* for ten years.

Now I go to another foreign country and leave my foreign *Zuhause* behind me, full of yearning". (Ören 1982, p. 45)

While a number of respondents have applied for, or already possess, German citizenship, this has therefore been entirely the result of the desire for being able to draw on more practical resources in Germany, and of overcoming some of the *official* discrimination built into the system. Applying for German citizenship is not a consequence or expression of a change in ethnic identity but is purely a practical matter (cf. Section 7.6):

Q: "Why have you decided to apply for German citizenship?"

A: "Because it gives me many advantages. I will remain a Turk anyway, I will always have black hair and for German officials I will always remain a Turk. I am aware of that. But especially in the social, economic and European spheres it gives me a lot of advantages. And that's why I want to try it. ... But nevertheless, in the end I will always remain an outsider". (SF3m)

These processes of discrimination and marginalisation are captured by Demirkan (1991), who describes the way identities are inscribed from outside on people of immigrant origin or descent:

¹² This dilemma is a recurrent theme in the literature and was also commented upon by a number of primary immigrants: that German-Turks are regarded as *Alamanca* (those from Germany) in Turkey.

"Despite all that, they were 'garlic-eaters' and *Kümmeltürken* [wogs] for many natives. She wasn't initiated into the other girl's secrets. Her parents were '*Ausländer*' [foreigners], therefore she and her sister were, too". (p. 20)

This treatment as a Turk, even when holding a German passport was confirmed by one of the respondents who has already been granted German citizenship:

"Although I hold a German passport, I will always be a Turk. *I will always be treated as a Turk.* I know that. You can't succeed against the context". (SF3f, emphasis added)

These processes shed some light on the content of the poem by Özakin at the beginning of this chapter. Secondary immigrants 'carry conflict and difference' in them not because they have chosen to do so or because they have spent part of their lives in Turkey, but because they are denied the status of, and acceptance as, full and equal citizens.

Ethnic identification therefore feeds directly into the respondent's ethnic identity. Despite the desire to utilise the practical resources found in Germany more effectively by holding a German passport there exists, as a result of the processes of disadvantaging and discrimination outlined above, a strong wish to retain Turkish citizenship as well. In the same way as German citizenship is seen as a means of securing equal access to practical resources and to avoid some of the official discrimination, retaining Turkish citizenship acts as a means of retaining the possibility of returning to Turkey if conditions in Germany should deteriorate:

Q: "Do you want to retain Turkish citizenship?"

A: "Don't tell anybody (laughs) ... I mean, everybody has a certain desire for security. And I want to be sure that I can return to Turkey if the situation here gets worse ... So, the security you get through citizenship is important to me". (SF2m)

It is, however, one of the peculiarities of the German definition of citizenship, that despite making the full integration of immigrants into German society virtually impossible (Korff 1990), they are refused the possibility of holding two passports. It is therefore up to the German state to facilitate the integration of immigrants and their children at the official level, thereby reducing processes of discrimination at all levels in the long run. Or as one respondent summed it up, the German state has to face up to reality:

"You must really be behind the times if you don't accept that Germany is a multi-cultural society". (MM2)

This, as has been demonstrated in this section, would be vital to lessen or abolish the element of potential insecurity and ambivalence, and would thereby make the planning of the respondents' lives in Germany easier.

9.5 The role of the family

As the previous section has shown, secondary immigrants face a number of (potential) dilemmas. While having accepted Germany as their *Zuhause* and (often) *Heimat*, the prospect of changing social and political conditions present potential question marks to Germany as home in the future, and can lead to an ambivalence in decisions at the present. However, as will be seen in this section the nuclear family, and in particular the future of their children, to a large extent balance this ambivalence and 'reinforce' the stability of Germany as home. While this has already been hinted at in previous sections, the importance of the family for residential issues (discussed in chapter 10) requires a more explicit discussion of its role for *Zuhause* and *Heimat*. In this section, I therefore outline the formation of families and the choice of partners. I then show that, despite the fact that most of my respondents are married to Turkish partners, they see their lives, both present and future, differently from their parents and also structure them in a strongly contrasted way.

The majority of secondary immigrants in this study are married to Turkish partners, which seems to suggest that the desire of the retention of a strong Turkish identity has been a factor in the choice of marriage partners. However, as the respondents have pointed out, this was not a consideration that led to this choice. Two factors were mentioned as the prime reasons for marrying a compatriot. Firstly, there was pressure from parents to marry a fellow Turk:

"In 1979 or 1980 my father told me, don't cause me any trouble ... And don't bring me a German as son-in-law". (SF3f)

and:

"I probably would have had difficulties with my parents if I had married for example a German, because in this respect my parents are, how can I say, a bit traditional in their culture, so to say". (SW1)

However, it is debatable how strong their parents' pressure *really* was, in particular since some of the respondents' siblings now have German partners, who have normally been accepted by the parents:

"My younger sister has a German boyfriend, Thomas, and my father just likes him so much and they get on really well, and once she wanted to drop him and my father got really worried [laughs]". (SF3f)

Nevertheless, as the respondents (who are often the oldest children and therefore possibly faced different expectations) pointed out, they felt that overt or covert pressure by their parents did exist.

Another factor, however, seems to have played a more significant role. In section 9.2 I have shown that the respondents were often constrained in their activity spaces in the earlier period in Germany, leading to a restriction of contacts to fellow immigrants. Again, this was the result of pressure by their parents, who were over-protective, often only allowing their children to spend their leisure time in organisations for immigrants. These contacts then clearly increased the likelihood of meeting a compatriot, which is what the majority of respondents saw as the ultimate reasons behind their 'choice' of marriage partner¹³:

"We've both been at the IG since 1980 and 1981 ... and that's where we got to know each other. And we fell in love there and got married [laughs]". (SF2m)

Marrying a fellow Turk was therefore an indirect result of a relatively strict upbringing:

"My parents didn't allow me very much. And therefore I spent most of my time at the IG which they considered as safe, because some of the children of their friends went there, too". (SF2f)

And:

"I'm married to a Turk, or rather to a Tscherkese¹⁴. ... We were both active in a few organisations and I was involved in a few groups for youngsters there and that's how we got to know each other". (SW1)

Although all the respondents now have children and most of them are married to partners of Turkish origin, there is nevertheless a clear sense in which, as I have argued

¹³ However, the respondents didn't mention why contacts at school didn't lead to cross-cultural marriages, pointing to the importance of a combination of limited activity spaces and direct parental pressure.

¹⁴ One of the tribes constituting the population of the Ottoman empire and, now, Turkey.

earlier, their lives are structured strongly *in contrast* to those of their parents. Therefore, straightforward conclusions should not be drawn from the ethnic composition of a marriage, but generational factors and factors related to upbringing are clearly more important. The differences with their parents, as has been pointed out by all the respondents, don't manifest themselves in different gender roles within the family, since these are described as being the same for both their parents and themselves:

"I can say that in Turkish families, especially amongst the first generation, one sees, that the husband maybe has a bit more to say. That's what people see from outside. But really, I mean in our family and also in her family the way I see it, and also in other first-generation families I know, the decisions have always been made by both. It was always the husband who played the boss, and afterwards she always called the shots and then both of them made decisions together. ... In this respect, there are more similarities than differences [between them and us]". (SF2m)

Rather than being related to gender roles, the differences show much more clearly in the general attitudes towards life and the togetherness of the family:

"I want to buy everything for my children, well not really everything, but I want to buy things for them from time to time, and not try to save money all the time like our parents did, especially in the beginning. And spending a lot of time with the children and all that sort of thing". (SF3m),

and:

"I think we've learned a lot from our parents. For example, the togetherness of the family, or simply to enjoy life. They didn't do that. And that's probably why it's so important for us. I think their lives have really taught us a lesson. For example I've always said, I want my children to be with me and enjoy life". (SF2f)

Spending time with their children, however, doesn't mean staying at home for the women, and all respondents (both men and women) were either in work at present (or unemployed), or were planning to continue work after the end of their maternity-leave:

"At any rate, I want to work again. Financially and also because I don't want to be a housewife". (SF2f)

Rather, it means spending free time with their children and generally being there for them:

"But now we have the children and when you have children, there are things you have to do without. Such as going out in the evenings. ... I just don't want to leave them with anybody else. Maybe I'm too careful and protective, but when a child wakes up it needs its mother or father. Others just can never take the place of parents. And in the end, I don't have the children in order to leave them alone ...". (SF3f)

Being with their children is one important aspect of difference compared to their parents; bringing the children up in one country is another. Giving their children the

opportunity to grow up *in Germany*, and providing them with a good education there is the desire expressed by all the respondents. It is interesting to note that although a lack of emotional resources (friendships, neighbourhood), or a lack of depth in friendships in particular, was mentioned as a deficit of life in Germany, it is again the quality of the practical resources that is seen as being most important for the upbringing of the children:

"... you know, we've got our children to think about, too. Their future, and what they will do. And for example in Turkey, you see children on the streets, cleaning shoes. 6 or 7-year olds. And that doesn't happen here. And the schools are simply better here and really, we want our children to grow up here". (SF2m)

This has led to a strong desire among the respondents to acquire German citizenship for their children, a move that, according to them would reflect their children's integration into German society more closely:

"... she [our daughter] was born in Germany, she has lived here all her life, she will attend *Kindergarten* here and school, and will probably study here ...". (SW1)

Having children therefore adds an extra dimension to life in Germany: it works both as a factor that ties the respondents still closer to the country, while also making free, unconstrained agency (returning to Turkey) in the event of deteriorating conditions in Germany more difficult¹⁵. While it has been acknowledged that their feeling of *Zuhause* is still to some extent conditional upon the prevailing conditions in the country, the respondents are quite clear about the fact that this conditionality will *probably* not apply to their children anymore, who will be socialised *entirely* in German institutions and possibly identify themselves as German, too¹⁶. This has been expressed by one mother who herself originated from a minority background in Turkey and who feels, in contrast to her parents who still feel *Tscherkese*, Turkish:

"I mean, my child will be assimilated here. From *Tscherkese* to Turk, and from Turk to German. That's the way it is". (SW1)

The children will therefore have their *Zuhause*, and probably even their *Heimat*, even more clearly in Germany. Since the lives of the secondary immigrants are structured also in contrast to those of their parents, the separation from the children, who should be brought up in Germany, is a far less likely option. The role of the family for the *Zuhause-*

¹⁵ The role of the family is therefore similar to that for primary immigrants discussed in chapter 7.

¹⁶ This, however, also depends on their acceptance by 'native' Germans, a factor that seems to be overlooked by some respondents.

orientation of the secondary immigrants is therefore an ambivalent one that, however, forces them into a greater stability of plans and, possibly, into accepting Germany as *Zuhause* whatever the conditions there. Or in other words, it could be argued that a big and significant change in the prevailing conditions is required in order to trigger return migration. This is the result of the desire to have a 'normal' family life and the awareness that their children shouldn't have to go through the same things they went through: the uprooting from a familiar environment. In some ways, therefore, these secondary immigrants, while always having to monitor the situation in Germany anxiously, have very little room to act should these situations deteriorate significantly. It seems that, despite some contingency of the *Zuhause*, they are indeed 'here to stay'. In chapter 10 and 11 I show that, in the sphere of residence, it is the children's well-being that now strongly influences residential decisions, thereby offsetting the potentially ambivalent attitude towards Germany as *Zuhause*.

9.6 Conclusion

While the secondary immigrants examined here had great difficulties in becoming accustomed to living in Germany at the beginning, this situation changed relatively quickly as a result of their passing through a number of German institutions, thereby being able to draw on a number of emotional and practical resources. Essentially, their *sense* of agency developed in Germany and is strongly connected to Germany, which has resulted in a change of habitus that reflects the experiences made in the country. This has led to a feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany, which is now clearly the focal point of their lives. It has been shown, however, that the *feeling* of *Zuhause* is contingent on the prevailing conditions in Germany, a fact which, given the status of racialised immigrants in German society, leads to the perception of a *potentially* insecure future in Germany. However, this potential insecurity only seems to have a limited impact on actions at present, firstly because the situation in Germany now still seems to be tolerable and, secondly because the respondents now have to take their children's future into consideration who, in all likelihood, will see Germany as their *Heimat*. Since the well-being and togetherness of the family is extremely important for this group, it is possible that while the respondents will find it difficult to mentally settle in Germany *fully*, they have physically settled there for

good. In chapters 10 and 11, residence is integrated into this discussion of the evolving lives of secondary immigrants and their families.

Chapter 10

Residence in Biographies II: Secondary Immigrants

10.1 Introduction

Following a difficult start after arriving in Germany, secondary immigrants have developed a strong feeling of *Zuhause* (and even *Heimat*) in Germany, connected to the emergence of their sense of agency in the country. This stronger feeling of *Zuhause* is both cause and effect of a changing habitus. Despite a certain potential ambivalence towards this *Zuhause*, caused by possible changes in the future, the significance of the family - manifested in an ontological narrative constructed as a result of their own experiences and their parents' lives - probably rules out the possibility of return and ensures that this group (like many primary immigrants and their families) is indeed here for good.

The following sections now examine the ways in which residence has been integrated into and has impinged on the respondents' lives. In section 10.2, the role of the first residence(s) in Germany is examined, while section 10.3 then outlines the respondents' independent movement through the housing market and their experiences in it. In section 10.4, their current residential satisfaction and their future plans are considered.

10.2 The role of the first residence(s)

Their uprooting from a familiar environment in Turkey presented a number of problems to the respondents. These problems resulted from the absence of certain emotional resources, as well as the difficulties in fully utilising a vast number of practical resources. 'Residence' took on particular significance in this early period, both as a result of the problems encountered in other spheres (e.g. having to spend a lot of time in the flats as a result of their parents' over-protectiveness) and through the nature of these dwellings as such.

The secondary immigrants in the sample arrived in Germany, as their parents had done before (see Section 7.2), with certain expectations of the new country¹. These expectations were mainly formed by reports in the media and, to a lesser extent, their parents:

“Yes, I had expectations, although there wasn't any satellite-TV or anything like that. But of course, there was quite a lot about foreign countries on TV. And for me it was that Europe, the highly industrialised countries, were very wealthy ...”. (SF3m)

Not surprisingly, it was therefore expected that their parents would share some of this wealth, manifested in particular in areas such as housing. As a result of these expectations, when encountering a very different reality, the parents' housing conditions were experienced as the first *major* disappointment after arriving in Germany. This disappointment, connected to the comparison with residential conditions in Turkey (cf. Section 7.4), is still quite vivid in their memories:

“I was so disappointed at the beginning. They picked us up at the airport in 1978 and then I was really, I thought in Turkey we had had a better flat ... That was really, it was an old flat with wooden stairs, and I thought, oh my god, I mean, I had thought we would have a better flat here ... We had four bedrooms, but we shared them with another family. We didn't have our own bathroom nor toilet. The toilet was outside the flat ... and we didn't have hot running water. We had to heat it up ourselves”. (SF2f)

Another respondent, whose parents already lived in a *Sozialwohnung* at the time, remembers in particular the congested conditions and the lack of privacy:

Q: “Where did you live at that time?”

A: “We lived in a *Sozialwohnung*, in a really small one. There were two rooms and a kitchen and in one room we, that is my sisters and me, we, that is the four of us, lived. ... And I mean, it was really difficult. When you're a certain age you want to have your own space and that just wasn't possible”. (SW1)²

In some cases, this early disappointment with their parents' flats was clearly connected primarily to the nature of the residences in relation to the expectations before arrival and in comparison to Turkey, while in other cases it was based on the actual effects (such as lack of privacy) the dwellings had. Whatever the precise effect, residence represented an important first encounter with their parents' lives in Germany.

Earlier, I demonstrated that the primary immigrants often only improved their housing conditions once their family had joined them in Germany, usually by moving in the private-rented sector at least once and, later, often by moving into social housing (see

¹ None of the respondents here arrived at a *very* young age (younger than 10) in Germany, so that all of them had their own ideas of what the new country would be like.

² It appears that the family thereby violated the Alien's Law.

Chapter 8). This improvement of their housing conditions facilitated a stronger feeling of *Zuhause*, but it frequently took several years to achieve this (see Section 8.2), in which the families were often forced to live in inadequate conditions. These conditions were generally perceived even more negatively by the children than by their parents, firstly because of the children's dashed expectations and secondly because the children typically spent more time in and around the flats, both as a result of the structure of their daily schedule (classes in Germany only take place in the morning on most days) and of their parents' over-protectiveness which limited the amount of spare time spent outside the dwelling (see Section 9.2). Thus, the housing conditions had to be endured for a greater proportion of the day:

"... I had absolutely nothing to do at the beginning. Basically, I was either at home, or on the street, playing football. ... When other children had come back from school". (SF3m)

and:

"That was in Karlstrasse, very close to the main station, not a great area [laughs]. We were eight people and we lived in two rooms. ... It was a house that was ready for demolition. And as I've said before, I was at home most of the time. And during the day, it was boring, and when they all came home it was congested". (MM2)

These residential conditions, in addition to other problems they faced at that time (see Section 9.2) made feeling *Zuhause* in Germany difficult for the respondents:

"Honestly, at first I didn't like Germany at all. Not at all. It was horrible, the flat, my god ... It was a really old flat, and very small". (SF3f)

and:

"Well, I mean everybody says, it is so nice and this and that and the Germans are so fair, and ... of course you then start to imagine what it will be like, and then you arrive and you live in such a dump. It was really terrible, you know". (SF3m)

Only once these severe, early residential problems had been overcome did the respondents feel more 'at home' in Germany. In some cases, this was achieved relatively quickly as the conditions in the dwellings sometimes became intolerable, so that a move was inevitable:

"The five of us lived in two rooms and that was just terrible. And then I think my parents applied for a *Sozialwohnung* and then we moved into a flat with 4 bedrooms, a flat from the *Wohnungsamt*. Yes, four bedrooms. That was like paradise. My parents and my brother still live there. ... Now, my parents have a very big flat". (SF2m),

and:

"We had a room provided by the hospital in Neuperlach... but I wasn't happy there, because it was very confined there. And then we got the rented flat, again from the hospital, and that was really much better and I felt much more comfortable there". (SF4f)

While these early problems were related primarily to the internal nature of the flats, two of the respondents indicated that there was a connection between the nature of the flats and their early contacts: because the downmarket flats were located in dilapidated blocks, and were the only ones their parents and other immigrants were able to get access to at the time, their early social contacts were limited to their neighbours who were primarily fellow immigrants, often Turks³. As a result, there was often no opportunity for contacts with Germans in the house:

“So the Turks living in our house were our acquaintances and so on, and we mainly interacted with them ... It was a small ghetto, shall we say. Not a big one like the BMW *Wohnheime*, which means, theoretically the contact to the outside world was possible, it was open. But still it was a bit like a ghetto”. (MM2)

These respondents indicated that this made their integration into German society after arrival more difficult, but it can be assumed that the residential environment was only one factor among many, and others certainly included the lack of integration in other spheres, such as schooling (see Section 9.2). The feeling of isolation in one sphere thereby exacerbated the feeling of a lack of integration in others, and the role of residence should therefore not be underestimated. This is supported by the fact that other respondents have reported the exact opposite and indicated that the positive nature of contacts with (German) neighbours often offset some of the problems related directly to the more common problem of confined conditions within the flat as such, as well as more general difficulties of integration:

“I can say that my first contacts with Germans were really good. Because I had an 'uncle Fischer' and an 'auntie Fischer'. And they lived on the same floor and they loved me so much and I loved them so much, and they were the first Germans I met”. (SF2f)

While the reports about the nature of housing 'externalities', in particular the contact with neighbours, vary for this early period, the inadequate conditions within the flats clearly worked against immediately developing a strong feeling of *Zuhause*. This, however, has to be seen in connection with other problems faced by the secondary immigrants at that time. Movement into better housing was therefore *one* important factor (amongst others, see Section 9.2) to facilitate a stronger sense of *Zuhause*. This doesn't mean, however, that a residential move with their parents necessarily represented an end to 'residential problems', since these often resurfaced when the respondents started their independent residential histories, thereby directly and personally encountering the

³ This was a probably a consequence of the reliance on personal contacts outlined in section 8.3.

operation of the housing market, already experienced as extremely tight and inaccessible by their parents' generation (see Sections 8.3 and 8.4).

10.3 Movement through the housing market, discrimination and search behaviour

Leaving their parents' homes was, for the secondary immigrants, triggered by one of two processes: marriage or starting work. The respondents thereby started their independent movement⁴ through the housing market from a position not dissimilar to that of their parents when they left the *Wohnheim*: they had to operate in a relatively unfamiliar environment (the housing market) with limited financial resources, as members of a stigmatised minority group. On the other hand, however, the respondents had accumulated some knowledge about the structure of this market, through being socialised to a large extent in German institutions and through their parents' experiences.

The general pattern of movement through the market has been remarkably similar for all the respondents examined here. The first residence was usually set up in the private market sometimes followed by a second move within this sector. Subsequent moves were usually made into some form of social housing, where all the respondents now live⁵. This similarity to the patterns and processes of primary immigrants (with the exception of the *Wohnheim*), who have exhibited a *relative* shift towards social housing later in their residential histories (see Chapters 6 and 8)⁶, suggests that the structure of the Munich housing market critically circumscribes the opportunities for members of Munich's Turkish population and thereby channels them into particular sectors, no matter what the generation or their date of arrival in Germany is. Although these patterns may be similar for primary and secondary immigrants, however, their detailed causes need further examination in order to understand the residential processes affecting Turkish immigrants and their families.

The difficulties in getting access to suitable housing usually started with the respondents' first independent residences. It was reported by everybody in the sample that

⁴ Independence here refers to 'independence from parents or other relatives'.

⁵ Frau Schnackenburg-Bilgir, a social worker who deals mainly with secondary immigrants, told me that those children of primary immigrants who have lived independently for some years and who have children typically live in *Sozialwohnungen* now.

⁶ However, for primary immigrants the private-rented sector has clearly remained most significant.

starting their housing careers, as well as subsequent movement through the private-rented sector, was difficult because of the operation of the market, in particular their inferior position as members of a stigmatised population of immigrant origin:

“It was really difficult. ...we looked in the newspaper, then phoned people, and made an appointment. And then they wanted to know my name and when they found out that I was Turkish, they said no I'm sorry, we can't give you the flat, because we've had bad experiences with foreigners”. (SW1)

Another respondent points out, however, that this was again dependent on cost and that it was particularly difficult to find a *reasonably-priced* flat:

“Some people were very explicit. They said, we don't let our flats to Turkish families. They were completely open about it. I've had these experiences more than once. ... We had a few offers or rather chances to get a flat, but they were usually really expensive. For example, for one room, a single room, in Bogenhausen, they wanted 800 marks per month. And apart from that they wanted bond and commission and all that sort of thing. And we found a flat in Unterschleißheim, also private, and the landlord demanded that we would renovate the flat first, which would have cost approximately 15000 Marks”. (SF2f)

Moreover, among the respondents there also exists a clear perception of an ethnic hierarchy in the housing market. This perception is based on their experiences in looking for a flat, and is also perceived to exist in other spheres (see Section 9.4):

“For Turks I would say it is undoubtedly more difficult. That's more difficult than for an Italian or a French or an American or a Brit. I think there are really three classes. Firstly Germans, then others and then Turks. That's the way it is. Because landlords always tell you, we don't want Turks. And even an estate agent once told us that it's very difficult to find a flat for Turks because the landlords usually don't want Turks as tenants. He said, it's much easier for Italians, for example.”. (SW1)

While regarding themselves arguably as having a greater sense of *Zuhause* and even *Heimat* in Germany than their parents (cf. Chapter 9; Fischer and McGowan 1995), indicated also by the fact that the parents of two of the respondents returned to Turkey in the late 1980s and that the respondents want to stay in Germany for good (see Chapter 9), this different identity has never been reflected in their identification or treatment by the 'native' population. This indicates that discrimination against Turks is perceived to be universal and is the same for the different generations, based on the same or similar prejudice.

For the respondents, these early experiences were not only relevant at the time by making their access to flats extremely difficult, but have had a crucial impact on their habitus and their approach to the housing market at later stages in their 'housing career' (Kendig 1984). As a result of experiencing these problems of access on the grounds of ethnic discrimination the respondents had to rely, like their parent generation did (see

Section 8.3), on informal sources for finding first and subsequent flats in the private market, after unsuccessfully using more formal sources such as newspapers or estate agents:

“The flat was in Milbertshofen, and I got it through a friend. I got to know him in our folk-dance group. And he told me that there were vacant flats in a block in Milbertshofen. It was such a, such a block with small flats built for foreigners ...”. (SF2m)

and:

“Fortunately, I had connections through work. We were really desperate and I said to a colleague, I urgently need a flat, can you help me? And then the colleague arranged something and that ... was OK.”. (SF3m)

The difficulties faced in the private market also led to a case of primacy of residence over location already observed for primary immigrants (see Section 8.3). Since all the respondents reported having been under pressure at various points in time, the location of the dwellings was usually unimportant. This again suggests, as has already been shown for the vast majority of primary immigrants, that it is accessibility to housing rather than locational choice that has shaped the *spatial form* these housing careers have taken so far. Moreover, location was not a consideration whatever the tenure status of the dwellings, even when the respondents finally moved into social housing:

Q: “And with the *Sozialwohnung*? Was it important for you that it was in a particular area?”

A: “No, it was only the flat that was important then, and not its location. Although they ask you to specify some preferred wards”. (SW1)

and:

“... we wanted to take what we could get. The main thing was the flat ... and then we simply took the first flat, which was in Schwabing”. (MM2)⁷

While this refers to a private flat, the same respondent outlines why, when applying for social housing, location usually doesn't play a role and thereby provides an explanation for the *general* irrelevance of location (but see Section 10.4), as well as the power of the *Wohnungsamt* in influencing locational patterns:

“... we simply wanted to accept anything we were offered. The main thing was a bigger flat. Because I knew that you can't afford to decline any flat. When you decline once, you're out of the game for good”. (MM2)

Thus, even within the sources people were forced to resort to in their search for dwellings, it was usually the first flat offered that was accepted, because it was clearly

⁷ Although the German wife usually looked for a flat in this case, the couple reported that their Turkish name worked as a clear disadvantage in the search for a dwelling.

feared that there wouldn't be any other options in the future (see also Section 8.3). As one respondent summed it up:

“When you look for a flat for a long time there just comes a point when you accept almost anything as long as it's a bit better than the previous one and as long as you can afford it”. (SF3f)

While making use of informal sources at least guaranteed access to housing, albeit without any influence on location, the respondents generally expressed their dissatisfaction with their first independent flat and, indeed, often with subsequent flats (where applicable) in the private market. This is clearly explained by the fact that, while still being on comparatively low incomes as a result of having only relatively recently started their careers (and the fact that these were often in semi-skilled jobs), the respondents were competing with 'native' Germans in a similar class-position for the cheaper sector of the private market but, in the same way as primary immigrants, were further disadvantaged there as a result of their ethnic status. The resulting housing conditions were reported to have led to extreme levels of stress and tensions in some cases. The reports of one woman demonstrate the severity this sometimes took and the potential consequences poor housing conditions can, and indeed did, have:

“We lived there for four years, in one room. I really had depressions because of the situation in the flat, because it was so congested and because I'm very sensitive to noise. The flat was on the ground floor, directly on the main street. There was a lot of noise and dust and it was so confined. And then I got pregnant and at the time I faced the decision whether, in this situation, I should have an abortion because of the poor flat. ... *You can see what a role housing has played in my life*”. (SW1, emphasis added),

Another respondent, too, talks about the consequences of poor residential conditions and the strain for the couple through living in a small apartment in Schwanthalerhöhe (cf. Chapter 11):

“... there were many conflict situations [between me and my wife], we often argued because the flat was just not big enough for two people”. (SF4m)

While the housing conditions in the private-rented flats were clearly unsatisfactory, at the beginning the respondents didn't get access to the public sector despite their generally low incomes:

“I went to the *Wohnungsamt*, but they didn't give me anything [because] we simply didn't have enough credits..., because we didn't have a child. And he told me, without a child you don't stand a chance. And then I said, but I can't have a child just in order to get a flat”. (SF4m)

However, it must also be pointed out here that very often both partners were in employment, a factor which generally reduces the chances of access to social housing through raising the household income. Nevertheless, this provides a further indication of

the desperate situation a number of people found themselves in as a result of their housing conditions.

Early experiences in the private-rented sector influenced the respondents' subsequent approaches to finding a flat, and have clearly influenced the particular shape of their residential histories so far, because the respondents generally reported that they ignored this sector at later stages:

Q: "So you said you didn't try to find another rented flat before you applied for the *Sozialwohnung*?"

A: "No, because ... with two children and as a foreigner, you might as well not try. We had difficulties getting a flat without children, but with children? And of course, he also got unemployed then". (SF3f)

The orientation from private housing to the public sector (or publicly supported housing) was therefore to a large extent the result of *earlier experiences* in the private sector, rather than being based first and foremost on an evaluation of the structure of the private market *around the time of a move*:

"... and then I had had such bad experiences before when looking for a flat and I just didn't want to sacrifice myself once again, so to say, and to hand myself over to other people and to have the same experiences all over again. So I sometimes looked at the newspaper and there were flats. But I never called again because I was too afraid". (SW1)

and:

"There was simply no point in trying again, because we wouldn't have found a better flat anyway and so we waited until we were eligible for a *Sozialwohnung*". (SF2m)

This, I believe, is of great significance for the analysis of residential histories and residential migration. Rather than being based solely or even mainly on the structure of the housing market at the time of a potential move, physical action (movement) is ruled out because of earlier experiences and the emergence of an ontological narrative revolving around the general inaccessibility of the private-rented market for Turks. Non-migration is therefore firmly located in people's biographies, and the housing market is evaluated through people's narrative identities or, given the similarity of patterns of action observed here, their habitus. Earlier experiences therefore clearly suggested that the respondents' agency could not be translated into successful action in the private-rented sector. In some respects, therefore, the respondents experienced a virtual 'dissolution of agency' in relation to the private-rented sector. Consequently, agency was increasingly directed to the public sector.

While earlier experiences and the orientation away from the private sector to social housing were again necessary conditions for finally moving into a *Sozialwohnung*, they were not sufficient for getting access to it. This was again dependent on meeting the criteria of access, which were met by the respondents here either through having children or becoming unemployed (or a combination of both), as already touched upon above:

“... and then in 85 we got married and then we lived together in this small room, for 18 months or so. And then we moved here, and this is a *Sozialwohnung*. We went to the *Wohnungsamt*, because she was also pregnant then”. (SF2m)

and:

“And he became unemployed and I was well advanced in my pregnancy, and he got thrown out of his job and didn’t earn anything. We just couldn’t have afforded another flat and so we applied for a *Sozialwohnung*”. (SF3f)

Additionally, information about accessibility was needed, and this was usually provided by friends, family or organisations or, as the respondents expressed it, was just ‘common knowledge’. As Frau Schnackenburg-Bilgir pointed out to me when we talked about differences between primary and secondary immigrants:

“The second generation is quite different from the first generation in many respects. ... I would say that on average they know more about their rights and are also more willing to stand up for them. They’ve got greater confidence”.⁸

As a result of meeting the criteria of access and limiting their search to the public sector, all the respondents have now moved into social housing. However, this has often been achieved only after long waiting periods and it is again the variation in these periods that is particularly striking (cf. Section 8.4). The following two quotations are indicative of this, and despite the fact that they relate to 1993 and 1990 respectively, given the similar nature of the respondents’ circumstances there seems to exist, as I have pointed out before, some arbitrariness in the allocation of social housing by the *Wohnungsamt*:

“I was really surprised how quickly we got the flat, in less than a year. OK, we were very high up the list, I was very pregnant, and where should we have gone to? In his first year, he only got, how much did you get, 2000 marks. And we had to pay 1500 marks for rent, and water and electricity on top of that, and then with a child ...”. (S3f)

This contrasts strongly with the experiences of the woman who had suffered from depressions in her previous flat (see above), and her story clearly raises further questions about the practices of the *Wohnungsamt* in the allocation of flats:

⁸ Given my own observation in chapter 8, this view is probably over-simplistic and really only talks about very crude differences, ignoring the diversity within the ‘first generation’. Moreover, secondary immigrants don’t seem to have ‘greater confidence’ to act in the private-rented sector.

“I mean, we had to wait for four years for the *Sozialwohnung*. Four years! I even went to a neurologist and brought a number of medical certificates from him to the *Wohnungsamt*. And they then said, I should live in a women’s refuge for some time until I get a flat. And then I said, I’m facing the decision whether I should have an abortion or not, how can you suggest to me to separate from my husband in this situation? And then after a few months my doctor called the *Wohnungsamt* and told them that the child could be born disabled and that he would take legal action and then they told him immediately that I had a flat and that they had just wanted to inform me. But I was so annoyed that many people who were far better off than us got a *Sozialwohnung* straight away”. (SW1)

Moreover, difficulties in access once flats were allocated were also reported, resulting from the landlords’ or administrators’ choice of tenants (See Appendix 4). As one respondent explained:

“This was the third flat here. We got three suggestions from the *Wohnungsamt*, and the management then gets five applicants to choose from. And twice they didn’t take us. ... They were, they were like private landlords. They behaved as if they were owning the flats. They didn’t want to let the flats to foreigners”. (SF2f)

In addition to these problems one woman, who is now active in working for improving immigrants’ rights in Munich, later told me that it is ‘generally known’ that immigrants are discriminated against by the *Wohnungsamt* itself and, moreover, that access to social housing can be sped up by bribing officials:

“Bribery in the *Wohnungsamt* definitely exists. If you’re willing to pay money to officials, you can get a flat fairly quickly. And it’s not just the *Wohnungsamt*, it’s other authorities, too”. (SW1)

This is clearly an accusation that is difficult to prove and, at this point, difficult to verify. However, there exists a general feeling amongst the respondents that getting access to a *Sozialwohnung* is very much a matter of chance, and that there is room for arbitrariness in a very opaque system:

“... at the *Wohnungsamt*, it is a real catastrophe. ... I think they do it like, like a lottery. Or they simply throw dice, I don’t know. There doesn’t seem to be any logic or structure behind what they do”. (MM2)

In my interviews with social workers I raised this question of discrimination by the authorities. While they agreed that this was difficult to prove, I was told that, in an interview with employees from the *Wohnungsamt* conducted by the *Ausländerbeirat*⁹ [Foreigners’ Advisory Council], one employee gave away the attitude towards foreigners there:

“... and in the interview somebody from the *Wohnungsamt* said that *Ausländer* produce children only in order to get access to a *Sozialwohnung*”.

⁹ An advisory body elected by Munich’s foreign population to represent their interests to the municipal authorities.

The pattern of movement through housing sectors for the sample of secondary immigrants examined here shows a distinct sequence, starting with movement in and often through, the private-rented market and, later, movement into social housing. This shift towards *Sozialwohnungen*, often achieved only after long waiting periods, was to a large extent caused by earlier experiences in the private sector so that once the criteria of access to social housing were met, private-rented flats were ignored completely. As for the first generation, the general difficulties in getting access to all flats have meant that the location of a flat has so far been irrelevant, and that the improvement of *internal* residential conditions has always been paramount.

At this point it is interesting to make a further comparison with primary immigrants. In chapter 8, I have shown that residence was essential in developing a greater sense of *Zuhause* amongst this group. However, while the first residence has had an important impact on the initial perception of Germany for the secondary immigrants, their subsequent *Zuhause* and *Heimat* orientations seem to have been left unaffected by the difficulties in finding a flat. Or, in other words, when these difficulties were encountered, their sense of *Zuhause* in Germany outlined in chapter 9 was already strong enough to be unaffected by these issues, probably because the being together of the family didn't *directly* depend on residence.

The next section now examines whether movement into social housing has led to satisfactory residential conditions and takes a look at the respondents' future plans.

10.4 Current residential satisfaction and future plans

As a result of their experiences in the private market and their changing household circumstances, the second generation respondents interviewed here now all live in *Sozialwohnungen*. This movement into social housing has, in general, led to a high degree of satisfaction with the internal characteristics of the flat as such:

Q: "Are you satisfied with the flat?"

A: "Yes, definitely. We were so lucky. It's a really nice flat". (SF3f)

and:

"It's so much nicer than what we had before. It's quite small, but it's OK, really. Two bedrooms, just big enough". (SW1)

This satisfaction is therefore also relative to the previous flat(s), and is enhanced further by the perception that rent levels are very acceptable and, most importantly, low relative to other, comparable housing in Munich (cf. Section 8.5):

Q: "And how much rent do you pay here?"

A: "950 marks. That's very reasonable. I mean, when you consider Munich. If you look somewhere else, when you consider that in the North¹⁰ a three-bedroom-flat costs 300 or 400 marks ... But for Munich, it's very good". (MM2)

The rent currently paid is again also evaluated relative to the previous flat. Since this was a private flat in all cases, current rent burdens look even more favourable:

"But the flat is very reasonably-priced. As I said, for our last flat we paid 700 or 800 marks for one room. OK, it included a garage. But now we only pay 600 marks. And that's really good". (SW1)

There is a third aspect of residential satisfaction, however, and it is here that secondary immigrants seem to differ fundamentally from their parents' generation. As pointed out earlier, amongst the secondary immigrants there generally exists a much greater awareness of and sensitivity to racism and discrimination than is the case for primary immigrants. The sphere of residence is not excluded from these concerns, and is indeed central to them, as it was for a limited period of time for *some* primary immigrants (see Section 8.5). Consequently, *all the respondents* have reported that the arson attacks in 1993 (despite occurring in northern Germany) have made a severe impression on them, and it is here that a further aspect of residence acquires significance: its location within the building. While one of the respondents pointed out that living on the fourth floor meant that she had to carry her shopping all the way up the stairs, she was quick to explain that it is nevertheless important, as a member of Germany's Turkish population, not to live on the ground floor. In particular, she pointed out that living higher up in the house provides a higher (though not complete) degree of security and protection from arson attacks in her flat than would otherwise be the case:

"Something changed in my flat then [through the arson attacks]. It was suddenly not simply a place where I lived anymore, but also a place where I felt threatened. But on the other hand, I was really relieved that I live on the fourth floor and I thought, thank God I live on the fourth floor, which means that they couldn't easily throw anything into my flat". (SW1)

Another respondent, talking about the same issue, contrasts this directly with the way she feels when staying at her parents' house:

¹⁰ The north of Germany.

“I'm so afraid when I'm there. It's in the middle of the city and if somebody jumped up just a bit, it would be so easy to throw something through the window. ... But here it's different. Because it's on the second floor. And here they couldn't throw anything into our flat”. (SF3f)

There generally exists, then, a high degree of satisfaction with three aspects of the current place of residence, which are also related to both previous experiences and the evaluation of the present context: its internal nature (such as size and quality), the rent paid, and its location within the house or apartment block.

This generally high level of satisfaction is not matched by the location of the flats in particular neighbourhoods, or their localities. This is another aspect in which the secondary immigrants clearly differ from their parent generation who, as I have demonstrated earlier, display high degrees of satisfaction with the location of their dwellings, and relates to the processes outlined in section 9.5.

While in section 10.3 I have shown that locational considerations have so far been unimportant *in the search* for flats, mainly because of the pressure the respondents found themselves under, there now exists a high degree of dissatisfaction amongst most of them. This different and changing outlook on locational matters is clearly caused by the changing familial structures, and is most crucially related to the upbringing of children. It is also likely to differ from most primary immigrants as a result of factors such as the strong feeling of *Zuhause* and *Heimat* in Germany, outlined in chapter 9. Consequently, the emergence of this dissatisfaction takes place within a much closer monitoring of the context. The majority of the respondents therefore expressed their dissatisfaction with the location *specifically* in relation to their children's future, which indicates that the perception of particular localities varies with changing personal circumstances, and that the salience of different ontological narratives is itself influenced by the structure of particular localities:

“Really, I always liked Neuperlach. ... But now, with the drug problem and the hostility towards foreigners... When the children are a bit older, I don't want to live here any more. Then we will look for a flat somewhere else. Maybe we'll buy one. I think we probably will. If things change we will probably stay here. If not, we'll move somewhere else”. (SF3f)

Having children therefore adds an extra dimension to residential issues: the desire to provide the best possible upbringing (see Section 9.5) leads to the wish eventually to move out of what are considered as unfavourable neighbourhoods, which the respondents have been allocated to by the *Wohnungsamt*. Unfavourable conditions occur when too many members of (low status) minority groups live in a ward or neighbourhood. This, according to the respondents, leads to an increase in the likelihood of racist attacks, the

accumulation of social problems in these areas, and the segregation of children in schools and kindergartens (cf. Chapter 11):

“I don’t want my daughter to go to a school or a kindergarten where 60 or 70% of the children are Turkish or Yugoslavs or whatever. I want her to have the same chances as a German child, the same starting position.”. (SF3m)

The majority of respondents perceive themselves to be currently living in areas where all these problems do and will occur¹¹, which impinges strongly on their future residential plans. While a high degree of ‘internal’ residential satisfaction has thus been achieved, the context of changing familial structures has led to the orientation of future considerations towards improving the *locational* context. In order to achieve this, most respondents have expressed the desire to purchase a flat in the short to medium term: firstly, in order to achieve this goal of a ‘better’ location for their children’s upbringing; and secondly in order to avoid paying rent and to secure a *material future* for their children. As I have argued earlier, this is connected to the fact that the respondents clearly see their children’s (and, *ceteris paribus*, their own) future in Germany. This impinges on residential issues and ultimately, purchasing a flat itself ties the respondents closer to the country¹², consolidating their feeling of *Zuhause* and *Heimat* there. This is well illustrated here by the example of one family who were just about to make the transition into owner-occupation at the time of the interview:

“There are a few reasons why we wanted to buy now. The first is, to move away from here. It’s just not such a good area. For us it’s OK, but for the children it’s not ideal. But I think that was not the prime consideration, was it? [Looks at his wife who shakes her head] We also, that is, we want to save the rent and we simply want something we can call our own. Something we can then pass on to our children”. (SF2m),

While the residential histories of the majority of the respondents have so far mainly been the result of the desire to improve their internal housing conditions, having their own children and them starting school or kindergarten has added a further dimension to their lives and has changed their identities. This new dimension, manifested as an ontological narrative as part of people’s identities, impinges strongly on locational considerations *in the context of having achieved a high level of ‘internal’ residential satisfaction*. For this

¹¹ These families currently live in Ramersdorf-Perlach, Schwabing-Freimann, Berg am Laim, Obergiesing and Thalkirchen-Fürstenried. Most of these wards have been shown in chapter 6 to exhibit over-representations of Turks and/or other foreigners.

¹² The purchase of a flat or a house in Germany differs significantly from becoming an owner-occupier in Britain since it is very uncommon to change residence more than once in the owner occupied market. This means that it is usually a much longer-term investment people commit themselves to and represents a much bigger step.

family, this means moving to Thalkirchen-Fürstenried, which is perceived as a more desirable area:

“My husband works in Thalkirchen-Fürstenried and that’s why we knew, äh, we knew that the area is good. We wanted to go there, and we even would have waited a bit longer, but then this flat from this municipal trust became vacant, and that was fairly cheap and you can only get it when you vacate a *Sozialwohnung*. And then we acted fast”. (SF2f)

While the desire to purchase a flat exists, however, the respondents are not willing to become the 'slaves of their mortgages'. It has been expressed very strongly that the price of the (potential) new residence has to be set in relation to the desire to continue to go on what they regard as 'living' (which means primarily not having to give up leisure activities or going on holiday, cf. Chapter 11). In expressing this desire the respondents have been crucially influenced by their parents who have, according to some, sacrificed living for saving (cf. Chapter 9). The structuring of their lives as a contrast to their parents is therefore crucially manifested in the sphere of residence:

“They always saved money, never spent it. And I don't want that. A better flat is important, but I wouldn't sacrifice everything for it. ... I wouldn't want a one-bedroom-flat, that would be too small, but I wouldn't buy a three-bedroom-flat either and give everything else up for it. ... A flat isn't everything. It's important, but you've still got to live. ... It's not the flat of our dreams [... *nicht die Wohnung, die uns am Herzen liegt* ...], but when you think that you couldn't afford it, you have to reduce your demands [on the flat]”. (SF2m)

For this particular family, this has resulted in purchasing a publicly-subsidised, owner-occupied flat (see Chapter 5). However, spending less on housing has led to a potential dilemma. The desire to spend only a limited amount of money on housing in order to be able to 'enjoy life' has meant that the flat is located on the ground floor. This has led them to reflect on aspects of safety in the interview:

“... the flat is on the ground floor. I like that because of the children, so that they can go out and play. On the other hand, we've had some second thoughts because of the safety aspects and racism and so on. In terms of security, the second floor would be better. But of course it's more expensive, too”. (SF2m)

There exists, therefore, some negotiation between the money people are willing to spend on a new flat, and their demands on size, location within the house, and the location within the city. While this holds to a large extent for everybody, this is again more complex for immigrant minorities. As a result of the fear of racist attacks, even when purchasing a flat immigrant minorities are *potentially* more constrained than the 'native' population and, if they want to meet *all* the demands they have on a flat, have to spend more money compared to the 'native' population. Otherwise, they are forced to compromise on issues such as security.

While the secondary immigrants in this study have achieved a high degree of internal residential satisfaction as a result of their movement into social housing, the location of these *Sozialwohnungen* in particular areas has led to a re-evaluation of the locality after having children and as they are about to start kindergarten or school. As a result, the majority have expressed the desire to move out of these wards and purchase a flat in the near future, thereby attaching as much significance to location as to the quality of the flat. The desire to purchase a flat stems from the wish to secure their children's future in Germany and is an implicit acceptance of their own permanent *Zuhause* and *Heimat* in Germany. However, in order to fulfil all the demands made on a flat (including the aspect of security), people of immigrant origin (and, possibly, descent) are forced to spend more on it than 'native' Germans. Thus, even in the 'free' market of owner occupation, it is members of low-status minority groups who are at a clear disadvantage.

10.5 Summary and discussion

In their movement through the housing market, the secondary immigrants in this study have faced problems that are very similar to those experienced by their parent generation. However, in contrast to their parents, residence has played a less significant role in generating a strong feeling of *Zuhause*, despite the fact that the problems of initial settlement and integration, tied to the difficulties of access to various emotional and practical resources, were made even more difficult as a result of the inadequate residential conditions their parents had lived in. However, despite various problems in their *independent* movement through the housing market, difficulties in finding adequate housing didn't endanger their stay in Germany because by then the respondents, *ceteris paribus*, had already developed a very strong sense of *Zuhause* in Germany, as outlined in section 8.3.

Independent movement through the housing market, triggered either through marriage or starting work, usually began in private-rented housing and was often followed by another move in this sector. However, in their search for dwellings in this sector, the respondents experienced various difficulties ultimately resulting from their ethnic origin so that, similar to their parents' generation, it was usually the first flat offered that was accepted. Having used formal sources such as newspapers in their searches, the limited success in utilising these led over time to the increasing use of informal sources, such as

friends or family. As a result of the problems in finding adequate housing, locational considerations have generally been insignificant, even when the transition into social housing was eventually made.

Movement into social housing occurred as a result of the experiences the respondents had had earlier in the private sector in the context of fulfilling the criteria of access, usually made possible through having children or becoming unemployed. After varying and sometimes long waiting periods, this has led to a generally high degree of satisfaction with most aspects of residence, except location. The location of the flats has acquired significance through changing familial structures and concerns for the children's future, or changes in people's identities. As a consequence, and through the wish to secure a material future for their children in Germany, most of the respondents now plan in the near future to buy a dwelling in a 'better' ward with lower concentrations of foreigners.

In their experiences in the housing market so far, there is very little difference between the primary and secondary immigrants examined in this study. The treatment of 'Turks' in the housing market therefore appears to be virtually universal and ignores differences in upbringing, orientation and identity. As a consequence, residential processes to date have shown more similarities than differences between the two groups examined here. However, in their present outlook and considerations, a diversification between primary and secondary immigrants seems to occur that is related to the upbringing of children and the consequent primacy of location in the context of a high degree of 'internal' residential satisfaction¹³. However, movement into owner-occupation in 'better' areas depends on the provision of reasonably-priced (subsidised) dwellings in these wards. While further desegregation therefore seems a distinct possibility over the next few years as this group 'matures' and moves through the housing market, this will again depend to some extent on the actions of the municipal authorities, that also need to take into account the special needs of this group, such as the desire for security.

¹³ This is not to deny the fact that some primary immigrants have now made the transition into owner-occupation.

Chapter 11

Narrative Identity and Residential History: Two Case Studies

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter, which provides the final part of the jigsaw that is the analysis of residential issues and residential histories of Munich's Turkish population, the aim is to concentrate in some detail on the way in which processes examined in chapters 5 to 10 combine to form trajectories through space and the housing market. In other words, the chapter concentrates on individual residential histories. In order to achieve this aim, the focus is again on the two main groups examined so far: in section 11.2, the residential history of a family of primary immigrants is outlined and explained, while the same approach is taken in section 11.3 for a family from the group labelled 'secondary immigrants'.

In addition to the aim of examining these processes at the level of the individual or family, concentration on these case studies has a second aim, namely to outline and apply a different approach (meant to supplement existing approaches) to explanations of residential mobility and, by implication, non-mobility. The theoretical framework for this approach, linking narrative, identity and action, has been outlined in chapter 3 and has been touched upon at various points in the previous four chapters.

At this stage, a number of points have to be made clear concerning the issues of the selection of these two case studies, their representativeness and the limits to this approach.

The selection of only two case studies clearly raises questions of representativeness and the general applicability of the approach. However, the two biographies were selected from a large number of equally feasible, fascinating and valid cases, for which the theoretical approach is equally applicable. This framework is therefore not limited to these two families, and other cases could have been chosen for this chapter. Indeed, the final selection of two cases from a large number of biographies was difficult and was made on the basis of the depth, detail and richness of the material collected, serving to illustrate the different dominant or governing narratives best. This detail, depth and breadth was achieved through repeat interviews in the cases examined

here. However, while each case is unique in its precise constitution and sequence of events and processes, there are elements in each of the two cases that reach beyond the unique and that represent much more general processes and experiences.

At this point, some qualification has to be made concerning the second case study. In the case of secondary immigrants, the approach taken here has to rely on considerably less evidence - a consequence of the shorter lives and shorter independent residential histories - than is the case for primary immigrants. This, and fairly recent changes in both the societal context and the familial structure of this and other secondary immigrant families mean that the application and testing of this particular theory will strongly concentrate on the present and future, rather than focusing primarily on past moves (as is the case for primary immigrants). These have been few for all secondary immigrants in this study (see Chapter 10). As a consequence, the nature and form of the discussion varies slightly for the two cases.

Despite this caveat, however, the biographies examined here serve well to outline the constitution of a number of processes, and the way in which they combine 'the general' and 'the unique' through being based on unique narrative identities formed and lived in general contexts.

11.2 From *Wohnheim* to private-rented housing: the case of Ali and Fatma

11.2.1 Introduction

The first case study concentrates on two primary immigrants, Fatma and Ali (PF6), who both came to Munich in the early 1970s and got to know each other in Germany, finally getting married in 1978. The family currently live with their two children, aged 6 and 15, in a private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach, shown in chapter 6 to be an important location for Turkish immigrants and their families. As a result of coming to Germany separately and living separately for the first few years, I focus on both their individual and collective residential histories, also discussed elsewhere (Gutting, forthcoming).

Tackling the issues of residential mobility and residential history with a narrative identity approach, I will argue that the particular shape of Fatma and Ali's residential histories (the 'when' and 'why' of moves and, to some extent, the choice of the tenure of dwellings), have been influenced and shaped mainly by three 'dominant' or 'governing'

ontological narratives, with varying significance in the constitution of their identities (in the field of housing) at different points in time:

- firstly, a narrative that revolves around the importance of what both call living 'proper lives' at the present *Zuhause*, and not to live and work just for the purpose of saving money for the future as, in their opinion, many primary immigrants have done. Fundamentally, this identity narrative revolves around the acceptance that life takes place 'here and now'. As will be seen later, this '*real-life-narrative*' has its roots largely in Fatma and Ali's upbringing, and is modelled on their family's lives in Turkey. In contrast to many other primary immigrants, this narrative has fundamentally shaped their lives *right from the start* in Germany, and has impinged in particular on residential issues;
- secondly, Fatma and Ali value the nuclear family, and in particular their children's well-being, extremely highly. Consequently, a '*family-narrative*' has formed a crucial part of their identities since getting married and having children;
- thirdly, in their biographies return and the desire to return have been constant and recurring themes. Consequently, the third dominant narrative here is a '*return-narrative*', forming a significant part of their identities and impinging on residential issues in particular at later stages of their housing career.

At this point, it is important to emphasise that these three narratives have been inductively arrived at through a very careful and detailed analysis of the interviews (outlined in Chapter 4), and have not been imposed artificially from outside on the respondents¹.

In the next section, I will argue that these three narratives have largely shaped Fatma's and Ali's residential histories in the prevailing context of the Munich housing market (see Chapter 5), and the way in which this is perceived.

¹ Although, as I have argued in chapter 3, all parts of a biography are always in some way related to each other, certain choices were necessary here as to what to include and what to leave out. As a result, I have concentrated on these parts of the biographies and identities which have been most relevant to residential issues. This choice has, however, been made within the context and knowledge of the entire biographies. These problems are discussed further in chapter 12.

11.2.2 Biography and residential history

Fatma came to Munich in 1972 as a 25-year old, from what she describes as a 'stable and happy' family background. While she had a job as a lab-technician in an Italian company in Turkey ("... a very good job"), it was the opportunity to see another country (and thereby save some money), a wish she had had for some time, that finally made her migrate to Germany². Her original intention was thereby to stay for no more than two years. This was undoubtedly an expression, but also the foundation, of a continuing 'return-narrative':

"Why did I come to Germany? I had always heard so much about *Avrupa* [Europe] and found it so interesting, ... and that the work there was so good and that life was good, too. And that's why I wanted to go there and stay there for two years or so. See the country and meet the people and earn some money. But when I came here, everything was so different. ... Especially the first period of time was really difficult. I wasn't used to things and life was just so different here".

Fatma is one of the large number of primary immigrants for whom economic or financial reasons were of secondary importance and who migrated primarily out of a certain curiosity. Like many others (see Chapter 7) she was disappointed with the actual Germany she encountered:

"I had dreamed a lot and I had dreamed too much".

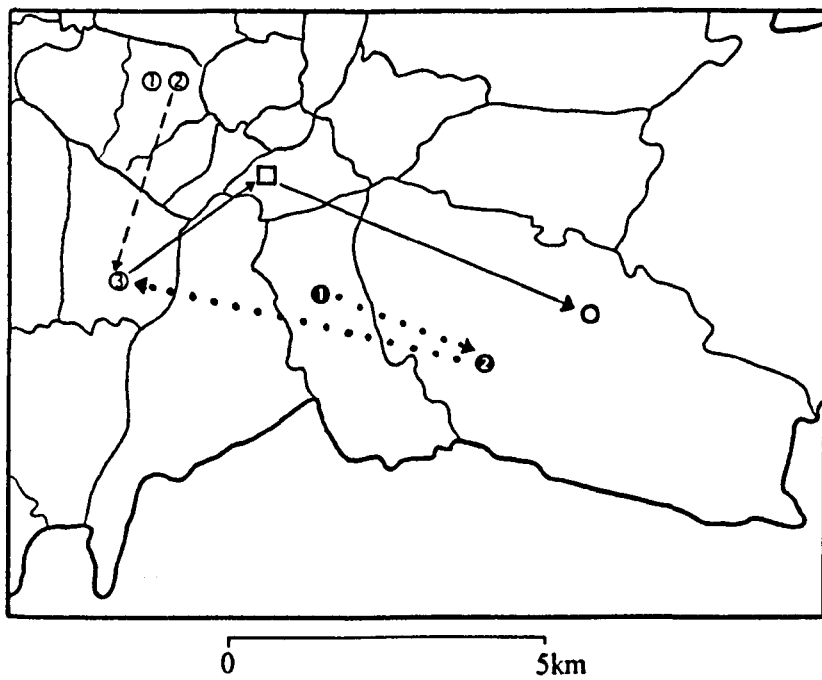
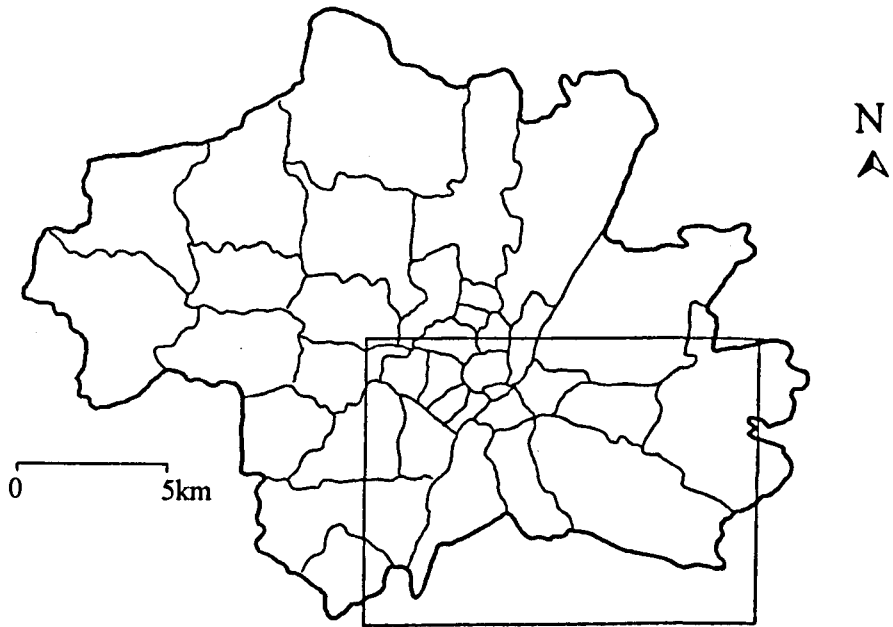
This disappointment, related to life as such in the country as well as to the nature of work in the absence of various customary resources, was exacerbated further by the conditions in her first residence. For her as for so many other primary immigrants (see Section 7.4), this was a *Wohnheim*. In her case, it was a hostel for women workers in Obergiesing's Schwanseestraße (see Figure 11.1). This was a time she still remembers with some horror, and she stated explicitly that this made feeling at home in Germany extremely difficult:

"Oh yes, it was difficult. ... I had such a big room in Turkey, my own room, we had such a big flat with more than 100m² ... and when I came to the *Wohnheim*, it was very, very bad for me. ... We had one fridge, in our room, and an oven, also in our room, and a wardrobe which wasn't more than one metre wide. And all that for four people. It was really bad because when it's so confined spatially, there are always arguments. ... And the worst thing was, some were clean and some were dirty. I cried a lot and I was so homesick at the beginning, and life in the *Wohnheim* made it so difficult to feel comfortable here because I didn't have a proper home".

As a consequence of these difficulties, and in the context of the absence of the customary emotional resources of friends and family, return remained a constant and

² In contrast to the received ideas that women only came as family members, Fatma's case illustrates that there was independent migration of females to Germany.

Figure 11.1: Movement through Munich: Fatma and Ali



- ① = first residence Ali
 - ② = second residence Ali
 - ③ = third residence Ali/first residence Ali and Fatma
 - = first residence Fatma
 - ② = second residence Fatma
 - = second residence Ali and Fatma
 - = third (current) residence Ali and Fatma
- - - - = moves Ali
 - = moves Fatma
 - = moves Ali + Fatma

potentially imminent possibility. Or in other words, the 'return-narrative' was sustained and even exacerbated by the conditions encountered in the very real Germany, that differed significantly from the imagined *Avrupa*. As Fatma explains:

"Whenever I went to the toilet, whenever I had a spare second, I thought about return. When would I go back? How? I thought about it all the time".

That she didn't return immediately at that time was mainly due to persuasion by her boss at Siemens:

"And the first six months or so were really so hard. I wanted to go back but my boss told me, just a bit longer, just a bit longer. It will become easier".

However, while this persuasion made her stay at the beginning, Fatma nevertheless argues that the thought and desire of return have played a *constant and continuing* role in her and her husband's lives. Or in other words, a return-narrative *has always been* a fundamental part of their identities. As she expresses it:

"We've wanted to return every day, every week. Since I've come here, I've always thought I would return tomorrow"³.

That she didn't return in this early period despite this strong wish, however, is much more difficult to explain for Fatma and, using the metaphor of the growing number of suitcases (see Section 7.5), it seems that non-return before family formation⁴ was located very much in the flow of duration and, as Fatma argues, 'just happened':

"I went there on holiday and thought I wouldn't come back to Germany, but then I did. Went there and came back. And so on. And then I also thought, what happens if I go back and what happens if I stay here. And I thought, both options are difficult".

Despite the early problems she experienced in the *Wohnheim*, making feeling *Zuhause* so difficult ("If I had had to stay there much longer ..., I think I definitely would have gone back to Turkey"), she nevertheless stayed in the hostel for three years. While she was unhappy there, she felt herself to be lacking the capacity to act in the housing market, which to her represented an opaque and inaccessible environment:

"Where would I have found anything? I only earned around 800 marks. And above all, I was a young, single Turkish *Fräulein*".

Clearly, Fatma seemed to experience a virtual 'dissolution' of her *sense* of agency in Germany, and it is therefore not surprising that action at the international level (return)

³ Return is indeed a theme that runs through Fatma and Ali's entire life, and this quotation refers to their lives since arriving in Germany to the time of the interview. So even when I'm not referring directly to this narrative at all points in time, it has to be borne in mind that this ontological narrative has always been present.

⁴ Once they had children, return became more difficult and the children have tied them, for the time being, to Germany. Nevertheless, a strong return-narrative still exists as part of their identity (see below).

was more likely than action at the local level (a residential move). From a strong *sense* of agency triggering, and triggered by, migrating to Germany, she clearly felt she had lost a large part of this as a result of the conditions encountered in Munich in the context of the absence of various resources.

Returning to Turkey as a result of adverse residential conditions was not necessary, however, because after three years in the first hostel the chance to move into a newly-constructed Siemens-*Wohnheim* in Ottobrunner Straße in Ramersdorf-Perlach (see Figure 11.1) emerged. This was a chance Fatma, together with a friend she had made in the first *Wohnheim*, took:

“... I was really much happier there. ... It was a big *Wohnheim*, and the rooms were much better. They were much bigger and we had a nice corner to sit, with a table and chairs and a wardrobe and so on. It was better, but it was also much more expensive. So I couldn't save any money, really. ... The bathroom was extra, and there were only two people in one room. ... And there I felt much better because we felt like *real* people and not like animals anymore. And then I felt much more comfortable in Germany. Of course, I still wanted to return quickly, but I felt much better. ... We improved the room ourselves, made it into a home, and that's why I felt more *Zuhause* then. And we bought a table and four chairs. And although I was single, I didn't live like other people, I always bought proper things, cooked and ate properly. ... Many people said to me, you are single, why do you prepare meals for yourself. But I said to them, I'm a human being and I have taste and a mouth. ... I'm alive and I want to live. My family has always been like that. ... And then, in Ottobrunner Straße, I tried to do everything I had done in Turkey before. I mean, to live properly. The *Wohnheim* was a bit like Turkey for me.”

This provides a very rich description of those aspects of Fatma's identity that were most relevant to shaping her housing career at that time. While the 'return-narrative' still featured prominently then (and indeed throughout her stay in Germany up to the present, see below), her upbringing (“My family has always been like that”) meant that a strong 'real-life-narrative' resulted in the desire to live what she considered a normal life 'as a human being' at her *Zuhause* (referring here to life in Munich, in particular in the *Wohnheim*). As a result of this particular narrative which sees residence as an integral part of a 'proper life' and something which she was consequently prepared to spend much more money on, Fatma improved her housing conditions by moving into the second *Wohnheim*. There, the conditions for increasing self-actualisation (“I'm alive and I want to live”) were given, and she was able to express herself *in and through residence* (“... we ...made it into a home”)⁵. However, a narrative constructed around the inaccessibility of the housing market (“I was a young, Turkish *Fräulein*”) which was not based on first-hand experience of this market, meant that realising agency with respect to housing was

⁵ In other cases, this was given by movement out of the *Wohnheim* and the subsequent processes of family-reunification, see chapter 8).

only possible as a result of the construction of the *Wohnheim* in Ottobrunner Straße. This provided a more familiar context for action (the company), and movement was made easier still with the help of her friend.

I would therefore argue that in the sphere of housing, the 'return-narrative' was put on one side, whereas the 'real-life-narrative', developed through her upbringing and the way her family in Turkey have lived their lives, acquired predominance in her narrative identity, leading to action (a residential move) once the conditions to do so were perceived to be conducive. Fundamentally, life in the second *Wohnheim* then led to a greater (although by no means complete) feeling of *Zuhause* in Germany by providing scope for increasing self-actualisation in residence and a certain 'normalisation' of life. This again illustrates the inter-connectedness between feeling (more) at home and residence outlined in section 8.2. Fatma's experiences also show that the deeper causes behind the residential move, or 'because-motives' (see Chapter 3), have to be looked for in her biography forming a particular narrative identity at that time, with the significance of different ontological narratives varying within changing contexts and, within these varying conditions, fundamentally shaping action⁶.

Ali came to Germany in 1973 when he was 25 years old, having finished his apprenticeship as an engine fitter, and having just missed the deadline for applying for a University place in Turkey. As a result he decided to take the chance to see another country and thereby also earn some money, and signed a contract with a firm in Munich. Like Fatma, his intention was to stay for 'two or three years' only, see the country and earn some money at the same time. Like his future wife, Ali lived in a *Wohnheim* (in Ludwigsvorstadt, see Figure 11.1) but, in contrast to Fatma, also highlights the positive aspects of the first place of residence already mentioned in section 7.4:

"At the beginning, it was a bit difficult here. It was completely different. I came to the *Wohnheim* and lived there for approximately six months ... [which] wasn't good nor was it bad. With the colleague it was good. He had come a year before me and knew about things. That was good. ... But after six months, no after 8 months, I moved into a flat from the firm with another colleague, again in Ludwigsvorstadt where we each had our own room. We paid quite a bit more, twice as much in fact. But I've always earned quite well and we sometimes even went out for a meal. But of course, I then couldn't save much, but it was definitely worth it. ... But in the *Wohnheim*, we had one kitchen and one bathroom between the seven of us, and we had to share one room. That was no life. It was good at the beginning because I didn't know my way round, but then I wanted

⁶ In chapter 3, I argued that ontological narratives and narrative identities are also constantly reshaped through action (in a very wide sense). However, in retrospective, biographical research, these variations are difficult to trace. This problem will be further discussed in chapter 12.

my own room, live a normal life, like in Turkey. ... And in the flat, I had my own room and that was better. ... We still sometimes had meals together, but everybody lived for himself’.

However, Ali pointed out to me that his plans to return were still strong and a constant consideration at the time:

“... I still thought I would return soon. Only a year or so. I didn’t want to stay. Really”.

Ali displays a pattern of action that is similar to his wife⁷ and, as I would argue, this results from the influence of similar dominant ontological narratives, in particular a ‘real-life-narrative’ manifested in the wish to live a proper life there and then (for example by going out for meals⁸). In Ali’s case, this again has its roots in life in Turkey. And, despite his original wish to also save money and to stay for a short period of time only, he too moved residence as a result of the inadequate conditions in the *Wohnheim*. In Ali’s case, movement out of the *Wohnheim* was facilitated to a significant extent through the help, guidance and support of a colleague who familiarised him with the new environment. Consequently, he was able to improve his housing conditions earlier than Fatma, having developed greater confidence in his competence to act earlier. This action was also facilitated by the possibility of moving into other employer-provided housing. His orientations and actions, too, were therefore guided significantly by that part of his identity that emphasised a proper life here and now, and that clearly dominated the ‘return-narrative’ in the sphere of housing.

After another three years, Ali made a forced move. As a result of reports from friends, he relied on personal contacts in finding a flat, since the free housing market was constructed as being inaccessible for Turkish immigrants:

“The colleague I had shared with got married, ... and his wife wanted to move into our flat, and so I had to move out and I found a room in Valleystraße. ... I didn’t look in the newspaper because everybody told me that as a Turk you might as well not try, they [the German landlords] won’t give you a flat anyway. So I asked a friend and he knew a Yugoslav lady and she let a room to me. ... I didn’t really care too much where the flat was, but in the end I was quite pleased that it was still close to the centre where my friends were”.

While Ali seemed to have acquired a much stronger sense of agency at that time, proximity to friends who were still living around the city centre, through the location of

⁷ Ali and Fatma were interviewed separately when they told me about their independent residential histories in the first interview. In total, I conducted two interviews with the couple. In the first half of the first interview, I talked to both partners separately, whereas for the remaining part of the first interview, as well as the second interview, I talked to both of them together.

⁸ This is very unusual for primary immigrants who, at the beginning, spent most of their time in the *Wohnheim*.

the room in Sendling (see Figure 11.1), was seen as clear advantage despite the general irrelevance of location.

Around that time, in 1977, Ali and Fatma got to know each other and got married in 1978. As Fatma recalls:

“I knew a family and they told me about my husband. They said, there’s a boy and he wants to marry. Don’t you want to meet him? I said, no I want to go back to Turkey. Honestly, around that time I was desperate to go back, because when I was on holiday in Turkey I went to the cinema with friends every day and so on. And that was different from here. ... We got to know each other in 1977 after my holiday, in September. And he said, you don’t have a boyfriend, why don’t we get married? ... And I said, yes, let’s try it. ... And now we’ve been married for 17 years. It hasn’t always been perfect, because it was hard without love, and what gives it that extra something is missing⁹”.

Nevertheless, the family has since played a dominant role in their life, and the marriage led to the emergence of what I have called earlier a ‘family-narrative’, forming an important part of their identities since then, fundamentally shaping their actions (see below). This role of the family was summed up by Ali when he argued that:

“If it’s possible, one should save some money. If not, then not. But it’s important to live now. And the family has always been the most important thing for us. In many families, the children only see their mum and dad on Saturdays and Sundays. We’re not like that. For example, for many *Gastarbeiter*, ... work is everything. They work a lot. All the time¹⁰”. (Ali)

The marriage necessitated their moving together and Fatma moved in with her husband in his room in Valleystraße, albeit for a short period only:

“It was a bit like in the *Wohnheim* when I moved into his flat in Valleystraße, and we said, no this isn’t going to work because if we lived in Turkey now and were married, we would live in a nice flat and so we didn’t want to live in one room here, because that just wasn’t a good flat for us. It just wasn’t a proper flat for a young, married couple”. (Ali)

The combination of the ‘family-narrative’ and the ‘real-life-narrative’, both based on their socialisation and experiences in Turkey, again led to the desire to improve their residential situation. Indeed, it later emerges explicitly that residence is, for Ali and Fatma, an integral part of these ontological narratives:

“For us it’s so important to have a proper flat. The main thing is the family, to have a good life ... and to have a nice flat. And health of course. I mean, to have work, the family, to have a good life and to have a nice flat. Without a good flat, it’s difficult to live a good life”. (Fatma)

⁹ Fatma told me this story in the presence of her husband, who seemed to agree. While this may seem curious, I’m not sure whether this lack of love refers more to the past than to the present, because the couple certainly appear to be very happy.

¹⁰ This demonstrates that identities are constructed also by what I have earlier called the reflexive monitoring of the context (see Chapter 3). In this case, an ontological narrative is constructed also in contrast to other primary immigrants.

As a result, despite the continuing importance of the 'return-narrative' (see below), Ali and Fatma were keen to improve their housing conditions and were prepared, once again, to spend quite a lot of money on a flat that would be conducive to living a 'proper life' as a family. This again conflicted with their original plans of saving some money for return through the higher cost of a better flat (see below), and it is the 'real-life-narrative' that therefore again dominates the 'return-narrative' in the sphere of housing.

Fortunately for the couple, improving their housing conditions this time was, after early disappointments through the use of sources such as newspapers and estate agents, possible because they knew another family who were just about to vacate their flat and return to Turkey. As for many others, discrimination as Turks and difficulties in access to housing meant that this 'informal' source was the only way for them to find a better dwelling:

"And we tried all sorts of things, like responding to adverts, but then they would say, no we don't give a flat to foreigners. ... [But] we knew a family and we knew that they were going to move out of their flat in Entenbachstraße¹¹. And then we waited for them to move out. That only took a month or so. ... it was really lucky that we heard that they were going to move out because we often looked in the paper for other flats, but when we called they often said, the flat is gone already, or we don't let to foreigners and so on. That was because we were Turks. ... And then this family moved out and we moved in. ... The flat was quite small, only 40m², but it was good, a very nice flat. It was a bit expensive, 580 marks, but it was a good flat and so we were happy to pay it. Because it was a good flat". (Fatma)

and:

"Yes, it was really good. It had a small kitchen and one and a half rooms. And bathroom and toilet were very nice, too. Very new. It was very modern, and it was close to the Isar". (Ali)

Fatma and Ali, by moving into their flat in Au, thereby started a process of decentralisation (as a family) in 1978. In their case, too, this wasn't decentralisation out of choice, but was connected to the location of personal contacts which had to be utilised as a result of the lack of success in the use of other, formal sources. Again, the couple's experiences demonstrate that while Turkish immigrants often use a number of different sources, it is personal contacts that are most likely to lead to success (see also below). Frequently, as I have shown in section 8.3 and as is the case here, this has led to the replacement of one Turkish family by another.

While Fatma and Ali were highly satisfied with both the flat itself and its location, the birth of their daughter in 1980 changed this perception. However, this didn't happen

¹¹ In Au, see Figure 11.1.

immediately but only led to action when their daughter was about to start school in 1986. After a lengthy conversation about the flat and the move, Fatma finally explained the reason for their next move:

“We moved out because our daughter started school and we thought, at school the children will talk about their homes and then our daughter has to admit that she doesn’t have her own room and then she would feel disgraced”. (Fatma)

The birth of their daughter led to an even stronger accentuation of the ‘family-narrative’, and thereby also added an extra dimension to the ‘real-life-narrative’ that now incorporated the daughter’s well-being, too. As a result of their particular narrative identity at the time, Fatma and Ali, while generally being happy with their flat in Entenbachstraße, were so concerned about their daughter’s well-being that a move was necessary. This concern emanated from the anticipated nature of the new context (school)¹², giving practical meaning to the ‘family-narrative’ with respect to housing. The predominance of the ‘family-narrative’ therefore precluded them from accepting the embarrassment their daughter potentially faced as a result of the housing situation. This again suggests that motives behind residential mobility are indeed often very complex and are rooted in people’s biographies and identities (acquiring varying significance in changing contexts). It is particularly interesting to note that other respondents in what could be seen as comparable ‘objective’ conditions (referring to income, nature of dwelling and family composition) made different choices as a result of different detailed configurations of their identities¹³. Again, it is important to remind ourselves here that return still featured strongly at the time, but that this ‘return-narrative’ was again put on one side with respect to housing.

While the desire to move existed as a result of these factors, finding adequate housing proved difficult. This, and their earlier experiences, has led Fatma to argue forcefully that:

“For foreigners, it’s 100% more difficult to find a flat than for Germans. 100%. Back then, and still today. But I don’t know, Turks have the biggest problems. They are much worse off than other foreigners. But you know, Turks are really tough people. Really. Turks won’t be shaken off easily. They try a hundred times. Fight. Don’t give up”. (Fatma)

¹² It wasn’t clear whether this was also related to their ethnic status and the additional stigmatisation their daughter would face, that could be compensated or reduced by adequate housing conditions.

¹³ Moreover, the biographical approach enables us to learn more about the constitution of causes behind moves. In the questionnaire survey, I had asked a question about the reason for moves which, however, was not analysed in chapter 6. This was due to the fact that these reasons or causes were limited to three answers: eviction, ‘flat too small’ or ‘flat inadequate’.

This is a characteristic that has featured strongly in the interviews. Although they have never accepted Germany fully as their *Zuhause*, Fatma and Ali have always been prepared to fight for living 'proper' lives there, in particular once they started to feel more empowered through developing an increased sense of agency, provided by the family and a general 'normalisation' of life in Germany (see Section 7.5).

According to Fatma and Ali, this fighting spirit was needed in order to find a flat, since the problems in getting access to housing resurfaced, as mentioned above. Unlike many other people the couple, despite having had earlier bad experiences with formal sources, at the start of their search didn't ignore newspapers or estate agents, possibly through their willingness to 'fight'. They had very limited success:

"We looked for another flat for almost two years. ... It was so difficult because we were Turks. We could have got a flat if we had paid 1500 marks. I mean, then 1500 marks was a lot of money. ... We contacted an estate agent and said that we needed a bigger flat, but he said that he couldn't find anything for us". (Fatma)

Ali, too, is convinced that this lack of success in the use of formal sources, that was also dependent on price, was the result of their ethnic status:

"Because we were foreigners we didn't find a flat. Especially because we were Turks, because for Turks, it is the most difficult".

The lack of success in the private-rented sector also led to the attempt to get access to social housing. In her experiences at the *Wohnungsamt*, Fatma reflects some of the concerns raised by other primary and secondary immigrants:

"And then I went to the *Wohnungsamt*, but anyway the people there didn't give us a flat because we had two incomes. ... But many people on two incomes still get a *Sozialwohnung*, but I just don't know how they do it. For example, my boss at Siemens, he lives in a flat from the *Wohnungsamt*". (Fatma)

It is also during this search for a flat that the 'return-narrative' which, as I have argued earlier, had so far been put on one side and had been dominated by both the 'real-life-narrative' and the 'family-narrative', acquired significance in the field of housing for the first time:

"Yes, in 1987 we thought about buying a flat and we had an offer for 270000 marks and we looked at it and then we came home and thought about it, and then my husband asked me, do you have the strength for all these debts and I said no. My husband said, he doesn't either. I mean, we didn't have any capital. Maybe 20000 or 30000 marks. ... And if we had bought it, we would have had to pay back 2500 marks per month. And then the stress. Always in debt. No money to spend. ... And if we had wanted to go back to Turkey, maybe after 20 years or so, then we would still be in debt. And when one wants to go back then, it's maybe impossible to sell straight away". (Fatma)

From the evidence presented here, I would argue that buying a flat would have conflicted with Ali and Fatma's identities at the time, and would have worked against all three dominant or governing narratives:

- it would have worked against the 'return-narrative' since it would have restricted, from their point of view, their freedom to return;
- they would have been constrained in their wish to live 'proper lives' in Germany, since they would have had to repay their mortgage, reducing the amount of money available for other pursuits;
- this is connected to the third ontological narrative through which the couple consider it to be of paramount importance to provide the best (material) conditions for their children.

The 'because-motives' behind deciding against the purchase of a flat were therefore fairly complex and were located in their biographies, manifested in identities that acquired significance in the context of movement within the structure of the Munich housing market. Buying a flat would have thereby fundamentally violated their sense of being, or their identity, at that time.

A move into owner-occupation was therefore ruled out as a result of the constitution of their narrative identity, while the criteria of access to social housing made this sector unavailable for Fatma and Ali. As a consequence, the couple oriented their search to the private-rented sector.

As a result of the lack of success in the use of formal sources in the private-rented sector at the start of their search, however, Fatma and Ali later ignored these sources altogether and increasingly used personal contacts which, eventually, led to success and access to a bigger flat:

"After a while, we didn't even bother asking estate agents or looking in the newspaper anymore. We wouldn't have found anything anyway. That's what other people told us, too.... We found this flat through a colleague, a Turk, who has lived here since the late 60s. ... And my husband asked her and a few weeks later she told him that a flat was becoming vacant and we were really lucky. We went to the management [of the block] straight away and they showed us a 1- and 1¹/₂- bedroom flat, but we didn't like it. We said, it's a bit small for us and we would prefer a bigger flat. A two-bedroom flat. ... And then he said there's someone moving out of one, and my husband called them, and they said, yes come back tomorrow and we'll talk it over. And the next day we went there and the next day it all happened. ... But I'm sure if his colleague hadn't helped us, we wouldn't have found a flat. ... Especially when you're not a German, then it's even more important to have good contacts. Because many landlords don't want foreigners, especially Turks, as tenants". (Fatma)

While the family immediately liked the flat (located in a high-rise building in Ramersdorf-Perlach) as well as the ward, locational considerations as such played no role, not surprisingly in the light of the general difficulties in finding a flat:

“Yes, we liked Neuperlach immediately, I mean, I had known it before, but we didn’t look for a flat here. It was just that his colleague lived here”. (Fatma)

This provides an illustration of the way in which the use of personal contacts can *potentially* lead to the clustering of immigrant groups in certain wards as a result of the (actual and perceived) inaccessibility of the housing market through other sources, and may be one explanation of what has earlier been called ‘*selective* suburbanisation’ of Munich’s Turks (see Chapter 6).

Since 1987, the family have now lived in their 2-bedroom flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach, and are generally satisfied with their housing conditions:

“... we are very happy [and] we don’t want to move out of here soon. We really like it here. ... For us, it’s so important to have a good flat and to live properly. Look, we haven’t had a couch for a few months now. I don’t like that. I mean, for the first four weeks it was funny, I always said, that’s our Turkish corner, with cushions and so on [laughs]. ... But now I think, it’s enough and now I want a new couch. We just want to have it really nice in here. ... And when I get up in the morning, I can go on the balcony and the birds are singing and there are squirrels in the trees. ... we really like Neuperlach very much. And I often think, thank god we have this flat and we live in a big house with nice neighbours. ... Thank god we have this flat. We feel comfortable in this house, and we have a nice flat. I’m satisfied. The flat isn’t big, but it’s OK”. (Fatma)

Moreover, not only are Fatma and Ali fairly satisfied with the flat as such and its location, but they are also happy with the rent they pay, although this is again clearly evaluated in comparison to other, similar housing in Munich (see Section 8.5):

“We pay 1320 marks rent. Normally, that’s not expensive. If you rent the same flat now, same size and same number of rooms, it would cost at least 1500 marks. At least. I mean, it’s not expensive, but it’s still a lot of money”. (Ali)

However, talking about their current flat in more detail when I ‘enquired around the subject’ (see Chapter 4) it emerged that while the couple are reasonably satisfied with the flat, they wouldn’t describe their housing situation as optimal. This is partly the result of the birth of their second child in 1988, leading to a number of ‘immobile strategies’ (cf. Section 8.5):

“And now we will swap rooms again, and we will subdivide our bedroom and give it to our children. They should now both have their own room. Our bedroom is quite large and we will divide it and then our daughter will get one half and our son the other. And we move into their room. You see, we have problems. Always problems”. (Fatma)

While they perceive themselves as being ‘fairly comfortable’ financially (Ali sometimes works additional nightshifts while his wife, made redundant in 1992 with a

compensation from Siemens, gets unemployment benefit), they now spend the maximum amount possible on rent given their other expenses and their general set of priorities resulting from their identity:

“I haven’t got the strength to pay 1800 marks rent. I could apply immediately and could probably get a flat on the other side of the house, a three-bedroom-flat. But 1800 marks! ... I mean, we can’t save money here, we need money for rent, food, the children, and holidays. It’s important to live properly. When we have money, we usually spend it quickly. We always, why should we save all the time? ... I mean, for us the family has the highest priority. The children, and to live properly, and then to save money. ... It’s so important to live now”. (Ali)

Clearly, this puts limits on expenses related to residence:

“Of course we would like to have a bigger flat. But you have to have the money for it, then you can live in a bigger flat. But if that’s impossible, one must be happy with this situation. And we are quite happy here”. (Fatma)

Since Fatma and Ali’s present narrative identity is significantly shaped by the two ontological narratives centring on ‘real lives’ and the family, they are not prepared to spend more money on residence (after all, they are *reasonably* satisfied), because this would mean having to compromise strongly on ‘life’ (as a result of having less money at their disposal) and the family (through having less money and less time for their children by having to work more). Spending more money on residence is therefore precluded by the constitution of their narrative identity, which seems to suggest that once a certain residential standard is reached (that is already fairly high for Fatma and Ali as a result of the importance and influence of the ‘real-lives’ and ‘family narratives’ on their previous actions in the housing market), improving this further in the present context of the Munich housing market would conflict strongly with their present narrative identity, and would violate their sense of being in their present situation and within the present context.

At this point it is important to reiterate that the ‘return-narrative’, after 22 years in Germany, still forms a strong part of Fatma and Ali’s narrative identity. However, while the ‘return-narrative’ features strongly as part of their identity, the eventual date of return is still open. This is to a large extent the result of the importance of the ‘family-narrative’, and the consequent desire to provide the best education for their children. Since this is provided in Germany, the ‘family-narrative’ again dominates the return-narrative in its consequences. It is this attitude that has been a consistent feature in Fatma and Ali’s lives in Germany, in particular (though not exclusively) in the field of housing:

“We still think every day, we would like to go back. Our hearts have always been in Turkey. This has somehow never been our country. Really. I’d like to go back tomorrow. ... [But] we now have to see that the children are doing well at school. And until then, we must wait. We’d like to return, tomorrow, but we have to wait and see. But still, I think it’s important that we live here with the

family, that we don't just save and that we eat, and go out, and don't live such a primitive life, and that we have fun and that we do things. Whether in Turkey or here, it's always important to live properly". (Fatma)

11.2.3 Summary and discussion

Fatma and Ali's residential history has followed a very distinctive spatial pattern which can be broadly described as a process of successive decentralisation, in particular after family formation. While both partners started their housing careers in Munich in *Wohnheime*, both were unhappy in their first place of residence and, despite the strong wish to return, moved into better housing as soon as the conditions were felt to be conducive to do so. As I have argued, this improvement of their housing situation occurred despite their wish to return and because of their narrative identities in the sphere of residence, in which the 'return-narrative' was dominated by two other identity narratives revolving around 'real life' and the family. The constitution of their identity also fundamentally shaped subsequent moves, first into a bigger flat in Au and later, through the significance of an accentuated 'family-narrative', into a flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

In their movement through the housing market, Ali and Fatma's experiences mirror many of the processes outlined earlier. As a result of the constant lack of success in the use of formal sources when searching for a flat, the majority of their dwellings were found through personal contacts. Moreover, through experiencing these difficulties, locational considerations have been irrelevant, and the process of suburbanisation has been caused entirely by the use of personal contacts and, in the case of movement to Au and Ramersdorf-Perlach, through the use of friends and colleagues already established there. Like many other primary immigrants, Fatma and Ali have now reached a housing situation that can be described as satisfactory, although the family themselves clearly wouldn't describe it as optimal, having to apply what I have earlier called immobile solutions.

The approach taken here, both theoretical and methodological, has also shed further light on the constitution of residential histories and the causes behind residential (non)migration. At various points in their housing careers, Fatma and Ali made decisions concerning residence as a result of a careful balancing of the different ontological narratives constituting their identity. Thus, a residential move was made when the daughter started school as a result of the influence of a strong 'family-narrative', whereas the purchase of a dwelling was ruled out because of the continuing influence on their

actions of, amongst others, a 'return-narrative'. Fatma and Ali's case thereby also demonstrates that the connection between a return-orientation and investment (both financial and emotional) in a country is far more complex than is sometimes assumed and that this, too, depends on the precise constitution of people's identities in different and changing contexts. Moreover, it has thereby also been demonstrated that the *Zuhause* is a very individual feature, that varies in its meaning for different people. For example, while Fatma and Ali have never fully accepted Germany as their *Zuhause* mentally, they have nevertheless acted to make the country into a home, and have thereby created the conditions for increasing self-actualisation. This, again has been the result of the constitution of their identities. Fundamentally, I believe that the approach taken here avoids the risk of prioritising action and events over non-(physical) action and non-events. Thereby, we are not only able to shed light on the question of why people do certain things, but also why they don't. I believe that examining non-physical action in this way contributes further to the understanding of physical action. In Fatma and Ali's case, we have thereby arrived at a better explanation of their move into their present flat, as well as their current residential situation.

However, while a number of important insights can be gained by conceptualising residential (non)migration in this way and approaching it from a biographical perspective, the approach is not unproblematic. These problems revolve around the question of the 'possession' and imposition of identities (discussed further in section 11.3.2), the issue of the possibility of uncovering *all* relevant ontological narratives, as well as the question of the problems with biographical, retrospective research more generally. These issues are discussed in some detail in the concluding chapter (Chapter 12).

11.3 Racism, the family and the changing significance of residential location: the case of Hasan and Emine

11.3.1 Introduction

The second case study focuses on two secondary immigrants, Emine and Hasan (SF4), who arrived in Munich in the mid and late 1970s respectively. At present, they live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Obergiesing with their three-year old daughter.

As has already been mentioned in section 11.1, the discussion here will take a slightly different form from the examination of Ali and Fatma's residential history. As a result of their short housing career, the focus is more strongly on the family's present situation and, consequently, their plans for the near future. The case study thereby sheds more light on the emergence of different ontological narratives in the field of housing, and also demonstrates the way in which identities are negotiated between family members. Moreover, their biographies also provide a closer look at the way in which identities vary with changing contexts. This was not quite so clear for Ali and Fatma, who seemed to display a greater stability in their identities.

While Hasan and Emine's biographies and residential histories are in many ways typical for secondary immigrants, there are other ways in which they are unique and where they differ from other members of the group. Hasan in particular differs in so far as he didn't join his parents, but rather moved to Germany in order to stay with his aunt when he was 16. He thereby was the only interviewee who experienced the early period of time in Germany as extremely positive. As will be seen later the family, despite these original differences, has faced the same or similar problems in the housing market as the majority of secondary immigrants.

11.3.2 Biography and residential history

Hasan came to Munich in 1978 as a 16 year old. Having completed his education in Turkey, it was his parents' wish that he should go to Germany and do a degree at a University there. While not joining his parents as a 'secondary immigrant', the presence of other family members, in this case his aunt, was an essential precondition for his coming to Munich and provided him with a number of resources there:

"... my father insisted on me going abroad and studying there. And because we had relatives here - my aunt was a guestworker and she invited me - she said you can come and there's a possibility for you to study here, and then I came to my aunt in Munich for the first year and all I did was learning German ...".

As a result of coming into an established household and not having to go to school or University immediately, Hasan experienced this first period in Germany as particularly positive. It could be argued that in contrast to other secondary immigrants (see Chapter 7), he had the chance of getting accustomed to the country *slowly* and thereby acquiring the confidence in his competence to act *gradually*. Moreover, his migration to Germany

occurred at a more 'natural' stage, when he had left school, representing a less dramatic 'biographical break'. In addition, Hasan didn't experience the problems of family separation at a very young age:

"Really, it wasn't difficult for me, it was just fun. And I didn't come here alone, I came to my aunt and her family, and financially I had no difficulties. ... All I did was learning German, making friends, living at my aunt's and getting to know Munich. ... It was positive in every respect. I didn't miss anything and I didn't have any negative experiences. ... I attended a language course at University and had many international friends there. And through my aunt, I got to know Austrians and Germans and that was very good".

These positive experiences were significantly enhanced by the residential environment, and in his reports of the time it becomes clear that 'residence' was a very important factor (or resource) contributing to feeling comfortable in Germany and to being able slowly to develop a strong sense of agency in the country:

"She [my aunt] lived in a flat in Bogenhausen¹⁴. She lived there with her family. ... And I had a really nice room. My own room. And I had good contacts with the neighbours, who were also her colleagues. Germans and foreigners. And it was, I mean it wasn't a company flat but it was somehow attached to the factory ... and I knew all the staff and the owners, the landlord and the employer, they were all neighbours and it was really very good and very exceptional, I think. ... You know, I was just happy, I had no pressure and I just didn't miss anything. Friends or so. Or family. Because it was all there. ... And I saw new things every day. Learned a bit more all the time".

Being supported by both his parents and his aunt financially, and by his aunt's family emotionally and practically, Hasan was able to move into German society step by step. The residential environment and the contacts to neighbours played an important role in this process and contributed fundamentally to his positive evaluation of the time. Nevertheless, he still expected to return to Turkey after having done his University degree:

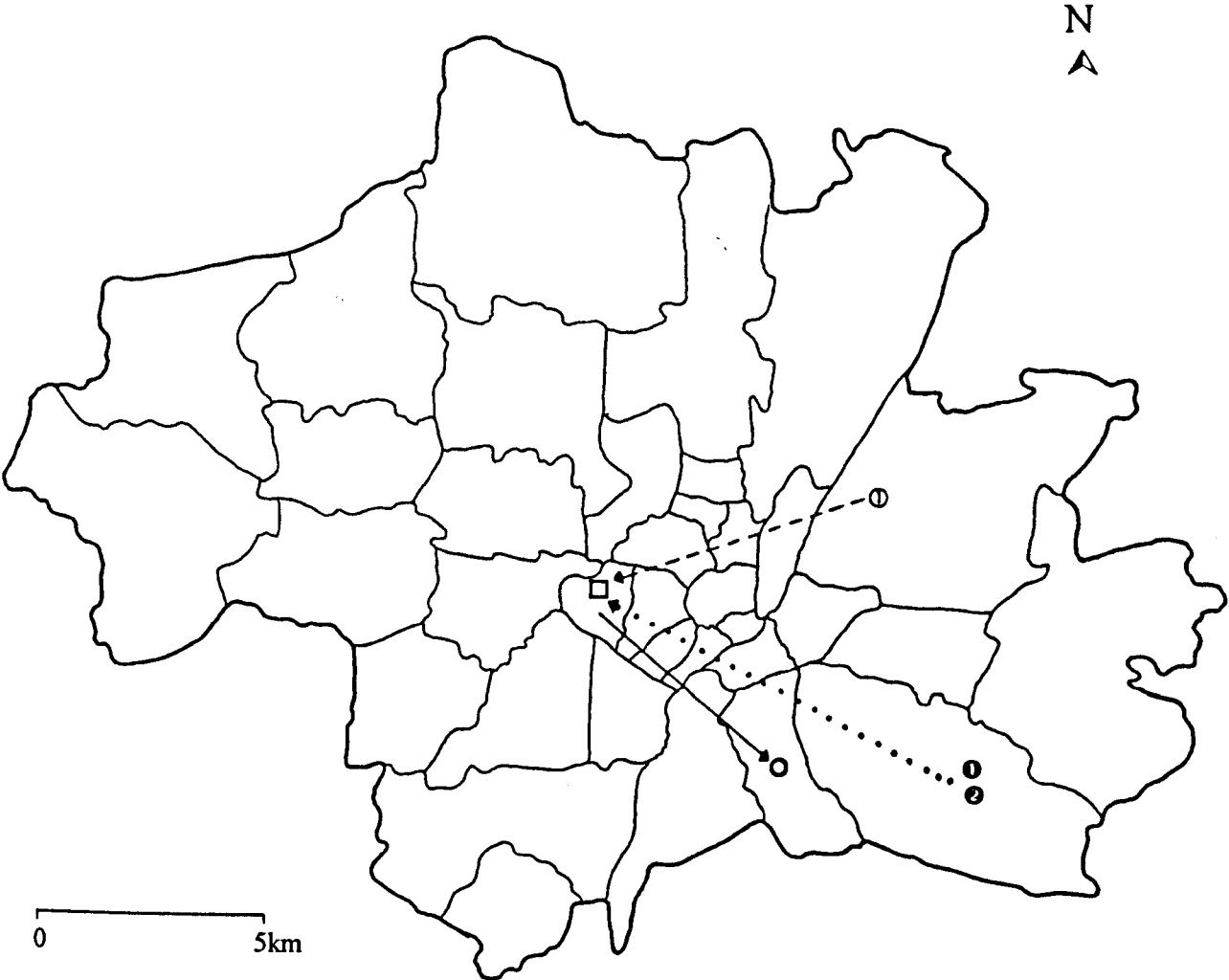
"The plan was to stay here for a few years and to do a degree and then go back to Turkey and work there".

However, in contrast to Ali and Fatma, this possibility of an eventual return to Turkey didn't seem to form a *strong* part of Hasan's identity at the time, and his actions didn't seem to be oriented at or influenced by, this consideration of return.

Emine came to Germany in 1975 as a 10-year old, joining her parents who had come as 'typical guestworkers' (Emine) earlier. Like many other secondary immigrants, she experienced the separation from her parents as particularly difficult, and her parents'

¹⁴ See Figure 11.2.

Figure 11.2: Movement through Munich: Hasan and Emine



- ① = first residence Hasan (with his aunt)
- = first residence Emine (with her parents)
- ② = second residence Emine (with her parents)
- = first residence Hasan and Emine
- = second (current) residence Hasan and Emine
- = moves Emine
- = moves Hasan
- = moves Hasan + Emine

increasing length of stay (a process that became more difficult for all concerned as time went by, see section 9.2), finally resulted in the reunification of the family in Munich:

“... they just wanted to save some money and then return. ... But then they were here and had saved some money, and they wanted more and wanted a flat and a house, and they saved, and saved, and their wishes increased, and then they brought me to Germany because my mother just couldn't take it any longer, being separated from me. And for me, it was a catastrophe, too. I lived with my grandparents, but of course that's no substitute”.

As will be seen later, the separation from her parents and her parents' desire to save money have led to the emergence of both a 'family-narrative' and a 'real-life-narrative' (influencing their actions in the housing market later on) which, in comparison to Fatma and Ali, has evolved *as a strong contrast* to her parents' life. This was also a result of the difficulties on the emotional side of the child/parent relationship that were a consequence of this separation:

“... how can I say, even the distance to my mother. We liked each other so much. I used to be like a cat around her. I always wanted to cuddle her. But after I had come here, it was just different. And It was even worse with my father. We were like strangers. ... And of course, everything was so new here, and my friends were in Turkey and so on. I just wasn't comfortable at all”.

The family's residential condition was a major negative factor at the start, and this factor, contributing to a difficult start in Germany, only improved when the family made a residential move. This gave Emine the opportunity to utilise a number of resources, which made feeling *Zuhause* easier:

“You know, at the beginning I wasn't happy here, nor there. And yes, of course, I mean when I think about it now, we had this one small room. No privacy, and everything was so primitive and so provisional. And then we got the flat, again from the hospital, after a year or so, and I felt much more comfortable there. It was bigger, and we had very good contacts to the neighbours. Everything became a bit more normal. .. We talked [to the neighbours], and with one German woman I had a very good relationship and I often visited her and talked about my problems, despite the fact that she was more than 50 years old”.

This, again highlights the way in which residence works as a factor than can both enable and constrain integration and feeling *Zuhause*, and points to the significance of residence for secondary immigrants. Given that the process of family reunification is still on-going, this role of residence is likely to persist to the present for other people.

Despite early difficulties, and because of the positive developments afterwards, Emine never wanted to return to Turkey and was more concerned to improve her German and become more integrated into German society:

“I really always wanted to stay in Germany and I wanted, I was trying to improve my German, too. But of course, that didn't happen from one day to the next. It took time and sometimes it was really hard. Especially at school”.

As will be seen later, a *latent* 'return-narrative' nevertheless features in the family's narrative identities at present, its significance for action being dependent on broader societal developments.

For both Emine and Hasan, residence has been an important factor in facilitating feeling *Zuhause* in Germany. For Hasan, it was the first residence that provided him with some of the resources necessary to feel at home in the new environment, whereas for Emine these were provided to a large extent in the family's second flat. Both partners have stressed the importance of contacts to Germans in particular, as well as pointing to an improvement of the 'internal' characteristics in Emine's case.

After learning the language and settling in Germany, Hasan went to Berlin in 1982 in order to do his degree there. However, being unable to cope with the course material, he started to do temporary jobs until his permanent return to Munich in 1987, when he moved in with his wife. Since then, he has worked for an airline and a bank, and has now been employed as a semi-skilled worker at BMW for two years, a job he is very satisfied with since it doesn't carry much responsibility and gives him the chance to switch off completely when he's at home:

"I now don't have any responsibility anymore, and it's good that way. I go there, do my job, sometimes work shifts. And when I come home, I can be there for the family and don't have any worries. When I did the other jobs, I always carried the problems home with me, and the family suffered. And that's just not right".

Emine finished school in 1982 and completed an apprenticeship as a dental nurse but, unable to find employment in the job afterwards, she has now worked in an insurance company for ten years¹⁵. Until 1987, she lived with her parents in their flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

In 1987, Hasan and Emine got married and were looking for a flat at the same time. Despite not making any demands on the location of the flat, the search proved to be a difficult and frustrating experience. These experiences were not only important at the time, but were to acquire significance later on. Emine, who did most of the searching, recalls the problems of finding a flat, her report being a virtual replication of most other people's experiences (see Sections 8.3, 10.3 and 11.2.2)

"The search was really frustrating. I looked everywhere, newspapers, estate agents and so on. Either they didn't want Turks as tenants, or we couldn't afford the flat. Often, they said, yes come and have a look at it, but then I gave them my name and then they would say, no sorry, we don't

¹⁵ At the time of the interviews, she was just approaching the end of her three year maternity leave.

want foreigners as tenants. But of course, we could have got really expensive flats, because you know, they are much more difficult to let and you can get them as a Turk. Because nobody else wants them. And also, many landlords and estate agents also wanted commission and so on. 3000 or 4000 marks. On top of the rent”.

This again provides an illustration of a housing market that discriminates against all ‘Turks’ in the same way. Although Emine’s German is perfect and although she had lived in the country for 13 years and had spent much more than half of her life there, she was discriminated against on the basis of her ethnic origin. This discrimination, however, was dependent on price and, therefore, competition. This again emphasises that discrimination in the housing market is not independent of other factors such as the construction of housing or changes in the number of households (cf. Section 8.3), influencing the availability of housing in the lower price-segments.

As a result of these experiences, and the desire to live together in a place of their own after their marriage Hasan and Emine, too, had to rely on personal contacts in finding a flat:

“Luckily, my aunt knew quite a number of people and she found a place for us. An apartment in Schwanthalerhöhe¹⁶. One room. She knew the landlord who was also a Turk. That’s how we got the flat”.

However, the use of personal contacts didn’t lead to satisfactory residential conditions, and the first flat was, for the couple as for many other secondary immigrants in the sample, no more than a first (difficult) step into the housing market. Hasan recalls the situation in the flat as very inadequate, difficult and stressful for the couple:

“It really was a difficult time for us. ... when two people live in one room, there are bound to be tensions. Alone, it would have been OK. But when you have different interests, and for example, I stay up longer in the evenings and watch TV, but then she couldn’t sleep and that was really difficult. So we had arguments. I mean, we didn’t have much money and we paid 600 marks rent per month, maybe we could have afforded to pay 800 or 900 marks. For two rooms. But there was no chance to get anything that cheap. But we didn’t want to spend all our money on rent, because we wanted to do other things, too”.

It seems that for Emine, this desire to spend only a limited maximum amount of money on rent was even greater and, moreover, was the result of the fact that she never wanted to live like her parents:

“I just said to him, I never want to be like them. We never did anything, never had the money to do things. They worked all the time and stayed at home. Never went out. Nothing. You know, they didn’t even earn much because both of them worked for the council”.

¹⁶ See Figure 11.2.

Similar to Ali and Fatma, the couple's identity in the field of housing was therefore strongly influenced by a 'real-life-narrative' which, however, emerged largely as a contrast to the life of Emine's parents and to her own upbringing. Moreover, it appears that this narrative has been imposed on and taken up by Hasan, who now considers living this 'proper life' as absolutely fundamental, too. This is not to deny that he has probably had this desire independently, but it appears that for Emine this seems to have been much more fundamental, as well as having been a more *conscious* part of her identity. Identity narratives and their significance for action therefore seem to be the result of a process of negotiation and, sometimes, imposition.

Since moving out immediately seemed impossible for the couple, Hasan and Emine tried to spend as little time as possible in the flat, applying 'immobile solutions' in order to ameliorate inadequate residential conditions:

"... we did a lot of things outside the flat in order to compensate for the small flat. ... For example, we went swimming very often, or went for a walk in Westpark, or sunbathing. Things like that" (Hasan).

Despite these immobile solutions, the couple started to look for another flat after almost a year in their first residence. Having experienced the operation of the private-rented market before, they now ignored this sector completely and acted in the public sector, which they saw as the best opportunity to improve their housing situation. As Emine explains:

"I just told him that I didn't want to go through the same thing again. You know, the discrimination and the disappointment and all that stuff. So I said, I want to have a flat from the *Wohnungsamt* because we knew that a private flat, as a Turk, and we only have average circumstances, and we couldn't afford to pay 1500 marks. Because that's what you have to pay as a Turk. At least. And we didn't want to spend more than one entire salary on the flat alone".

In addition to the fear of having to go through the same depressing search process again, this again emphasises that, as an expression of the 'real-life-narrative' (rooted in Emine's biography), Hasan and Emine were not willing to compromise on their other priorities.

While the public sector was considered to be more easily accessible, the family was unsuccessful in their applications at the *Wohnungsamt* as a result of their familial and financial situations and, despite being put on the waiting list, they didn't have enough credits (see Appendix 4) to be eligible for a flat at that time:

"Well, I went to the *Wohnungsamt*, and from them I didn't get anything. The conditions were that, I mean the housing situation was tight and I have, that is we didn't have enough credits he said, there were much more urgent cases than us. For example, people with two, three, four children.

And we didn't have a child then. ... But he said, without a child you don't get the necessary credits. ... I still got the certificate of entitlement and I went there a few times and then he said, you don't even need to come back". (Hasan)

This certificate eventually helped them to get a *Sozialwohnung*, albeit not *directly* from the *Wohnungsamt*, in contrast to other secondary immigrants:

"In early 1990, we got this flat. She worked for the LVA [an insurance company] and she, there were flats built by the LVA. And this is such a flat this, it belongs to the *Wohnungsamt*, but the LVA built it and is entitled to name the tenant, and they give them to their staff. And she applied for the flat and we got it, but we had no idea where it would be and then they offered us this one. And she applied for it and we then really got it quickly because we had the certificate from the *Wohnungsamt*. Because the LVA could only give the flat to people with such a certificate. The conditions were: firstly, to be an LVA-employee and secondly, to be entitled to a *Sozialwohnung*". (Hasan)

The move into the *Sozialwohnung* in Obergiesing (see Figure 11.2) in 1990 led to a dramatic improvement of their residential situation, both with the flat as such and with the neighbourhood. While the satisfaction with the flat as such is still high at present, however, their evaluation of and attitude towards the location of the flat has changed dramatically since 1990. This is based on a number of factors. For Emine, experiences through first-hand encounters in the ward have been highly significant:

"When we moved in here, I was really happy. But I'm not anymore, The people living in Obergiesing are really awful. ... Firstly, there are many *Ausländer*. And secondly, the Germans who live here, I'm sorry to say that, are really from the lower sections of the population. I don't know how to say that, but when I go to work and people swear at me because I'm a foreigner and because they think I'm from the *Asylantenwohnheim* [hostel for asylum-seekers], it simply bothers me. It makes me furious. And as I said, since [German] reunification it has become even more extreme. ... And in every flat that has become vacant here, a Turk has moved in immediately. Or Yugoslavs, or foreigners in general, or god knows what".

For Emine and Hasan, their attitude towards the neighbourhood has changed fundamentally as a result of their stigmatisation as foreigners there. This is directly attributed to the large and increasing number of non-Germans, especially refugees, in the area¹⁷. From Emine's reports, it appears that she feels that natives' reactions to foreigners, too, are fundamentally influenced by the sheer number of non-Germans in an area. For the couple, this makes living in an area with high foreigner presence undesirable.

While this perception of a strong *real* increase in these 'problems' is significant, it is also possible that it is based on the changing relative significance of location versus the flat as such. At the beginning, the flat was most important whereas later, once the internal residential situation had improved, other factors such as the neighbourhood have been

¹⁷ It should be recalled here that Obergiesing has traditionally had over-representations of foreigners, see Section 6.3.

monitored more closely and have become more important. Whatever the precise reason, the experiences of racism have led to the emergence of a 'racism-narrative' that was to become more important for action later on.

Over the past two or three years, two developments in particular have contributed further to this increasingly negative evaluation of the locality: firstly, direct exposition to racism through the actions of a neighbour; and secondly, the emergence of a strong 'family-narrative' through the birth of their daughter in 1992.

The problems with one of the German neighbours have contributed significantly to an increasing dissatisfaction with the location of the flat and have, moreover, transformed the meaning of the flat into a place where Emine in particular has felt increasingly threatened:

"... really, we had a good relationship with our neighbours, but two years ago it changed, because the family have a friend and he influenced them negatively, especially their son. He made a *Hakenkreuz* [swastika] on our car and burned our nameplates with a lighter ... and my wife was particularly affected and said, I'm sometimes so scared in the flat because you never know what he will do". (Hasan)

While these immediate experiences of racism have been important in changing the evaluation of the locality, it was undoubtedly the birth of their daughter that most fundamentally changed the perception of the neighbourhood through the emergence of a strong 'family-narrative' as part of their identity, that now revolved also around the well-being of their daughter, particularly in the near future:

"I often think about what it will be like for her at school or in the kindergarten, Will she be happy or will she have to go through the same difficulties I had [at school]. Already now I'm interested in that. I'm worried about her. She's only two years old, but I'm worried about her already". (Emine)

However, despite these worries, return is not a consideration now since it is the wish of both Hasan and Emine to bring up their daughter in one country (Germany), that will be the *Heimat* for her. In Emine's case, not disrupting her daughter's upbringing is also the result of her own experiences of growing up in two countries, while for Hasan the well-being of their daughter and her upbringing in one country is fundamental, too:

Q: "When has it become clear that you were going to stay in Germany?"

A: "At the beginning we didn't really think about it. I sometimes thought, maybe I could return to Turkey, especially when I worked for Deutsche Bank. There I thought, maybe I can work for them or another bank in Turkey. It was open, but now I can say, I don't want to go back ... and she doesn't either. ... It has changed because we now have our daughter, that is we have a child now and I have to think about her, too, what she will do in the future and her future is probably better here than in Turkey. Here, she's got better possibilities to establish herself in society. ... The situation now for us is, I plan in Germany on a long-term basis, and not a short-term basis anymore".

A 'return-narrative', that has never been strong and has never influenced their actions, has thus been further dissolved through the birth of the daughter and the concern for her upbringing, manifested in a 'family-narrative' that now shapes many of their actions (see below).

For Emine, her upbringing in Germany and the development of a 'gender-narrative' in which she clearly sees herself as a westernised woman, reduces the chance of return further still. Or in other words, she feels that her identity as a woman is incompatible with the Turkish image of the role of women:

"Three weeks ago I was in Turkey, and as a woman I don't really want to live there. For a woman, it's really bad there, it's just cooking, doing the household and stuff like that. ... I just couldn't imagine to do that, and I also want to wear a mini-skirt when I want to and that sort of thing. And work, of course".

However, while Hasan and Emine have now set their sights firmly on a future in Germany as a result of (and itself further shaping) their identity, the 'return-narrative' is not dissolved entirely. Rather, it exists in a latent form, not influencing their actions at present, but being conditional upon the prevailing conditions, with the context being monitored reflexively and constantly, indicating that identities are indeed formed in and are dependent on, context:

"Normally, I don't want to go back. But if I have to experience the same things over and over again, like really bad racism and so on, of course I've got to go back. ... And I must say, I've started to feel insecure recently. ... I'm cautious and more insecure". (Emine)

and:

"You know, the political situation in Turkey and Germany influences us both. When the arson attacks happened here, you start to think, what happens to the foreigners? ... So we have to look what's going on in Turkey, too. ... As I said, we make long-term plans, but we still observe the political situation carefully, because you just never know. You can never be sure". (Hasan)

Despite these elements of *potential* insecurity, however, it is the 'family-narrative' and the 'racism-narrative' (which are to some extent inter-connected), in addition to the 'real-life-narrative' that have the greatest influence on their planned actions in the housing market. This constitution of their identity has thereby led to the emergence of the plan to purchase a dwelling:

"I mean, I'm now almost 30 and I now want to have something I can call my own. I've now worked for some years ... and we've always paid rent. ... I just don't want to pay rent, and I also want to create some security for my child. ... And of course the situation here [in Obergiesing] is also a reason. Firstly, I want to move away from here as quickly as possible, definitely before she starts school, because she shouldn't have to go to a school where the majority are foreign. Or grow up in an area where most other children are foreigners. And secondly, I want to have something that's mine". (Emine)

The desire to move away is, it appears, most strongly connected to the racism and 'family-narratives', reflected in the concern for their daughter:

"The flat is OK, really, and two bedrooms are sufficient, too. ... But the surroundings are the bigger problem, because I don't want to bring her up here. ... I sometimes see that in the kindergarten the foreigner-children, in particular the Turkish children, are in the majority and are therefore isolated. Some years ago, when there was a foreign child in a kindergarten, the nursery-school teacher would give more attention to this child. But now the reverse is true. They say, just another foreigner. ... And then also, here in Obergiesing she could never become integrated fully into the society here". (Emine)

In Emine and Hasan's mind, their daughter's future is therefore not only dependent on her being brought up in Germany, but is also dependent on the locality of the place of residence, a concern raised by a number of secondary-immigrants (see Section 10.4). For this generation, 'place' therefore clearly matters and has acquired increasing significance in recent years.

However, while this desire to leave Obergiesing exists as a result of the constitution of their identity¹⁸, in particular the importance of the family and racism-narratives, the influence on their actions of a 'real-life-narrative' means that they will defer a move for another two or three years:

"We will probably work for another two or three years in order to have a bit more capital to start with. ... Then, we'll have a bit more money, but until then we will stay here because it's really cheap¹⁹. And until then, we want to work, but also to live and to save what's left. Because my parents have always saved. But that certainly doesn't apply to us [laughs]. It's just not worth it. Just to save. We rather live and enjoy [laughs]". (Emine)

There therefore exists a careful balancing of the influences of the dominant narratives in the sphere of housing. While the family and racism narratives are expressed in the desire to purchase *a dwelling in another location*, the significance of a 'real-life-narrative' ensures that this will take a few years, when the couple also expect house-prices to be lower.

While the fear of racism and the worries about their daughter's well-being are to a large extent tied to Obergiesing, however, Hasan and Emine also have a more general fear of racist attacks, which is likely to have an influence on the precise nature of their future, owner-occupied dwelling:

"Really, I would prefer buying a house ... but I'm still scared of the *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* [hostility towards foreigners] and the arson attacks. And I think I would be just more afraid in a house than in a flat. Even a terraced house. In particular since the arson attacks I've felt like this.

¹⁸ This identity could of course change with changing conditions in the locality.

¹⁹ Hasan and Emine currently pay 820 marks per month for a two-bedroom flat with 63m².

... I always think, something can happen, but I'm sure that the danger would be much greater if we lived in a house. So I guess we'll buy a flat". (Emine)

The significance of the 'racism-narrative' therefore not only influences the location of their future flat but, additionally, determines to some extent the precise form of the dwelling.

11.3.3 Summary and discussion

The biographies and residential histories of Hasan and Emine exemplify many of the processes secondary immigrants have undergone since coming to Germany. Despite varying backgrounds and a generally easy process of settlement in Germany and its acceptance as *Zuhause*, the couple's experiences in the housing market have been similar to those of other secondary and, indeed, other primary immigrants. The past and present structure of the housing market therefore clearly appears to work as a 'leveller', in which ethnic origin is a major constraining factor in shaping housing careers, irrespective of identity, generation or *Zuhause/Heimat* orientations.

The precise form of Emine and Hasan's movement from private-rented to social housing, or their residential histories to date, has nevertheless to be explained by both structural and individual factors: firstly, the problems in finding their first flat made them stay away from the private-rented sector later, indicating again that it is often not necessarily the structure of the market at the time of a move, but earlier experiences in it, that fundamentally shape action. In their case, this has led to an orientation away from the private-rented market, and towards social housing. Secondly, however, the influence of a 'real-life-narrative' (rooted particularly strongly in Emine's biography) has meant that the couple were unwilling to spend the largest part of their income on housing. This, however, would have been necessary in order to get a flat in the more expensive segment of the private-rented sector, in which discrimination along the lines of ethnic origin seems to be less significant.

The changing relevance of location for Emine and Hasan in recent years has illustrated the influence of context on identity and, through the birth of their daughter, has also shown the changing evaluation of context through changing identities themselves. As a result of the emergence of 'new' and different ontological narratives and consequent changes in the family's identity, a further residential move will now lead away from Obergiesing into an area with lower foreigner presence and, within this area, will lead into

an owner-occupied flat. However, this move has been postponed for the time being and will take place once their financial situation has improved slightly. This delay is the result of the influence of a 'real-life-narrative', located in biography.

The case of Hasan and Emine has also provided a first look as to how, in the case of couples, identities are negotiated and constructed. Or, in other words, it has provided some answers to the question as to whether (in particular fields of common action), we are dealing with one identity or two identities. Here, it appears that the emergence of what could be called a common identity shaping action in the housing market is the result of a process of negotiation and is, probably, also a question of power. Emine thereby seems to have imposed her biographically-rooted 'real-life-narrative' on Hasan. Moreover, Emine's apparently greater fear of racism seems to have been assimilated into a common 'racism-narrative' that will significantly shape their future actions in the housing market. This question of the formation and negotiation of identities clearly needs to be addressed in future studies.

11.4 Discussion

Having examined two individual cases in some detail, and considered the constitution of their narrative identities and the significance of these for action, it is instructive at this point to move back to the interview sample and discuss further some of the issues raised in this chapter.

The first of the issues that merits closer consideration here is the significance of the 'real-life-narrative'. For Ali and Fatma, as well as for Hasan and Emine, this strand of their identity has been significant in structuring their lives. For both couples, this ontological narrative has also been constructed in contrast to what they perceived to be the identities of other Turkish immigrants. In the case of Ali and Fatma, this has been contrasted with other primary immigrants, whereas for Hasan and Emine, this was more strongly contrasted with their parents. In the light of these contrasted constructions, it is worth considering whether what could be called 'work-and-save-narratives' (which seem to provide the contrast with 'real-life-narratives') are indeed as common as assumed by the couples examined here. From the evidence of the sample population in this study, this doesn't seem to be the case. Indeed, in the entire interview sample, there were only two cases in which lives seem to have been structured *strongly* by the desire to work and save.

Significantly, one of these respondents had already returned to Turkey by the time of the interview, and was interviewed whilst on a brief visit to Germany. In his case, his life in Germany had been clearly dominated by a 'work-and-save-narrative', assuming significance and being reflected in the way he lived in Munich. Not willing to spend a large amount of money on residence, he lived in a *Wohnheim* throughout his stay in Munich and during this time, spent very little time outside the hostel or the factory in order to save money. This particular narrative was clearly connected to a 'return-narrative' and to the desire to save for the return to Turkey and to invest there.

For another couple, the importance of a strong 'family-narrative' means that their lives, too, are structured significantly by what could be called a 'work-and-provide-narrative'. While this may seem paradoxical in the light of the two case studies discussed above, this shows that similar ontological narratives (such as those revolving around the family) can and do vary in their detailed form and implications. The significance of the family and the well-being of the children are generally very important in Turkish culture (cf. Schiffauer 1987, 1992), and for this particular couple the 'family-narrative' primarily revolves around providing the best *material* upbringing for their children, and less around the togetherness of the family. As a consequence, the couple have always worked extremely hard and, despite having regular jobs, opened a shop selling beverages, where they now spend most of their evenings and weekends. This, however, means that they have little time to spend with their children, leading to a family-life that differs from Ali and Fatma's.

However, these cases seem to be the exception rather than the rule, and the vast majority of respondents don't fit the description evoked by Ali and Fatma in particular. It is therefore possible that their views of other Turks are constructed in contrast to a residual population (e.g. those still living in *Wohnheime*) or, alternatively, that they are constructed in contrast to a population that has now returned to Turkey, who are likely to have fitted this contrast much more closely.

The structuring of lives around 'real-life' and 'family-narratives' is therefore fairly common for the respondents, but their exact shape and their significance for action varies with the exact constitution of people's narrative identities, formed by the totality of ontological narratives, revolving for example around the fear of racism and gender for many secondary immigrants.

A second issue that merits closer examination here is the issue of return and the significance of a 'return-narrative'. In much of the established literature, often dating from the 1970s, return or the 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979; Dhaya 1974) are assumed to structure immigrants' lives in very clear ways, for example resulting in non-investment in housing. This is often received wisdom rather than proven fact, and the discussion here has clearly shown that return-narratives, rather than existing in the same shape all the time, acquire different significance in changing situations, being weaker or stronger at different stages and in different contexts. Thus, in most cases in the sample of respondents interviewed, even when a return-narrative featured as part of people's identities, its impact on people's actions has often been limited. However, it should not be forgotten that we are dealing here with a population that has so far stayed in Germany, and it would be interesting to compare this with people who did return to Turkey. As has been indicated above by the case of one 'returner', their identities might have been constituted differently, leading to different paths of action or different motives behind action. However, through the shape of the context, different motives or different identities can still lead to similar patterns of action, such as movement through the housing market.

Chapter 12

Summary and Discussion

12.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis has been twofold: firstly, to describe and explain the residential histories of Munich's Turkish population from a variety of angles and within their broader context; secondly, to propose, apply and evaluate an alternative approach to explaining residential mobility by applying both a novel theoretical framework (linking action and identity) and a different research method (the biographical approach).

This chapter brings together the various aspects of the research. In section 12.2, a summary of the most important substantial findings is provided, drawing together the results from the different levels of investigation. Given the novel and distinct theoretical and methodological approach taken in this study, section 12.3 critically evaluates these and their contributions to the research project, and their implications. In section 12.4, the substantial (policy-relevant) implications of this study are discussed, and avenues for future research are suggested in section 12.5.

12.2 A summary of the main findings

A number of important findings around 'residence' have been uncovered by the empirical work in this thesis for both primary and secondary immigrants. These findings, filling a significant gap in academic research and contributing to greater knowledge about the housing histories of 'foreign families' (see Chapter 1), are discussed in this section.

For both Turkish primary and secondary immigrants, residence has a role, meaning and importance that makes housing an issue that is arguably more significant than for Germans. For primary immigrants in particular, it is the connection between residence and *Zuhause*, or a feeling of belonging to Germany, that has emerged as having been absolutely fundamental. This has taken two forms: firstly, some acceptance of Germany as *Zuhause* for the time being was necessary to invest (not only financially) in residential matters. Secondly, and more importantly, residence has impinged on a feeling of *Zuhause*,

either directly through the provision of an adequate place to live or a 'home', or indirectly, for example through facilitating the reunification of the family. Consequently, residential problems caused by a number of factors (including the actions of the authorities) at times prevented or delayed the emergence of Germany as *Zuhause* for a large number of people. For the secondary immigrants in this study, the role of residence is also distinctive. While not having been as significant for shaping their feeling of *Zuhause*, residence has been tied closely to their sense of integration into German society, and the way in which they perceive their children's opportunities of succeeding in the country. In contrast to primary immigrants, however, this is presently related more to the location of the flat and the characteristics of the neighbourhood than to its internal characteristics, as has been shown in chapters 9 and 11 (see also below).

After more than 20 years, there now exists the clear feeling amongst the majority of primary immigrants and their partners that they have achieved a fairly high degree of satisfaction with their current flats. As a result, housing is not a factor in preventing feeling *Zuhause* in Germany anymore. Or in other words, most people's residential conditions are now *adequate* to facilitate feeling at home in Munich. Where the desire to return exists, this is now dependent on factors such as the perception of the location of different sets of resources in Germany and Turkey, and the relative significance attached to them.

While the respondents' residential conditions are now sufficient to generate feeling *Zuhause* in Germany, however, the majority would describe their housing situation as *adequate* rather than *optimal*. For primary immigrants and their families, 'adequacy' refers exclusively to the internal conditions of the flat, since they have always attached very little significance to locational considerations, and are generally satisfied with the location of their flats and their externalities. This provides further evidence against the desire for 'voluntary ghettoisation' amongst Turks in German cities (see below). Within the limitations of the overall structure of the Munich housing market, most respondents now perceive themselves to have achieved the maximum degree of residential satisfaction, thereby frequently being 'conditionally immobile', often forced to apply a range of 'immobile solutions'. Further improvement of housing conditions, while being possible in the more expensive segments of the private-rented market where discrimination is perceived to be virtually absent, would overstretch most people's financial means in the light of their general priorities. For the secondary immigrants in this study, while being

satisfied with the 'internal nature' of their current flats, there now exists a high degree of dissatisfaction with the location of their residences, that has acquired significance in recent years through a (perceived) increase in racism, and the existence of disadvantages through living in areas with particular population compositions. These features have been detected through a close and anxious monitoring of the context, and have acquired greater importance as a result of concern for their children. As a consequence, respondents from this group plan to move to other wards in the near future, particularly in order to ensure what they perceive as the best possible upbringing for their children. This is provided in desegregated neighbourhoods with few children of immigrant origin.

For primary immigrants and their families, this 'conditional satisfaction' has been achieved primarily in the private-rented sector. However, between one quarter and one third of the population of this group are now likely to live in social housing, a sector that has acquired considerable significance for Turkish immigrants and their families, as has been shown in chapters 5 and 6. A small but growing minority also live in their own homes, usually following the complete suspension of the 'return-narrative' and the acceptance of Germany as *Zuhause*. For all tenures, very few of the respondents plan to make a residential move in the near future. This is different for the secondary immigrants examined in the interview sample, all of whom now live in *Sozialwohnungen*. Not expecting to achieve any improvement (referring here exclusively to locational improvements) through allocations to other flats by the *Wohnungsamt*, they now plan to move into owner-occupation, with the orientation to this particular sector also being the result of the desire to provide security for their children and the complete suspension of the 'return-narrative' as part of their identities.

The current distribution of the population of Turkish origin and descent over the different housing sectors has been achieved through a fairly distinct sequence of movement through the housing market. This has been the result of a combination of 'internal' (to the people concerned) and 'external' ('structural') factors. For primary immigrants and their partners, this sequence can be described broadly as a shift from *Wohnheim* to the private-rented sector and, subsequently, to social housing and owner-occupation. This refers to relative shifts, however, and the private-rented sector (shown in chapter 5 to be the most important housing submarket in Munich) has been the most significant destination since leaving the *Wohnheim*. Movement out of the *Wohnheim* was mainly caused by the inadequate conditions there or, frequently, the desire to facilitate the

reunification of the family. Having their families in Germany was perceived to be necessary for what I have called the 'normalisation' of life in Germany, through providing the resources required to facilitate a higher degree of self-actualisation. Often utilising what I have identified as the 'positive external functions' of the *Wohnheim*, these moves usually led into the private-rented sector, as a consequence of non-qualification for social housing and the continuing significance of a 'return-narrative', which (in the context of the fairly high cost of dwellings in Munich) worked against the immediate movement into owner-occupation (see Chapter 8). For the majority of primary immigrants and their families, the private-rented sector has remained the most important submarket, and a number of moves were often made within it in order to improve the residential situation. The periods of time between individual moves were thereby fairly equal, but this 'group' has lived in their current dwellings for fairly long periods of time, pointing to what I have called in chapter 6 a process of 'residential stabilisation'. These observations lend support to the argument of the step-by-step improvement of housing conditions of immigrant minorities discussed in chapter 2, eventually leading to a high degree of 'residential stabilisation' and 'conditional satisfaction', and also explaining the generally falling annual migration rates for Turks observed in chapter 6.

For a significant proportion of people, the social sector has acquired increasing importance over time. This has been demonstrated at all levels of analysis. Two factors were important in order to facilitate this shift to *Sozialwohnungen*: firstly, primary immigrants and their families have over time increasingly met the conditions of access; secondly, and very significant for the formulation of policies (see Section 12.4), experiences of discrimination in the private-rented sector, and the perceived inaccessibility of the cheaper segments of this submarket, often meant that the public sector represented the only opportunity to improve residential conditions. These two factors also led to the movement into *Sozialwohnungen* of secondary immigrants who usually started their housing careers in private-rented flats. The strong representation of Turks in social housing is therefore also a direct result of their generally inferior position in society and in the Munich housing market, and their identical treatment there irrespective of generation. A similar study for other groups in the city would clearly shed more light on the processes involved.

In their movement through the housing market, Munich's Turkish population has undergone a fairly distinctive movement through space, that can be described broadly as

processes of decentralisation, desegregation and selective suburbanisation. Aggregate evidence from the 1980s and 1990s, as well as observations for a cohort of primary immigrants and their partners in chapter 6 have suggested that, as a consequence of their movement through the housing market, traditional areas of Turkish concentration, such as industrial districts and the inner city (also shown to be important in other cities, see chapter 2), have over time become less significant, while still retaining a considerable share of Turks. While explanations related purely to the built structure of the housing market seemed to provide only limited elucidation for the original distribution of Turks in Munich, the *changing* patterns in the 1980s appeared to be influenced more clearly by the structure of housing in different wards. *Stadtbezirke* characterised by a high share of social housing and a generally high proportion of construction of housing after 1968 have displayed strong gains of Turks. This was indicated both by changing location quotients and by changes in the intra-urban migration balance for different wards, as well as by moves of one particular cohort. Significantly, this has led to decreasing levels of Turkish residential segregation. These observations are significant since they seem to differ from findings in other German cities reviewed in chapter 2, where Turks have been shown to display *consistently* high levels of residential segregation, as well as tendencies to cluster in the inner city. The distinctiveness of these spatial patterns and processes in Munich is emphasised further when the rate of Turkish intra-ward moves is considered. In contrast to other German cities, it has been shown here that Turks (despite the frequent utilisation of personal contacts when looking for flats), display a low share of intra-ward moves. This share is similar to other groups of immigrant origin and, more importantly, the German population. These findings clearly point to the distinct influence of the structure of the housing market in Munich, that has been shown in chapter 5 to be tighter than the markets in other German cities.

The importance of the mechanisms of the housing market in shaping processes of segregation and patterns of location and intra-urban migration is underlined further when the general irrelevance of locational considerations amongst Munich's Turkish population is considered. For virtually all respondents in this study, it has always been the problem of finding a flat that has been paramount, with the location of the dwelling being fairly insignificant. This has partly been the result of the difficulties involved in finding an adequate dwelling (that have led to the utilisation of personal contacts in the search process), but this study has also shown very clearly that a desire for proximity to other

Turks does not exist and that in many cases this proximity is even regarded as *a negative thing*. Explanations of spatial patterns and processes building on the assumption of a strong in-group orientation and the desire for ethnic clustering are therefore clearly invalid, and the *spatial* features observed in this study are caused by the structure (referring to the built structure, as well as the mechanisms of access and closure) of the housing market, and the generally inferior position of Turks in society. However, it has also been shown in chapter 9 that proximity may become more important in the next decade or so for selected groups such as single retired women, an issue that will be examined in the discussion of policy-implications (see Section 12.4).

12.3 'Theory' and 'method': evaluation and implications

This thesis has approached the issues of residential histories, residential location and residential migration from an explicitly biographical perspective. Moreover, it has suggested and applied a novel way of looking at migration and non-migration by linking action and identity. The novelty of both 'theory' and 'method' makes it necessary to evaluate these, their contribution to the research project and to the wider subject area, as well as their implications for research. This section starts by taking a closer look at the insights gained through the biographical method, and then goes on to critically evaluate the theoretical framework. In doing this, I concentrate in particular on the insights gained through the approaches and their contribution to the subject area, as well as their practical feasibility.

As I have argued in chapter 4, the biographical method has a long history in the social sciences, but has so far failed to make a significant impact in geography. However, as this study has shown, this research method has the potential of offering important insights.

The first of these insights in this study has obviously been the opportunity to reconstruct events, and sequences of events, located in the past. As the quotation by Glebe at the beginning of this thesis suggests, there exist significant gaps in our knowledge of the housing histories of 'foreign families'. Approaching the research topic through conducting biographical in-depth interviews has clearly helped to explain the housing histories of foreign families, and an important part of the causes behind their particular forms. Moreover, the application of this approach in a very broad way by

'enquiring around the subject', rather than concentrating solely on 'residence', has thereby helped to shed light on the inter-connectedness between various aspects of people's lives. In this thesis it has been shown, for example, that 'residence' has crucially impinged on other 'spheres' of the respondents' lives and that these other 'spheres' have in turn had a significant impact on residential issues. Applied in this detailed and elaborate way, the biographical method has thereby contributed to a much greater understanding of the way in which the lives of Turkish immigrants and their families have been structured, and has provided a greater insight into why their residential histories have taken their particular shapes.

However, the argument at the start of thesis has also been that many things people do, referring to non-routine action in particular, are located in their entire biographies and cannot be reduced only to the circumstances immediately prior to action. In chapter 11 in particular, this argument has been given support and the findings have emphasised the value of a biographical approach to the analysis of action (migration/non-migration), with action being conceptualised in a very broad sense, including non-physical action. In particular, I have shown that by 'enquiring around the subject' in a biographical context, the deep-rooted constitution of actions can be elucidated or, in the terminology used in chapter 3, 'because-motives' can be uncovered. Since these because-motives are often rooted in the more distant past, biographical research appears to be the only way of revealing them. For example, in the cases of Ali and Fatma, as well as Emine in particular, I have shown that a 'real-life-narrative' is biographically-rooted (albeit in different ways) and has been fundamental in shaping action related to residence in the context of the Munich housing market.

By applying a biographical approach, this thesis has therefore clearly contributed to the subject area, and indeed to the wider academic debate, in two major ways: firstly, through the description and explanation of the residential histories of Munich's Turkish population; secondly, by demonstrating that the causes of non-routine actions are to some extent located in people's biographies, acquiring varying significance in changing contexts. The insights gained in this study, some of which have been discussed in section 12.2, should therefore be seen as a clear endorsement of the application of a biographical approach. Additionally, the findings in this thesis suggest that if we want to *understand and explain* action properly, we might have to resort to the biographical method.

However, as has already been argued in chapter 4, this approach is not entirely without problems, and at this stage it is important to briefly reflect on some of the difficulties that have featured in the approach in this study.

The first of these shortcomings, addressed and rectified in the present study through the application of a mixed methods approach, is the need to supplement biographical research in the analysis of residential histories with other research methods. In this study, an examination of the Munich housing market contributed fundamentally to understanding residential histories, and people's reports were also triangulated with material from other sources, such as creative literature. Relying on the biographical method alone (in the same way as relying on the analysis of aggregate data alone) only provides a partial explanation of residential histories by giving undue priority to 'agency' over 'structure'.

Secondly, biographical research is extremely labour intensive, and also requires the willing co-operation of people to talk in great detail about their lives. As a consequence, the approach might not always be feasible, in particular when there are constraints on time and the need for short and categorised results required for the formulation of policies.

A third problem, already referred to in chapter 4, is whether we are ever able to reconstruct the past 'as it was', and whether we can therefore ever provide a *complete* and *correct* explanation for action. This is clearly related to the problems of recall and post-hoc rationalisation, that have also been discussed recently in other social sciences (Connerton 1989). While I have tried to reduce these problems in the interviews through approaching different topics from a variety of angles and by applying a variety of probing strategies, we can never be sure of eliminating these problems altogether. However, being aware of their existence at all stages of the research is the first step to reducing their impact.

Although these problems, in addition to some of the peculiarities of this method discussed in chapter 4, should clearly be borne in mind and need to be addressed in any research project utilising a biographical approach, the evidence here suggests that the insights gained through the biographical method are substantial and point in the direction of the need for further, similar research and a constant refinement of the method (see Section 12.5). Moreover, the evidence here suggests that biographical explanations contribute significantly to theories of action.

Connected to the application of a different research method, and emanating from recent critiques of behavioural approaches to the explanation of residential migration (Halfacree and Boyle 1993), as well as calls for a greater sensitivity to social theory in population geography (White and Jackson 1995), this study has suggested and applied a social-theoretical approach that sees action as being located in people's identities, thereby trying to bridge the structure/agency dualism to some extent. The evaluation of this conceptualisation of action is clearly connected to the above discussion of biographical approaches, since it has also been argued that identities are located in biographies, formed and reformed through action in contexts.

The discussion in chapter 11 in particular has shown that linking identity, narrative and action (as proposed by Somers and Gibson 1994) clearly provides important insights into the constitution of residential histories, and bridges some of the gaps between 'context' and the agent. In particular, the discussion has shown that migration/non-migration, rather than being the result of unmediated stimuli, is the consequence of a complex balancing and negotiation of different strands of people's identities, or interconnected ontological narratives revolving around various issues and characteristics. Features such as the family, however, don't determine action in unmediated ways, but form ontological narratives that only acquire significance in their totality, forming people's identities. This suggests that approaches to residential migration relying, for example, on the concept of the life-cycle may indeed be oversimplistic and conceal a much more complex reality. However, the evidence in this study has also shown that theoretical narrative identities can't be imposed deductively onto people's lives, but that these labels must arise inductively.

These ontological narratives, however, while being biographically-rooted and formed and reshaped in contexts, acquire varying significance in different situations, such as the Munich housing market, depending on the constitution of people's identities. For Ali and Fatma (Section 11.2), for example, their biographically-rooted 'return-narrative' acquired significance in the field of housing only in the context of the very expensive owner-occupied housing sector in Munich. For Hasan and Emine (Section 11.3), on the other hand, the suspension of their return-narrative meant that this context was evaluated differently through the constitution of their identities, and that 'action' will therefore be directed towards the owner-occupied market. These observations have clearly pointed to

the varying constitution and significance of ontological narratives, so that action will also always be the result of the unique form of identities.

The case studies have clearly shown that action is indeed a complex expression of people's identities, and the concept of 'narrative identities' has proved particularly useful to account for action shaped and mediated through identities. Moreover, rather than seeing identity as some undistinguished opaque whole, the connection between identity and narrative thereby also provides a conceptualisation that can be operationalised fairly easily and that makes the complex constitution of action more transparent. Furthermore, the case of Hasan and Emine in particular has shown how different ontological narratives 'appear' and 'die', both with changing 'internal' (to the agent) and external (structural) circumstances, and that action will follow from the changing constitution of identities. This has clearly pointed to the need for a mixed methods approach, able to uncover changing 'external' contexts, that covers various aspects of the structure-agency duality and their significance for action.

The similarities of people's positions in varying contexts, in the current case the similarities of the respondents' upbringing, socialisation and circumstances in the present structural framework, however, have also indicated that this theoretical framework leaves room for generalisations. Linking structure and agency through Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, defined here as *sets of dominant ontological narratives*, has been useful in conceptualising and explaining the actions of 'groups' (people in similar 'objective' positions), and has allowed for variation within uniformity. This is indeed one of the most important *theoretical* findings in this study: the possibility to allow for generalisations without losing sight of the individual agent and their agency. Since existing studies in the subject area in Germany have almost always ignored agents, the approach here suggests that a reconciliation between 'the individual' and 'the aggregate' is indeed possible. This thesis has therefore also demonstrated that, by applying a narrative-identity approach to action and taking the acting subject seriously, it is possible to uncover both 'the general' and 'the unique', and thereby point to the relative significance of 'agent' and 'context'. In this study, it has been shown in particular that residential histories, while being shaped and mediated by the constitution of people's identities, take similar shapes through the strong, constraining influence of the Munich housing market, as well as the more general position of Turkish immigrants in German society. This clearly implies that an approach concentrating on the individual within a well-defined social theoretical framework can

contribute significantly to an explanation of aggregate patterns, in particular when it is supplemented by other research methods.

This thesis has been one of the first studies of its kind in geography to test and argue for the connection between narrative, identity and action. In the same way as the biographical method, and indeed partly similar to it, this particular conceptualisation is not entirely without problems, and these need to be addressed and discussed at this point. In this discussion, I want to concentrate on two issues in particular.

The first problem with this theoretical framework is related to the constitution of identities and the importance of different ontological narratives for action. In chapter 3 it has been argued that action will always be shaped to some extent by the *totality* of ontological narratives forming a particular identity. However, in the empirical part of this thesis it has become clear that a limited number of 'governing' identity-narratives seem to be crucial for action. This does not mean that other, less dominant ontological narratives are unimportant, but has rather indicated the problems of *accessing* this totality, in particular in retrospective biographical research. Thus, while providing an approach that captures some of the dynamism and complexity of the structure/agency connection and the constitution of action, we are still likely to provide a simplified account of action as a result of the problem of accessing the totality of ontological narratives. This problem is likely to be caused by the difficulty of uncovering 'practical consciousness' (see Chapter 3), especially when this is located in the past.

A second problem, addressed to some extent in the case of Hasan and Emine in chapter 11, is the issue of processes of decision-making, or very simply the question of 'whose identities?' and 'whose narratives?' in the case of couples and families. In every household or family, identity formation and the impact of identities on action are likely to be the result of processes based on power and negotiation. In the case of Hasan and Emine, it appeared that Emine has been successful in imposing one of her dominant ontological narratives (revolving around a 'real life'), rooted in her biography, on Hasan. This narrative thereby became part of their 'common identity', important in shaping their actions as a unit. However, in the interview I was unable to reconstruct the process by which the partners negotiated the significance of various ontological narratives. This clearly needs to be addressed in future studies and will be discussed further in section 12.5.

While the insights into the constitution of residential histories gained through connecting identity, narrative and action have been substantial in this study, and point to their usefulness for further studies trying to explain action, a number of problems exist, that can be rectified to some extent by the application of a mixed-methods approach.

12.4 Policy implications of this study

The previous two sections have shown that this study has contributed to existing (academic) knowledge at the levels of empirical findings, theory and method. These contributions have implications for the formulation of policies, and these are addressed in this section.

In the light of the (perceived and actual) discrimination in the housing market experienced by Turkish immigrants and their children, and their *relatively* strong reliance on social housing for the improvement of their residential conditions, cutbacks in the provision of *Sozialwohnungen* must be seen to contribute (possibly inadvertently) to discrimination, disadvantage and racism. The need for the provision of a fairly substantial amount of housing in the cheaper segments of the market has also been given support in this thesis when it has been shown that discrimination and disadvantage along the lines of ethnic origin is also always dependent on the sheer amount of housing available in particular price segments. While not attacking the roots of racism and discrimination directly, the continuing provision of reasonably-priced publicly-supported housing can clearly contribute to improving the living conditions of minority groups. Furthermore, through reducing the amount of pressure on the housing market, immigrants and their families would thereby be seen as being less of a factor in causing this pressure and its consequences, such as high rents. It has to be acknowledged, however, that it is clearly not in the interest of capital to see rents fall.

The demand for social housing by Munich's Turkish population is, from the evidence presented here, likely to increase further in the next decade or so, when the effects of the segregation of Turks into low occupational ranks, such as low state pensions, will be felt more fully as an increasing number of people reach retirement¹. Since return is now not on the agenda for the majority of primary immigrants, the housing

¹ Moreover, unemployment could become a more serious problem in a period of economic restructuring.

needs of pensioners will have to be catered for. This need is unlikely to be met by an expensive private-rented sector, in which discrimination is prevalent.

However, with this ageing population, the (housing) authorities are faced with further challenges since it has been shown in this thesis that single retired women in particular (but the same is likely to apply to single male pensioners) have housing needs which differ from the rest of the Turkish population. In particular, it is the need for spatial proximity to other Turks and to Turkish organisations (acting as substitutes for the family) that appears to be a significant factor to be addressed. 'Space' thereby clearly becomes an important issue for this sub-population.

These findings suggest that the allocation by the *Wohnungsamt* to particular dwellings should be a process that needs to be tailored much more strongly to individual needs, since it appears that deconcentration (and desegregation) are not necessarily features that are in the interest of all those concerned, although this seems to have been the case so far. This means that the *Wohnungsamt* in particular should not discourage applicants from specifying a desired location (see Appendix 4), but should cater for these demands if strong reasons are given, which should be taken particularly seriously in the case of (Turkish) immigrants and their families.

The need for more individually-oriented allocation to social housing (rather than lumping 'Turks' or 'foreigners' into one group) is given support by the case of the secondary immigrants examined in this thesis. From the evidence presented here, it has become clear that for this group, dispersal and deconcentration are essential and need to be encouraged, firstly in order to provide them with a stronger sense of integration; and secondly to provide the best possible upbringing (perceived to be tied to 'place') for their children.

However, for this group in particular, allocation of social housing should not only take account^{of} the location of the dwelling within Munich, but should also take seriously their demands for security discussed in chapter 10. This appears to be a factor that has so far been overlooked and again suggests that policy needs to be targeted at individuals and groups with particular needs.

This study therefore shows that, for the effective and adequate formulation of policies, it is essential that the groups concerned are involved and that their opinions and

needs are taken seriously, rather than assuming their demands through constructing them as undifferentiated wholes.

From the evidence presented here, an all-embracing policy of a maximum of 20% foreigners in any one building administered by the *Wohnungsamt* is unlikely to meet the specific demands of the different (and changing) groups constituting Munich's Turkish population in the future. After all, it should also be kept in mind that this is a population for whom, in general, residence performs functions that are vital for their sense of *Zuhause* (see Section 12.2).

So far, the discussion here has concentrated primarily on social housing, since this is arguably the sector where positive intervention by the authorities is easiest. However, the problem of discrimination against people of Turkish origin in the private-rented housing market, and their frequent perception of not being fully integrated into German society, are caused by different factors. In particular, it appears that the definition of German nationhood outlined in chapter 2 continues to exclude certain people who have lived in the country for fairly long periods of time. This problem is particularly prevalent for secondary immigrants, but its effects are felt by all people of Turkish origin and descent. From the evidence presented here, it appears that German politicians should set much clearer signs of accepting these and other immigrants as full citizens by further easing access to German citizenship and allowing the retention of Turkish citizenship, at least for primary and secondary immigrants, and thereby showing that their inclusion into the German nation is desired. Moreover, for the long-established population of Turks in Germany, further signs of integration are necessary (such as the right to vote) and it appears instrumental to put them on equal terms with EU-citizens, and improve their standing in the 'official' ethnic hierarchy (cf. Faist and Häußermann 1996). While the abolition or reduction of discrimination in areas such as the housing market is a slow process, clear and unambiguous signs from the 'highest levels' are necessary first to trigger changes elsewhere.

12.5. Avenues for further research

At various stages in this thesis I have already suggested possibilities for further research, particularly in order to fill some of the gaps left by this study for the case of Munich. This

section now concentrates further on such possibilities, focusing in particular on issues that can be developed from this thesis in a variety of contexts.

The mixed-methods approach taken in this study has yielded important insights into residential issues amongst Munich's Turkish population, as I have argued in section 12.2. Unfortunately, geographical research is often characterised by 'methodological specialisms', rather than realising the full potential of applying more than one method. As this study, being one of the first of its kind in the German context, has shown, the benefits of a mixed-methods approach are substantial and this kind of methodology has the potential of explaining patterns and processes much more fully than any method on its own can do. For example, while the calculation of segregation indices, determining levels of segregation for different population groups, is undoubtedly a valid and extremely useful exercise, this study has indicated that their utility can be enhanced further by talking to the people concerned about the significance of proximity and concentration. While it is often acknowledged that these concentrations are positive for the people concerned, the assumption usually is that they are negative for society at large. However, it has been shown here that there are benefits to the wider society emanating directly from proximity and clustering, particularly in the near future through the establishment of immigrant support networks. In order to function effectively, however, these networks rely on spatial proximity. As a result of these findings, this thesis should be seen as an endorsement of a mixed-methods approach, that should be applied more frequently both in the subject area of residence, and in other fields of enquiry, such as employment histories or the development of international migration.

This thesis has also indicated the usefulness of a biographical approach to the examination of the constitution of residential histories in particular, and non-routine action more generally. In geography, the biographical method is still a very weakly-developed avenue, and could be applied and explored fruitfully in other fields of enquiry. For example, it would be interesting to examine whether people's reproductive behaviour relates to their entire biography and if it does, how. I clearly feel that the potentials of biographical research in this and other fields of enquiry are substantial, and it appears that a 'matched pair' research design, matching the research subjects in a number of criteria, would be instructive. This would work both as an application, and as a further evaluation, of the biographical method and of explanation of non-routine action as being located in biographies.

Another methodological point relates to the use of creative literature in geographical enquiry. Such literature has been employed in this study to support the evidence gained through other research methods. This is again an under-developed research method in geography (cf. White 1985b, King *et al* 1995), and could prove useful in very different kinds of research, particularly when supplementing other methods in a mixed-methods research design. In a retrospective longitudinal study, this could be used in order to trace the (changing) significance of the family through the process of migration. For example, Turkish literature from the late 1950s to the present could thereby be compared with migrant-literature by Turks in Germany, and the changing meaning and role of the family could be examined. This could then be followed up with interviews in the two countries. Clearly, given the importance of literature in most societies, the potential for its exploitation in geographical research appears to be substantial.

From a theoretical point of view, this thesis has clearly indicated that, by exploring new and different theoretical avenues, new insights into long-established research problems, such as residential mobility, can be gained. These new insights contribute to existing knowledge. It appears that in population geography in particular (see Chapter 3), there has been some reluctance in grounding research in theoretical frameworks that have made strong in-roads in other sub-disciplines. From the experiences of this study, I would therefore suggest that approaching residential migration from the perspective of feminism or critical realism could yield further important insight into processes of residential mobility and non-mobility.

Another avenue for further studies is related directly to the theoretical framework employed in this study. In this thesis, it has been demonstrated that linking narrative, identity and action can be extremely useful to elucidate processes of residential migration (and non-migration), and can significantly contribute to a greater understanding of action more generally. Through the application of this theoretical framework in this study, two issues have arisen that seem to merit further investigation.

The first is the further refinement and application of this particular framework. For example, in this study (as a result of its retrospective nature), some of the dynamics of the formation of identities in changing contexts and within changing individual/household circumstances have been lost. Consequently, a study concentrating exclusively on the further empirical application and 'testing' of this particular theory would be extremely

useful. Ideally, this would take the form of a continuous longitudinal study, with weekly or fortnightly interviews and their supplementing with other research methods such as diaries or video-cameras. By focusing on households or couples, this would also provide an opportunity for examining the negotiation, constitution and imposition of identities when more than one individual is concerned.

A second issue arising from the application of this particular theoretical framework is the possibility of its application in other research areas, and with other population groups. It appears to me that the connection between narrative, identity and action is not limited to marginalised population groups, and that this particular conceptualisation has generally great potential in explaining non-routine action, and could therefore be applied in very different fields of enquiry, and for different groups. As a result of the constantly changing meaning of leisure, and the frequent emergence of new leisure pursuits, the connection between leisure activities and narrative identities would be extremely useful.

Moving from theory and method to substantive findings, this study has shown that continuing research is needed into residential issues concerning immigrant populations in European cities into the 1990s and beyond. Having started with a review of literature dating primarily from the 1970s and 1980s, this study has shown that, in Munich, many processes now seem to operate differently from what seems to be received wisdom. For example, Turkish levels of residential mobility have now fallen significantly, and the same applies for their levels of residential segregation. Whether these processes are peculiar to Munich, or whether they are more general features applying also to other cities, needs to be assessed through conducting similar studies, ideally through cross-national comparisons. This would provide the opportunity to assess whether we are indeed dealing with universally-applicable processes. This would also provide the opportunity of assessing much more effectively the importance of local contexts and actions, such as the rate of construction of social housing, on various patterns and processes.

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Daniel Gutting
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Dear Sir/Madam,

my name is Daniel Gutting and I am a research student at the University of Sheffield, England. My research examines residential issues and the development of the residential situation of Turkish immigrants. At the moment (until June 1995), I live in Munich in order to find out, how the population of Turkish descent here evaluate their residential situation, and how this has developed over time. The enclosed questionnaire is part of the research, and you would help me tremendously if you could spare 20 or 25 minutes to fill in the questionnaire for your personal circumstances.

In want to assure you that the questionnaire is completely anonymous and that it won't be possible for me to determine who filled it in. The data of the entire survey (consisting of approximately 100 identical questionnaires) will not be analysed individually, but in its entirety. You as an individual (or your individual answers) will not appear in the research project, and the questionnaire and the answers contained in it will not be passed on to a third party. Should you nevertheless have any reservations or questions, don't hesitate to contact me at any time. I would be delighted to answer your questions.

Thank you very much for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Daniel Gutting
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Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

mein Name ist Daniel Gutting und ich bin Forschungsstudent an der Universität Sheffield, England. Meine Forschungsarbeit beschäftigt sich mit Wohnproblemen und der Entwicklung der Wohnsituation von Immigranten und deren Kindern. Zur Zeit (bis etwa Juni 1995) lebe ich in München um herauszufinden, wie die türkisch-stämmige Bevölkerung hier ihre Wohnsituation bewertet, und wie diese sich im Lauf der Zeit entwickelt hat. Der beiliegende Fragebogen ist Teil der Forschung, und Sie würden mir riesig helfen, wenn Sie 20 oder 25 Minuten Ihrer Zeit dafür verwenden könnten, den Fragebogen für Ihre persönliche Situation auszufüllen.

Ich möchte Ihnen versichern, daß der Fragebogen absolut anonym ist und daß es mir nicht möglich sein wird zu bestimmen, von wem er ausgefüllt worden ist. Die Daten der gesamten Befragung (bestehend aus etwa 100 identischer Fragebogen) werden nicht einzeln sondern als Gesamtheit analysiert. Sie als Einzelperson (oder Ihre individuellen Antworten) werden also nicht in der Forschungsarbeit auftauchen, und die Fragebogen und die darin enthaltenen Informationen werden nicht an Drittpersonen weitergegeben. Sollten Sie aber dennoch Bedenken oder Fragen haben, so wenden Sie sich jederzeit an mich. Ich würde mich freuen, Ihre Fragen zu beantworten.

Sayın Bayanlar ve Baylar,

adım Daniel Gutting ve İngiltere'de Sheffield Üniversitesi'nde araştırma öğrencisiyim. Araştırma çalışmamın konusu, Avrupa'daki göçmenlerin konut sorunları ve konut durumlarındaki gelişmedir. Halen (tahminen 1995 Haziran ayına kadar), Münih'teki Türk kökenli nüfusun kendi konut durumunu nasıl değerlendirdiğini ve geçmiş yıllarda konut durumunun nasıl bir gelişme göstermiş olduğunu ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla, Münih'te yaşıyorum. İlişikteki formler, araştırmanın bir bölümüdür; eğer 20-25 dakikanızı buna ayırabilir ve kişisel durumunuz için formleri doldurursanız bana çok yardım etmiş olacaksınız.

Formülerin kesinlikle anonim olduğunu ve kimin tarafından doldurulmuş olduğunu tespit etmemin imkânsız olduğunu Size temin ederim. (Esas itibarıyla birbirinin aynısı olan yaklaşık 100 tabakadan oluşan) tüm soruşturmanın verileri, münferit olarak değil, bütünüyle analiz edilecektir. Yani, araştırma çalışmasında Siz münferit kişi olarak (ya da bireysel cevaplarınızla) gözükmeyeceksiniz, ve formlerler ve formlerlerdeki bilgiler, üçüncü kişilere verilmeyecektir. Yine de kuskularınız ya da sorularınız olduğu takdirde, her zaman bana başvurabilirsiniz. Sorularınızı cevaplamaktan kıvanç duyacağım.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Hilfe. Mit freundlichen Grüßen/Dostça selâmlarımla,

Please turn over

Bitte umblättern.

Explanation of the individual sections

Part 1: This part wants to know some details about your personal situation in order to find out later whether certain residential issues are dependent on the familial situation, i.e. whether for example families with more children have bigger problems in finding a suitable flat and whether more residential moves are necessary to achieve this.

Part 1a: Please fill in this part only if you were not born in Germany. Otherwise, the objectives are the same as in part 1.

Part 2: This part wants to know, how you evaluate your residential situation and your position in the housing market. Additionally, I'm interested in your experiences in Germany more generally.

Part 3: This part wants to know where you have lived - either since you came to Germany or since your birth (for people born in Germany). This part has the aim of finding out, which residential stages people of Turkish descent go through and whether this leads to a satisfactory residential situation. You don't have to indicate the detailed address of any residence, so please only specify the ward. If you can't remember any aspect of your residences anymore, please leave the space blank and try to complete the rest of the section.

please turn over

Erklärung der einzelnen Teile/ Münferit bölümlerle ilgili açıklama:

Teil 1: Dieser Teil möchte einiges über Ihre persönliche Situation erfahren, um später festzustellen, ob bestimmte Wohnungsfragen von der familiären Situation abhängen, d.h. ob z. B. Familien größere Probleme haben, eine angemessene Wohnung zu finden und ob dafür öfter umgezogen werden muß.

Bölüm 1: Bu bölümde, Sizin kişisel durumunuzla ilgili bazı şeyler öğrenilmek istenmektedir; böylece belirli konut sorunlarının aile durumuna bağlı olup olmadığını, örneğin birçok çocuğu olan ailelerin uygun bir konut bulmada daha çok güçlüklerle karşılaşmış olduklarını ve uygun bir konut bulabilmek için daha sık tasımları gerekip gerekmediğini ileride tespit etmek mümkün olacaktır.

Teil 1a: Füllen Sie diesen Teil bitte nur aus, wenn Sie nicht in Deutschland geboren wurden. Die Ziele hier sind ansonsten die gleichen wie in Teil 1.

Bölüm 1a: Lütfen bu bölümü ancak Almanya'da doğmanız iseniz doldurunuz. Bunun dışında, bu bölümün amaçları da Bölüm 1'in aynıdır.

Teil 2: Dieser Teil möchte von Ihnen wissen, wie Sie Ihre Wohnsituation und Ihre Position auf dem Wohnungsmarkt einschätzen. Desweiteren bin ich daran interessiert, wie Sie Ihr Leben in Deutschland allgemein bewerten.

Bölüm 2: Bu bölümde Sizden öğrenilmek istenen husus, ikamet yerinizin Sizin için ne önemi olduğu ve simdiki konut durumunuzu nasıl değerlendirdiğinizdir. Bunun yanı sıra, genel olarak Almanya'daki hayatınızı nasıl değerlendirdiğiniz de beni ilgilendirmektedir.

Teil 3: Dieser Teil möchte von Ihnen wissen wo Sie gelebt haben - entweder seit Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind oder seit Ihrer Geburt (für in Deutschland Geborene). Dieser Teil hat das Ziel festzustellen, welche Wohnungsstationen Menschen türkischer Herkunft durchlaufen haben. Falls Sie die Adresse Ihres jetzigen Wohnortes nicht genau angeben möchten, geben Sie bitte nur den Stadtteil an. Falls Sie sich an irgendeinen Aspekt nicht mehr genau erinnern, bitte lassen Sie die Zeile frei und fahren mit dem Ausfüllen fort.

Bölüm 3: Bu bölümde Sizden öğrenilmek istenen husus - ya Almanya'ya geldiginizden bu yana, ya da (Almanya'da doğmuş iseniz) doğduğunuzdan bu yana - nerede yaşamış olduğunuzdur. Bu bölümün amacı, Türk kökenli insanların oturdukları konut açısından hangi asamalardan geçmiş olduğunu ve bu sürecin konut yönünden tatmin edici bir duruma götürüp götürmediğidir. Simdiki ikametgahnızın adresini tam olarak vermek istemiyorsanız, yalnız mahallenin adını belirtiniz. Herhangi bir hususu artık kesin olarak hatırlayamıyorsanız da cevap vermeye çalışınız ve cevabınızı parantez içine alınız.

bitte umblättern

Part 1: Your Personal Details

1. Year of Birth:.....

2. Country of Birth:.....

3. Sex: M... ... F...

4. Nationality/Nationalities:..... If acquired, in what year?

5. How would you describe yourself? Would you say you are:
Turkish German German-Turkish Turkish-German Other (please specify)

6. Marital status:
Married Single Divorced Widowed Cohabiting

7. Nationality of Partner (where applicable):

8. Country of Birth of Partner (where applicable):

9. Have you got children? Yes No (if yes, please answer questions 10, 11 and 12. If no, please go to question 13.

10. How many children do you have?.....
11. How old are your children.....
12. How many children still live with you?.....

13. Country of Birth of your Father: His nationality:

14. Country of Birth of your Mother: Her nationality:.....

15. Are you:
An Employee Blue-collar Worker Self-Employed Unemployed Retired Housewife/Househusband

16. Exact Job Title:.....

Teil 1: Ihre Persönlichen Daten / Bölüm 1: Sahsınızla bilgiler

1. Geburtsjahr/Dogum yılı:.....

2. Geburtsland/Dogdugunuz ülke:.....

3. Geschlecht/Cinsiyet: M/E... ... W/K...

4. Staatsangehörigkeit(en)/Tabiiyetiniz:..... falls erworben/angenommen, in welchem Jahr/eger iktisaben (sonraden) kazanmis iseniz, hangi yilda?.....

5. Wie würden Sie sich selber bezeichnen? Würden Sie sagen Sie sind./Kendinizi nasıl tanımlamak isterdiniz? Hangisi size uygun:
Türkisch/Türk Deutsch/Alman Deutsch-Türkisch/Alman-Türk Türkisch-Deutsch/Türk-Alman Sonstiges (bitte angeben/ baska (belirtiniz)

6. Familienstand/Medeni hali:
Verheiratet/evli ledig/bekâr Geschieden/bosanmis Verwitwet/dul Zusammenlebend/birlikte yaşamakta

7. Staatsangehörigkeit(en) des Partners/der Partnerin (falls zutreffend)/
Esin/birlikte yasanan diger cinsten kisinin tabiiyeti (tabiiyetleri) (gerekliyorsa):.....

8. Geburtsland des Partners/der Partnerin (falls zutreffend)/
Esin/birlikte yasanan kisinin dogdugu ülke (gerekliyorsa):.....

9. Haben sie Kinder?/Çocugunuz var mı? Ja/Evet Nein/Hayır (falls ja, bitte Fragen 10, 11 und 12 beantworten. Falls nein, bitte zu Frage 13 gehen./Cevabınız evet ise, lütfen 10, 11 ve 12. Sorulara cevap veriniz, hayır ise 13 soruya geçiniz).

10. Wieviele Kinder haben Sie?/Kaç çocukunuz var?.....
11. Wie alt sind Ihre Kinder?/Çocuklarınız kaç yaşlarında?.....
12. Wieviele Ihrer Kinder leben noch bei Ihnen?/Kaç çocukunuz hâlâ yanınızda yaşıyor?.....

13. Geburtsland Ihres Vaters/Babanızın dogdugu ülke:.....Seine Staatsangehörigkeit(en)/Tabiiyeti(tabiiyetleri).....

14. Geburtsland Ihrer Mutter/Annenezin dogdugu ülke:.....Ihre Staatsangehörigkeit(en)/Tabiiyeti(tabiiyetleri).....

15. Sind Sie/İsiniz:
Angestellt/müstahdem Arbeiter(in)/ işçi Selbstständig/müstakil Arbeitslos/issiz Im Ruhestand/emekli Hausfrau/Hausmann/ ev kadını/ev erkeği

16. Genaue Berufsbezeichnung/Tam olarak mesleginiz:.....

Part 1a: Please fill in only if you were **not** born in Germany.

17. In what year did you come to Germany?

18. Did you come to Germany with your partner (if applicable)

Yes No (if yes, please go to question 19)

• If no, did your partner join you later?

Yes No (if no, please go to question 19)

• If yes, in what year was that?

19. Did you come to Germany with your children (where applicable)?

Yes No (if yes, please go to question 20)

• If no, did your children join you later?

Yes No (if no, please go to question 20)

• If yes, in what year was that?

20. Why did you come to Germany? If applicable, tick more than one box.

Came as a child with my parents.

Came in order to join my partner

Came as a refugee/asylum-seeker

Came in order to work.

Came in order to join relatives

Other (please specify)

.....

Teil 1a: Bitte nur ausfüllen, wenn Sie **nicht** in Deutschland geboren wurden/ Bölüm 1a: Lütfen sadece Almanya'da **dogmanis** iseniz doldurunuz.

17. In welchem Jahr sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen?/ Hangi yılda Almanya'ya geldiniz?.....

18. Falls zutreffend, sind Sie mit Partner/Partnerin nach Deutschland gekommen?/Gerekliyorsa, esinizle birlikte mi Almanya'ya geldiniz?

Ja/Evet Nein/Hayır (falls ja, bitte zu Frage 19 gehen/cevabınız evet ise, 19. soruya geçiniz)

• Falls nein, ist Ihr(e) Partner(in) später nachgekommen?/Cevabınız hayır ise, esiniz sonradan yanınıza geldi mi?

Ja/Evet Nein/Hayır (falls nein, bitte zu Frage 19 gehen/Cevabınız hayır ise, 19. soruya geçiniz)

• Falls ja, in welchem Jahr war das?/Cevabınız evet ise, hangi yılda geldi?.....

19. Falls zutreffend, sind Sie mit Kind/Kindern nach Deutschland gekommen?/Gerekliyorsa, çocuğunuzla (çocuklarınızla) birlikte mi Almanya'ya geldiniz?

Ja/Evet Nein/Hayır (falls ja, bitte zu Frage 20 gehen/cevabınız evet ise, 20. soruya geçiniz)

• Falls nein, ist/sind Ihr(e) Kind(er) später nachgekommen?/Cevabınız hayır ise, çocuğunuz (çocuklarınızı) sonradan yanınıza geldi mi?

Ja/Evet Nein/Hayır (falls nein, bitte zu Frage 20 gehen/Cevabınız hayır ise, 20. soruya geçiniz)

• Falls ja, in welchem Jahr war das?/Cevabınız evet ise, hangi yılda/hangi yıllarda?.....

20. Aus welchem Grund sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen (falls zutreffend, mehr als ein Kästchen ankreuzen)/ Hangi nedenden ötürü Almanya'ya geldiniz (gerekliyorsa, birden fazla isaret koyabilirsiniz)

Bin als Kind mit meinen Eltern gekommen/
Çocuk yasta annebambla geldim

Bin gekommen um zu arbeiten/
Çalışmak için geldim

Bin gekommen um bei meinem(r) Partner(in) zu sein/
Esimin yanında olmak için geldim

Bin gekommen um bei meinen Verwnadten zu sein/
Akrabalarımın yanında olmak için geldim

Bin als Asylsuchender/Flüchtling gekommen
İltica talep etmek için/mülteci olarak geldim

Sonstiges (bitte angeben)
baska (blirtiniz)

Part 2: This part enquires into different residential questions and your life in Germany more generally.

Below, you find a number of statements. Please tick a box for each question to indicate whether you agree or disagree, and indicate, to which extent the statements apply/do not apply.

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
5 4 3 2 1

	← Agree		Disagree →		
	5	4	3	2	1
1. Germany is my home.					
2. I am satisfied with the location of my current residence.					
3. I am satisfied with the quality of my current residence.					
4. In general, the location of a residence is more important than its quality.					
5. It is likely that I will move out of my current dwelling within the next year.					
6. Discrimination of people of non-German origin is a problem on the German housing market.					
7. I think that it is as easy for people of Turkish origin to find an acceptable place of residence as it is for people of German origin.					
8. I think that for me personally, life in Germany is becoming increasingly insecure.					
9. In general, it is important for me to live close to other people of Turkish origin.					
10. At the moment I would like to live close to more people of Turkish origin.					
11. At the moment I would like to live close to more people of German origin.					

please turn over

Teil 2: Dieser Teil stellt verschiedene Fragen über Wohnungsfragen und über Ihr Leben in Deutschland/Bölüm 2: Bu bölümde, konut sorularınızla ve Almanya'daki hayatınızla ilgili muhtelif sorular sorulmaktadır.

Untenstehend finden Sie eine Reihe von Aussagen. Bitte kreuzen Sie an ob Sie mit den Aussagen übereinstimmen oder nicht, und geben Sie an, zu welchem Ausmaß die Aussagen zutreffen/nicht zutreffen./Asagıda bir dizi ifade bulacaksınız. Lütfen ifadeleri doğru bulup bulmadığınızı işaretleyiniz ve ifadeleri ne dereceye kadar doğru bulduğunuzu/bulmadığınızı belirtiniz.

Stimme stark zu/ Stimme zu/ Weiß nicht/ Stimme nicht zu/ Stimme überhaupt nicht zu/
Çok doğru buluyorum doğru buluyorum bilmiyorum doğru bulmuyorum hiç doğru bulmuyorum
5 4 3 2 1

	← Stimme zu		Stimme nicht zu →		
	5	4	3	2	1
1. Deutschland ist meine Heimat./ Almanya benim vatanımdır.					
2. Ich bin mit dem Standort meines gegenwärtigen Wohnsitzes zufrieden./ Simdiki ikametgâhımın bulunduğu yerden memnunum.					
3. Ich bin mit der Qualität meines gegenwärtigen Wohnsitzes zufrieden./ Simdiki ikametgâhımın kalitesinden memnunum.					
4. Der Standort meines Wohnsitzes ist wichtiger als dessen Qualität./ İkametgâhımın bulunduğu yer, kalitesinden daha önemlidir.					
5. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß ich innerhalb des nächsten Jahres umziehen werde./ Gelecek yıl içinde başka yere taşınmam ihtimali var.					
6. Diskriminierung von nicht-deutschstämmigen Menschen ist ein Problem auf dem deutschen Wohnungsmarkt./ Alman kökenli olmayan insanların dışlanması, Alman konut piyasasında bir problemdir.					
7. Ich denke, daß es für Menschen türkischer Herkunft genauso einfach ist wie für deutschstämmige Menschen, einen angemessenen Wohnsitz zu finden./ Türk kökenli insanların kendilerine oturabilecekleri uygun bir konut bulmasının, Alman kökenli insanlar için olduğu kadar basit olduğunu düşünüyorum.					
8. Ich glaube, daß das Leben in Deutschland für mich persönlich zunehmend unsicherer wird./ Almanya'da hayatın sahsım için gittikçe daha güvensiz duruma geldiği inancındayım.					
9. Es ist generell wichtig für mich, in der Nähe anderer Menschen türkischer Herkunft zu leben./ Türk kökenli insanların bulunduğu yere yakın bir yerde yaşamak, benim için genel olarak önemlidir.					
10. Im Moment würde ich gerne in der Nähe von mehr Menschen türkischer Herkunft leben./ Su anda daha çok Türk kökenli insanların bulunduğu yere yakın bir yerde yaşamak isterdim.					
11. Im Moment würde ich gerne in der Nähe von mehr deutschstämmigen Menschen leben./ Su anda daha çok Alman kökenli insanların bulunduğu yere yakın bir yerde yaşamak isterdim.					

bitte umblättern

Appendix 2 - The Interview Schedule

• Personal Details

- How old are you?
- Where were you born? Where do you come from?
- Are you married? Where did you meet your partner?
- Do you have children? How old are they?
When did they come to Germany?
Do they still live with you? Where do they live now?

• Life before migration, migration to Germany and the experiences following it

- Why did you come to Germany?
- What did you do back in Turkey?
- Were you separated from your family there?
- How did you hear about Germany?
- Was the decision to come difficult?
- What expectations did you have?
- What was your first impression of Germany?
- How long did you originally want to stay in Germany?
- When did you feel that your stay was going to be longer?
- What was your first time in Germany like?

• Work/residence at the beginning

- Were did you work at first?
- Did you enjoy the work?
- Did you have contact with Germans at the workplace?
- Where did you live at first?
- How did you find the residence?
- Describe what life at work/at home was like.
- Describe the residence.

• Residential Issues (General)

- Where did you live?
- How did you find the flat? Who found it? Did you use other sources? How long did you look for the flat?
- Quality of flat, tenure, size, rent etc. → cheap, expensive, positive/negative, surroundings, neighbours, many Turks?
- Why did you move into this flat/area?
- What experiences did you make during search (discrimination)?
- What do you rate as important in a flat?
- What would your ideal flat be like?
- How much rent would you be prepared to pay?
- Is flat as such or location more important?
- Is it generally difficult for Turks to find an adequate residence?
- How important is a good residence?

• Political status, attitudes towards politics, questions of discrimination

- What's your residence status? Citizenship?
- Have you ever considered acquiring German citizenship? Dual nationality? Why/why not?

- Do you feel German/ as Turk? Why? How expressed?
- Have you had any experiences with discrimination? How do they influence you?
- What did you feel when arson attacks occurred? Did you feel threatened at home, on the street?
- How important is the situation in Turkey for you? Politics? Politics and situation in Germany?

•**Friends, orientation, cultural practices, relationship to Turkey and Germany**

- Have you got more German or Turkish friends? Why? Why more Germans/Turks?
- Turkish traditions (cooking etc.): Are they important for you?
- Where would you say your home is? What does this depend on?
- How often do you still go to Turkey?

•**Future plans and orientations**

- Do you want to go back to Turkey? When? Why? Why not?
- What does this depend on?
- Is situation in Turkey/in Germany important for return/non-return?
- Are you happy with the way your life in Germany has developed? Has it evolved the way you thought it would?
- What would you say has been particularly positive/negative for you in Germany?
- What's better here than in Turkey (and vice versa)?

•**For secondary immigrants**

- How did you experience separation from family?
- What was life like in Germany at the beginning?
- How did you experience Germany?
- Did you have German or Turkish friends at the start?
- Were you discriminated against as a child?
- Was your upbringing strict?
- Where do your parents live? Contact to parents?
- Do you feel Turkish or German?
- How would you compare your own life with your parents'?
- Where do you see your future?

In order to make the respondents more 'transparent' and thereby be able to read the quotes extracted from the interviews in their biographical context, this section provides a 'mini-biography' for each of the interviewees.

For ease of recognition, and because they formed the original target-groups, the respondents have been divided into four different groups: primary immigrants (denoted by a 'P'), secondary immigrants ('S'), single women (all of whom are primary immigrants, 'TW') and people married to a German partner ('M').

This is followed by another letter, denoting the sex of the respondent:

- W = Female
- M = Male
- F = Family

If both partners were interviewed (SF or PF) the actual respondent is indicated by a suffix (either 'm' for male, or 'f' for female). For example, the code PF6f means that both partners of a family of primary immigrants were interviewed, but that the answer was given by the female.

The Respondents

I: Primary Immigrants

PM1: ... was born in 1942 and came to Germany in 1970. He is married with four children, but his family has always stayed in Turkey. He lived in *Wohnheimen* throughout his time in Germany, until he returned to Turkey in 1994. At the time of the interview, he was on a short visit to Munich.

PM2: ... was born in 1942 and has lived in Germany since 1969. He is married with six children, but both his wife and his children have always lived in Turkey. Has got serious health-problems and has been off sick for two years. He lives in a private-rented apartment in Milbertshofen-Am Hart.

PM3: ... was born in 1941. He came to Germany in 1965, followed four years later by his wife. They have two children, both of whom now live in Turkey. He is in early retirement since 1990 due to health-problems and bought a flat in Milbertshofen-Am Hart in 1992.

PM4: ... was born in 1942 and has lived in Germany since 1970. He is married and his wife came to Germany in 1985, while his two children have always lived in Turkey. Suffers from an eye-disease and hasn't been able to work for the last five years. Currently, he lives in a private-rented flat in Milbertshofen-Am Hart.

PM5: ... migrated to Germany in 1965 at the age of 24. He is married with two children, and both his wife (since 1970) and their children (aged 24 and 15) live in Germany, with the younger son still living with his parents. Both he and his wife are currently unemployed. Live in their own flat in Allach-Untermenzing which they bought in 1990.

PF6: The two partners came to Germany independently of each other in 1972 (she, then aged 25) and 1973 (he, then aged 27) respectively. They got married in 1978 and have two children

aged 15 and 6. While he is employed as a semi-skilled manual worker, she was made redundant in 1992. They live in a private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PF7: While he came to Germany as a student in 1971, then aged 22, his wife came to the country in 1969 aged 18. They got married in 1974 and have two children aged 19 and 12. Both are employed as semi-skilled workers, and live in a private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PF8: The two partners are now both pensioners who came to Germany in 1964 (she, then aged 33) and 1965 (he, then aged 35) respectively. They were both unskilled workers until retirement and have three children, two of them living in Germany. Currently, they live in a private-rented flat in Haidhausen.

PM9: ... is married and both his wife (since 1976) and his three children (aged 21, 17 and 13) live in the family flat. He came to Germany in 1973 at the age of 30. Has been in employment since coming to Germany. At present, the family live in a private-rented flat in Haidhausen.

PM10: ... was born in 1930 and migrated to Germany in 1968, his wife and eldest son following him in 1971. Two of his three children, as well as his daughter-in-law and his three grandchildren live in the family-flat, while the third child has always lived in Turkey. He retired in 1994, and the family live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Haidhausen.

PM11: ... came to Germany in 1973 as a 24-year-old. Met his wife in Germany and married her in 1975. They have two children (aged 16 and 18) who spent most of their lives in Turkey, before coming to Germany in 1992. He has been unemployed since 1992. Currently, the family live in a private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PF12: While he came to Germany in 1964 as a 34-year-old, his wife followed him one year later, then 30 years old. They have two sons aged 25 and 34, with the younger son still living in his parents' flat. While he went into early retirement in 1992, his wife was made redundant in 1994. At present, the couple live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Haidhausen.

PF13: ... has lived in Germany since 1981, when he came to the country as a 29-year-old in order to be with his wife whom he married in 1978 and who has lived in Germany since 1972; They have three children, aged 15, 12 and 2, He works as an engineering draughtsman while his wife stopped working in 1993. They now live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PF14: While they came to Germany in 1972 (he, then aged 24) and 1973 (she, then aged 25) respectively, it took them until 1977 to finally move to Munich. They are both in employment as manual workers in a large firm, but have also set up their own business in 1994. They have three children, two of them still living with them in their private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PF15: ... came to Munich in 1972 when they were already married. He is now aged 54, while his wife is two years younger. They have two children aged 21 and 23, one of whom still lives with them. They are both employed as dental technicians and have lived in their own flat in Laim since 1981.

PM16: ... arrived in Munich in 1973 then aged 28, his wife and two children following him two years later. He is now divorced and his two grown-up children live with their mother. He now works as a social worker in a youth-centre, and lives in a private-rented apartment in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PM17: ... migrated to Germany in 1969 aged 24, and was joined by his wife one year later. Together, they came to Munich in 1971. They have two children aged 26 and 20 who still live with their parents. He works as a skilled worker while his wife is not in paid work. At present, they live in a private-rented flat in Aubing.

PF18: ... came to Germany in 1972 (he, then aged 27) and 1978 (he, then aged 33) respectively. They got married in 1977 and have one daughter aged 16. While he is a trained teacher who now works for the City of Munich, she was made redundant in 1992. Currently live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Milbertshofen-Am Hart.

PF19: ... came to Germany in 1965 (she, then aged 16) and 1969 (he, then aged 21) respectively. They have two daughters, aged 23 and 15, with the younger daughter still living with them in their private-rented flat in Feldmoching-Hasenberg. They both work as unskilled workers.

PM20: ... left Turkey in 1973 aged 28, following his wife who had emigrated one year earlier. They have two daughters aged 12 and 24, but only the younger daughter still lives with them. Both are in employment, he working as a skilled worker while she is employed as an educator. Both hold German passports, and live in a private-rented flat in Obergiesing.

PF21: ... have now both lived in Germany for 22 years, having arrived in the country aged 26 (he) and 28 (she) respectively. They have two children, aged 26 and 15, with the younger child still living with them. She works as a nurse while her husband, a trained teacher, has been out of permanent work for 15 years and has only been able to find temporary jobs since then. At present, they live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Laim.

PM22: ... was born in 1955 and came to Germany in 1973. He has three children aged 15, 13 and 3 and has been married for 18 years, his wife coming to Germany in 1978. While he had brief spells of unemployment, he is now employed as a skilled manual worker, as is his wife. They currently live in a private-rented flat in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

PM23: ... came to Germany in 1973 as a 22-year-old. He has been married since 1976, which was the year his wife joined him in Germany. They have two children aged 15 and 18. In order to facilitate their older son joining them in 1991, his wife stopped working, while he was made redundant in 1994. At present, the family live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

II. Secondary Immigrants

SW1: ... came to Germany in 1978 as a 15-year old. She is married to a Turk since 1983 and together they have one child aged 6. She works as a social worker on a part-time basis, while her husband is employed as a skilled manual worker. At present, she lives in a *Sozialwohnung* in Berg am Laim.

SF2: Two secondary immigrants who came to Germany in 1979 (he, then aged 13) and 1982 (she, then aged 12) respectively. They got married in 1986 and have two children, aged 7 and 2. He works as a skilled worker, while she is currently not in employment. At the time of the interview, they lived in a *Sozialwohnung* in Schwabing-Freimann, but had just decided to purchase their own flat in Thalkirchen-Fürstenried.

SF3: He came to Germany in 1973 aged 14, while his wife immigrated 6 years later as a 14-year-old. They got married in 1991, seven years after both of them had independently of each other moved to Munich from northern Germany. He was made redundant in 1993. She is an

employee in a large firm. They have one daughter aged 3 and currently live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Ramersdorf-Perlach.

SF4: While she has lived in Germany for 20 years, coming to the country as a ten-year-old, her husband immigrated in 1978 as a 15-year-old. They got married in 1987 and have a three year old daughter. He works for a large firm as a skilled worker, while she is an employee with a public insurance company. At present, they live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Obergiesing.

III. Single Women

TW1: ... was born in 1933 and moved to Germany in 1965, originally leaving both her husband and her son (now aged 28 and living in Munich) in Turkey. While she is still married, she separated from her husband in 1978. She has been a pensioner since 1993, and now lives in a *Sozialwohnung* in Haidhausen.

TW2: ... came to Germany in 1964 and again in 1972, having gone back to Turkey for three years in-between. She is now 66 and retired. Was married to a German for 7 years, but is now divorced. At present, she lives in a *Sozialwohnung* in Haidhausen.

TW3: ... migrated to Germany in 1972 then aged 22, and now works as a nursery-school teacher. Got divorced from her husband in 1982. Has two children, aged 16 and 18, and together the family live in a private-rented flat in Obergiesing.

TW4: ... came to Germany in 1973 as a 23-year-old and now lives together with two of her three daughters (aged 14 and 15) in a *Sozialwohnung* in Ramersdorf-Perlach. She got divorced from her husband in 1989 and is now employed as a skilled worker.

TW5: ... migrated to Germany in 1973 as a 27-year-old. After an intolerable marriage, she got a divorce in 1982. She has got two sons, aged 19 and 23, who live in Munich but not in their mother's *Sozialwohnung* in Obergiesing. She was made redundant in 1992 and is now attending training courses organised by the job-centre.

TW6: ... came to Germany in 1970, aged 18 together with her sister, having been educated in a German school in Istanbul. She works as a computer-programmer and shares a private-rented flat in Thalkirchen-Fürstenried with her sister.

IV. The Mixed-Marriage Group

MM1: ... was born in 1949 and has lived in Germany since 1971. Came to the country as a trained architect and therefore differs from most other respondents in his economic and social status. He married a German woman in 1976 and together they have two sons aged 12 and 15. Lives in his own flat in Solln.

MM2: ... came to Germany in 1981 then aged 14 in order to be with his parents and married his German wife in 1985. They have two children aged 8 and 5. At present he studies to become a computer-programmer, while his wife works as a nursery-school teacher. The family live in a *Sozialwohnung* in Feldmoching-Hasenbergl.

MM3: ... was born in 1951 and migrated to Germany in 1970. He came to Munich in 1974, where he married his German wife in the same year. They have two children, aged 10 and 19, both of whom still live with them. He works as a skilled worker. Bought their own flat in Schwabing-Freimann in 1987.

	Current residence (Ward)	Owner-occupation	Private-rented housing	Sozialwohnung
PM1	n/a			
PM2	Milbertshofen-Am Hart		✓	
PM3	Milbertshofen-Am Hart	✓		
PM4	Milbertshofen-Am Hart		✓	
PM5	Feldmoching-Hasenberg	✓		
PF6	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PF7	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PF8	Haidhausen		✓	
PM9	Haidhausen		✓	
PM10	Haidhausen			✓
PM11	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PF12	Haidhausen			✓
PF13	Ramersdorf-Perlach			✓
PF14	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PF15	Laim	✓		
PM16	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PM17	Aubing		✓	
PF18	Milbertshofen-Am Hart			✓
PF19	Feldmoching-Hasenberg		✓	
PM20	Obergiesing		✓	
PF21	Laim		✓	
PM22	Ramersdorf-Perlach		✓	
PM23	Ramersdorf-Perlach			✓
SW1	Berg am Laim			✓
SF2	Thalkirchen-Fürstenried			✓
SF3	Ramersdorf-Perlach			✓
SF4	Obergiesing			✓
TW1	Haidhausen			✓
TW2	Haidhausen			✓
TW3	Obergiesing		✓	
TW4	Ramersdorf-Perlach			✓
TW5	Obergiesing			✓
TW6	Thalkirchen-Fürstenried		✓	
MM1	Solln	✓		
MM2	Feldmoching-Hasenberg			✓
MM3	Schwabing-Freimann	✓		

Appendix 4 - Access to Social Housing: Official Criteria

Access to publicly-subsidised, social housing (*Sozialwohnungen*) is, in Munich, regulated by the *Wohnungsamt* (housing office). Every German citizen aged 18 or over and every foreigner aged 18 or over with a valid residence permit may apply for a *Sozialwohnung*, if he/she or his/her family doesn't earn more than a given maximum income threshold. This was, in January 1995:

- DM 23000.- for a single-person household;
- DM 33400.- for a two-person household;
- plus 8000.- for every additional person who is part of the family.

In addition, allowances are made for payments for health insurance, contributions to social security, under-age children, children of age living with the applicant, the disabled and newly-married couples, as well as maintenance for other family-members (or divorced partners) who are not part of the household.

A pre-condition is that the applicant must have lived in Munich for at least five years (10 years for those having moved to the city after January 1st, 1995). However, exceptions are made for single parents and families living in guest houses (three years), single parents and families living in hostels for the homeless (one year), and single persons living in hostels for the homeless (three years).

Since the number of people registered for a *Sozialwohnung* exceeds the number of flats available each year, the allocation of social housing is also a question of the urgency of the application. In general, the degree of urgency is dependent on quality and size of the current accommodation of the applicant(s), as well as the duration of residency in Munich. However, personal reasons such as illness, financial hardship, or the urgent inclusion of relatives into the household and so on, may be considered. Credits are awarded for each feature, and the urgency of the application is decided accordingly, on the basis of the sum of the credits. However, the eventual allocation of a flat is still done *on a personal basis* by one of the employees of the *Wohnungsamt*.

Applicants are advised not to limit their preferences for the location of a *Sozialwohnung* within the city to a certain part, but to consider an area as large as possible. Stating a narrow range of preferences can delay the application significantly.

The landlord is sent at least three applicants to choose from but, if another applicant is chosen, people will be given further suggestions *if possible*. The *Wohnungsamt* is not the landlord. These are either *gemeinnützige Wohnungsgesellschaften* (housing co-operatives) or private landlords who constructed housing with the help of public loans, under the condition that these dwellings be available as *Sozialwohnungen* for given periods of time.

(Source: Amt für Wohnungswesen (ed.) (1995): Merkblatt für Wohnungssuchende).