

## **PLACE-MAKING ITINERARIES OF GERMAN-TURKS IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The present situation of the globe is shaped by the omnipresent and diverse mobility; migrants move in search for a better life, travelers move to explore new places, refugees move for shelter, people move to find their place of belonging (Norberg-Schulz, 1985, p. 13). Once the human has decided to settle, mentally place himself, s/he makes use of the coded practices in his/her memory to make place.

Likewise, many Turks and other workers from different countries, who were initially recruited by the young Federal Republic after the Second World War as ‘guest-workers’ in order to meet national and international demands, made place in Germany after years of residence and changing circumstances. During this time, they moved with their families from one place to another and created their own place to live in the host country. The interrogation point here is, whether people made settlement changes to find their idea of home in that country and if settlement changes are practices of place-making. Consequently, the main aim of this study is the attempt on reading Turkish migrants’ ways of making place in Germany.

This paper will first shortly shed a light on the historical background of the guest-worker program and will focus on the transitional housing of Turkish guest-workers. Then it will share the findings of a qualitative inquiry concerning settlement changes and practices of place-making by different Turkish generations in the inconspicuous city ‘Geesthacht’ in Schleswig-Holstein. With the aim of analyzing their itineraries, the last part will serve as a discussion platform in order to unfold the relationship between the settlement patterns and practices of making place in a foreign country.

### **THE GUEST-WORKER PROGRAM**

In the mid-1950s, the economy of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) experienced an upswing, so strong that many industries lacked the required workforce. In the FRG, many male workers were missing in the aftermath of Second World War and the young ones who followed were low-birth generation. The problem worsened when the construction of the wall in 1961 demolished the influx of willing workers from the eastern part of Germany. With the massive expansion of foreign trade, the Federal Republic decided to respond to the needs of the economy and recruited foreign workers, mainly from southern Europe (Table 1). Among them takes part the intergovernmental agreement on the “Recruitment and Placement of Workers” (Abkommen über Anwerbung und Vermittlung von Arbeitskräften) signed on 30 October 1961 with Turkey according to mutual interests of both countries.

**Table 1: Foreign Workers by Country of Origin**

Ausländische Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer nach ausgewählten Herkunftsländern 1954–1962 (Hunderterstellen gerundet)					
	Insgesamt	Italien	Spanien	Griechenland	Türkei
1954	72 900	6 500	400	500	-
1955	79 600	7 500	500	600	-
1956	98 800	18 600	700	1 000	-
1957	108 200	19 100	1 000	1 800	-
1958	136 300	31 500	1 500	2 900	-
1959	166 800	48 800	2 200	4 100	-
1960	279 400	121 700	9 500	13 000	2 500
1961	507 400	218 000	51 000	43 900	5 200
1962	655 500	266 000	87 300	69 100	15 300

Source: Steinert, J. D. (1995).

### TRANSITIONAL HOUSING OF GUEST-WORKERS

With the start of the ‘guest-worker’ era, Turkish women and men who immigrated to Germany in the first years of the recruitment agreement did not have the possibility to rent a house or an apartment according to their preferences, just as they couldn’t arrange their accommodations pursuant to their wishes. Living in hostels or barracks, or even in shared accommodations with four or five guest-workers in a fifteen square meter room with multi-story beds was not uncommon (McFarlane, 2009, p. 64). Shared accommodations were similar to dorms, also called ‘Heim’ in German, and were mostly built in industrial districts with the intention of companies to organize guest-workers near to the workplace and far away from urban centers. They lived in these accommodations despite unfavorable circumstances, as they always had the thought of saving enough money to return to their home countries without making unnecessary expenses for accommodation and other needs (Kılıçbay, 2014, p. 8).

Then, the government and the companies recognized that the initially planned rotation model for the immigrant workers wasn’t profitable (Şen and Goldberg, 1994, pp. 20-21). Likewise, the Turkish workers noticed that the time originally set in Germany was not sufficient to save enough money and to be able to pursue their wishes in Turkey. With increasing income levels over time and the assurance of family reunification in 1973, guest-workers were able to bring family members to Germany. In the mid-1970s, most of the Turkish workers had left the shared accommodations (Heim) to find an appropriate dwelling to live with their families. The initial residential mobility of the guest-workers was limited by the insufficient language skills. Besides, by having lived isolated from German inhabitants for years, migrants continued these habits by forming their ghettos with their countrymen and other immigrants in order to avoid the German population.

### RESEACH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In order to be able to analyze the itineraries of Turkish migrants in the context of historical narratives, physical structure of urban space, the practices of place-making, Geesthacht served as the stage of events, the actions, and practices of the Turkish occupants. In this research, qualitative methods are preferred mainly in form of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviews are implemented with 17 Turkish people by a volunteer participation principle. The sampling is composed of three generations. Turkish migrants, who came to work with the recruitment agreement before the 1980s were defined as the ‘first generation’. The ‘second generation’ is used to describe the Turkish men and

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women who were born in Germany from the 60s to the 80s as children of the first generation Turkish immigrants or those who in the course of the migration process, moved with their parents from Turkey to the FRG from the 60s to the 80s at the early childhood age. The children of the second generation, born and grew up in Germany, were named in the research as the ‘third generation’ (Table 2).

In-depth semi-structured interviews have been supported by the photo-interview technique and the mapping of participants’ itineraries of housing that would complement each other for the fictitious ‘place’ reading attempt.

**Table 2: General features of the Interviewees**

G. Num	Surveyed	Gender	Age	Life time in Germany	Birth Place	Reason for Migration	
1st Generation	1	P.D	Female	80	44	Niğde/Dikilitaş	Work
	2	C.A	Male	77	47	Istanbul	Work
	3	D.K	Female	76	48	Izmir	Work
	4	H.Ç	Female	77	47	Sivas/Koyulhisar	Work
	5	M.B	Female	72	47	Sivas/Koyulhisar	Work
2nd Generation	6	Y.B	Female	47	47	Geesthacht	/
	7	M.B	Male	61	44	Sivas/Koyulhisar	Work
	8	S.D	Female	53	37	Sivas	Family Reunification
	9	Ö.B	Female	42	42	Geesthacht	/
	10	L.D	Female	47	44	Niğde/Dikilitaş	Family Reunification
	11	H.H.K	Female	51	44	Kırşehir	Family Reunification
3rd Generation	12	S.B	Female	30	30	Geesthacht	/
	13	C.T	Male	38	38	Geesthacht	/
	14	M.K	Female	33	33	Hamburg	/
	15	A.K	Male	48	36	Sivas/Koyulhisar	Family Reunification
	16	A.K	Female	39	39	Geesthacht	/
	17	N.D	Female	40	40	Geesthacht	/

### FINDINGS ON NEIGHBORHOOD AND HOUSING TRANSITION

The findings of interviews with the Turkish migrants in Geesthacht are subdivided into themes, to come up with a structured discussion on the findings. Geesthacht is not regarded as an object but as the subject of events and everything involved in the network is included in the narrative. This narrative tells a story of a city fermented with migration, the story of ‘personal itineraries of place-making’. Given the limitation of space, this paper does not include all findings.

Within the scope of the research, participants were asked to show their settlement changes/housing transitions on the given maps to find out whether there are similarities/differences between generations’ pattern of housing/neighborhood transition. The resulting schemes support an alternative hypothesis: the diversification of settlement patterns of Turkish immigrants. The settlement patterns and thus the distribution of the three immigrant generations reflect different, dynamic characteristics. The urban concentration of Turkish immigrants and the formation of their routes in Geesthacht are clearly visible in the following figures (Figure 1/2/3).

The first generation clarifies that most of them come from outside Geesthacht and maps show disoriented settlement patterns. Nevertheless, they are concentrated in neighborhoods of the city center. They make small and modest leaps while changing the settlement, and settle down close to the center of the city and/or near to the industrial area of Geesthacht (Figure 1).

The concentration of Turkish immigrants are not only in the city center, but also in the peripheral areas of Geesthacht in the second generation of Turkish immigrants (Figure 2). In comparison to the first generation, the second generation tended to move outside the city center, settling in different parts of the city. The initial small leaps of the first generation are mostly replaced by big ones. While some make small leaps in the periphery, such as changing to the nearest neighborhood, other settlement changes characterize great leaps from the city center to the peripheral areas of the city. Among them

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are observed those who return to the city center again. This highlights the fact, that the first generation is less, almost not at all present in peripheral areas of the city.

The settlement change pattern of the third generation can be regarded as a mixture of the other two generations (Figure 3). While some make small leaps in the city center, others exhibit similar patterns of settlement changes as the second generation do, by making large leaps to the periphery of the city. Nevertheless, it can be clearly seen that even the third generation move in the same neighborhoods as their ancestors.

During their stay in Germany, many of the guest-workers have left their accommodation upon arrival due to various reasons. There were reasons, such as spatial, locational, economic, social/cultural, familial and also unexpected ones. With the growing number of household, the inadequate spatial conditions forced many guest-workers and their families to change their place of residence. In their early years, many of the guest-workers tried to keep their accommodation as close to the workplace as possible to save costs. So, many of them changed their dwelling according to the location of their workplace, even if they were located in external industrial areas (1<sup>st</sup> Gen.: 3)

In opposite to that time, a number of guest-workers and their families tend now to live close to the city center. They made settlement changes according to the neighborhood and surroundings of the dwelling. Decisive factors were the closeness to the city center and all social conditions (1<sup>st</sup> Gen.: 5/2<sup>nd</sup> Gen.: 4/ 3<sup>rd</sup> Gen.: 2) While some of the Turkish migrants changed their accommodations due to spatial disadvantages, such as inadequate living space, lack of privacy, many of the guest-workers either moved to be together with their countrymen or still remained living with them in insufficient housing conditions due to homesickness and solidarity (1<sup>st</sup> Gen.: 2/ 3<sup>rd</sup> Gen.: 3) Also problems with German neighbors drove them to settlement changes (2<sup>nd</sup> Gen.: 1)

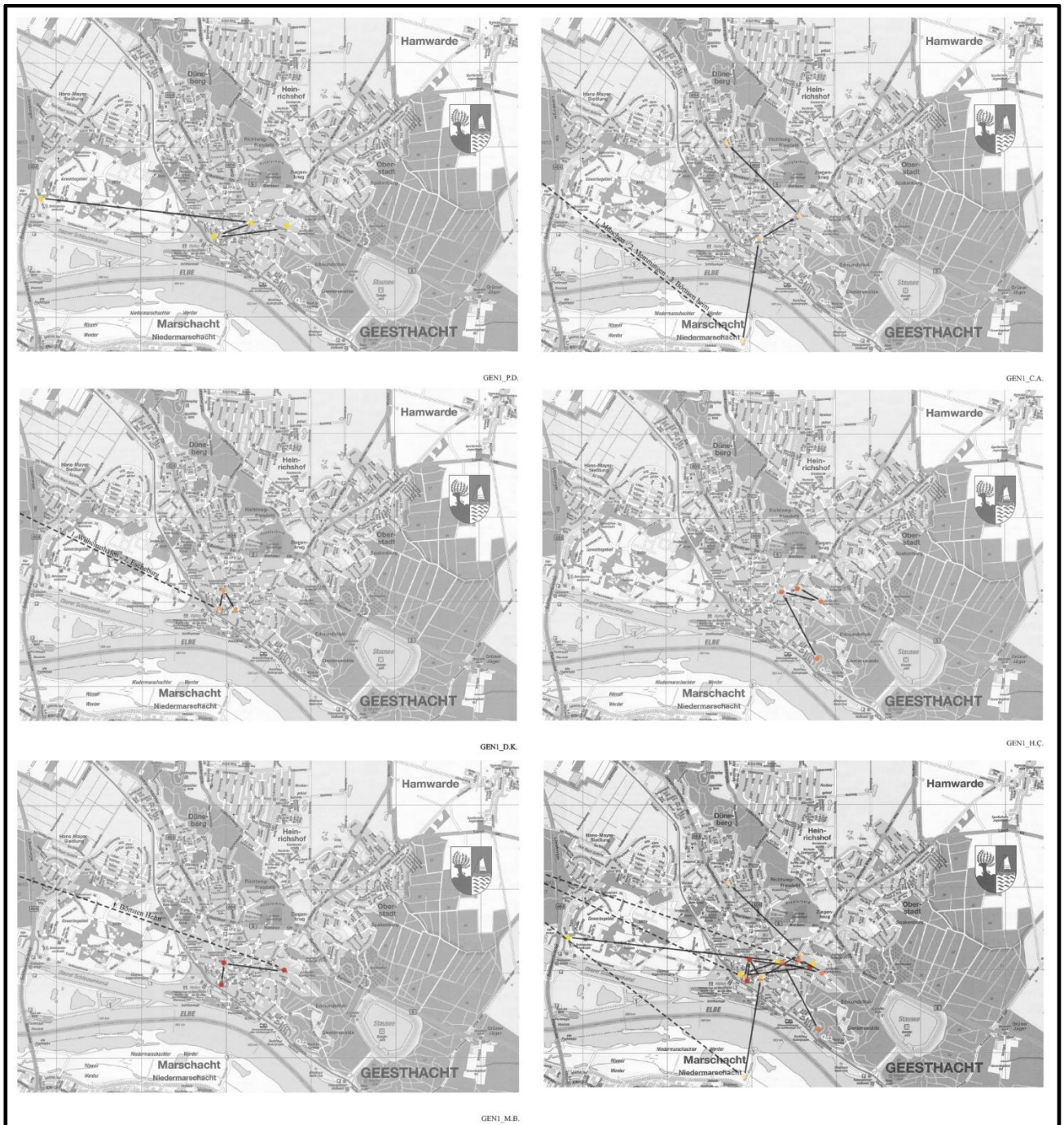
The decisions on the neighborhood vary from generation to generation. The second and third generation tended to live in a German neighborhood, because of privacy, that means that they wanted distance to the Turkish community (2<sup>nd</sup> Gen.: 3/ 3<sup>rd</sup> Gen.: 2). They also aimed to live in clean and tidy German neighborhoods, and to be part of the German society. A few from the first generation decided in living in a German neighborhood in order to learn the German language (1<sup>st</sup> Gen.: 1). Especially the first generation tended to live close to their Turkish community for reasons like homesickness and solidarity. They decided on Turkish neighborhoods where many Turks dwelled. But also some of the third generation aimed to live with their community and decided to move to the place of their countrymen (3<sup>rd</sup> Gen.: 2).



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**Figure 1: Mapping of Itineraries 1<sup>st</sup> Generation**

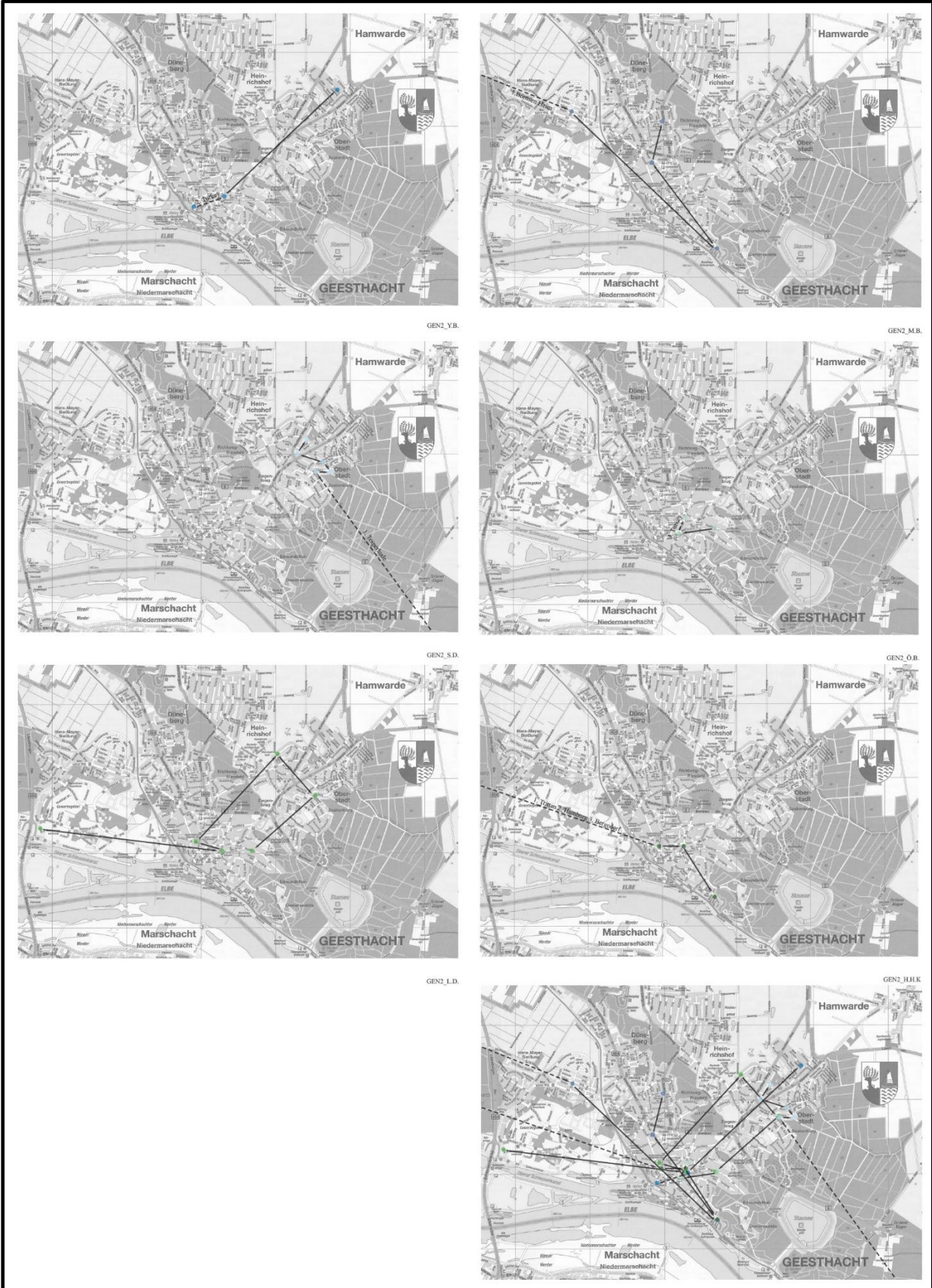




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Figure 2: Mapping of Itineraries 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation

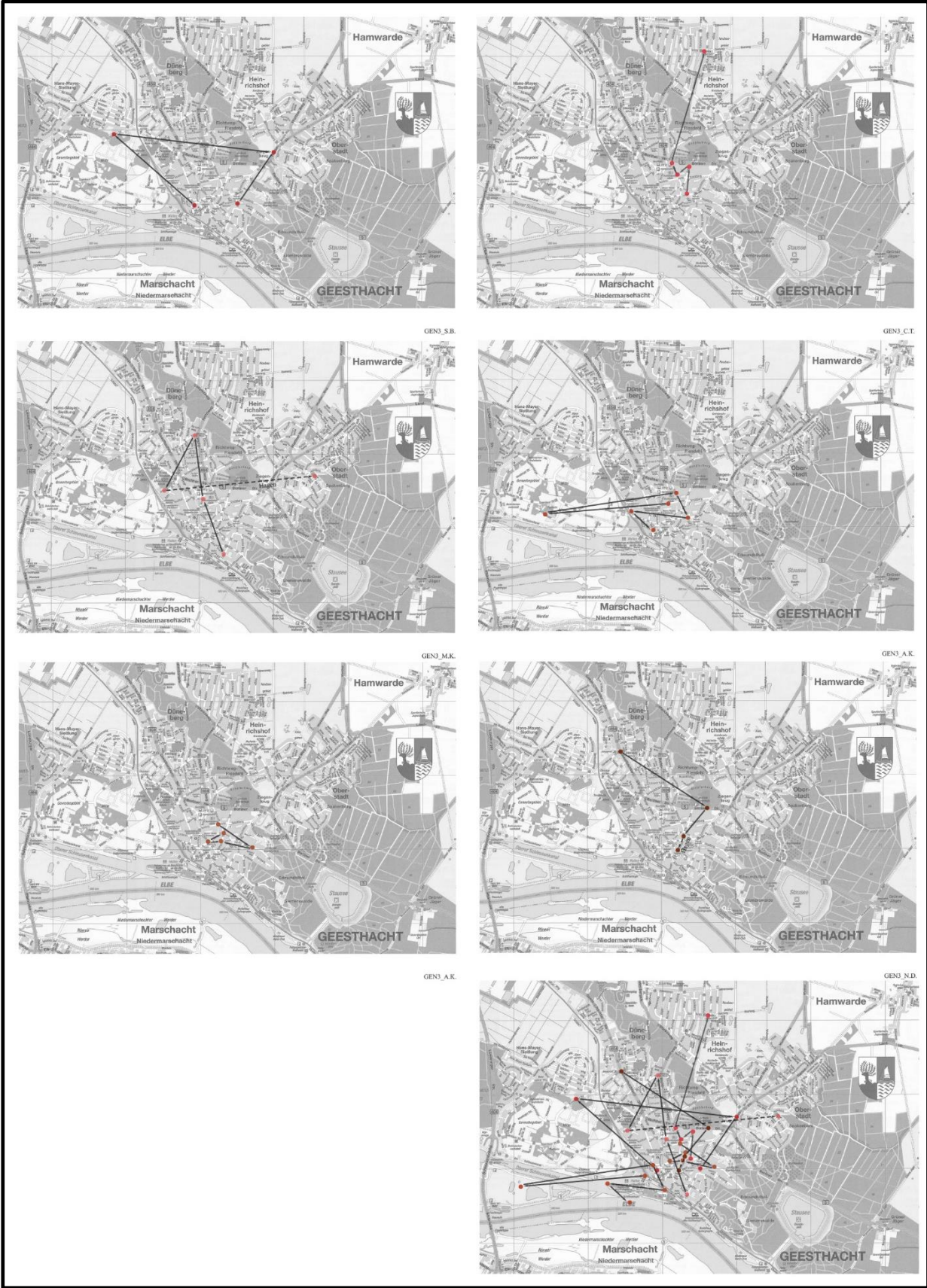




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Figure 3: Mapping of Itineraries 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation



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### **DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS**

The findings conformed the fact that many of the Turkish immigrants could not handle the metropolises, as most of them came from rural areas of Turkey, such as the villages of Sivas, Niğde, Konya and Antep. They felt swallowed by the large city and the population of the host society. The small town of Geesthacht was occasionally found as a chance for many, as it was smaller and more manageable regarding the scale. It was noticeable that most of the immigrants associated the city of Geesthacht with their village in their homeland, whether through the green landscape, the structure of the streets, the narrow alleys or the number of people who lived there.

It was remarkable that the ‘time’ factor has played a major role while re-creating and re-constructing the lost home for many guest-workers and their families in Geesthacht. The realization of the indefinite and probably extended period of residence, made the immigrants gradually start to notice the space they are in and interact with it. It highlights the instrumentality of place-making as a vehicle for understanding, perceiving, agreeing or disagreeing and adapting to the given environment, in the process of settlement. However, the time frame at which these immigrants decide to re-construct their idea of home was different for each immigrant. The interviews make clear that the formation of these differences are due to a number of parameters, such as giving up return hopes willed or unwilled, economic reasons, reasons of security, adaptation, personal priorities, different socio-economic status, educational level, capacity to create new memories or strong sense of longing, perspectives and habits and anticipations.

The itineraries and thus the voluntary or involuntary settlement changes of the Turkish guest-workers and their families basically symbolize their search for the feeling of being at home again. In essence, there is a longing and the desire of home coming, but actually at the end of this research it is clearly visible that the idea of home (the initial home picture: Turkey) has alienated. Eventually their movements, their settlement changes let them to develop new feelings, memories and experiences that allowed them to physically and mentally rebuild their homes and fulfill the feeling of home coming. In other words, the feeling of home migrated with the Turkish immigrants.



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