

Migrant Spaces and Childhood: Growing up in Kreuzberg

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between place and people is a dialogical matter. There is a certain reciprocity between those two and they transform each other in the process of their interactive relationship. Migration, as a phenomenon, which effectively and endlessly changes the place with people's touch, and the people with the place's dynamics in turn, is an important variable in terms of place – people relationship. This study focuses on the relationships of the 2nd Generation of Turkish immigrants with the neighborhood called Kreuzberg in Berlin where their parents have settled as guest workers in 1960's. In this sense we examine immigrant children's growth and acculturation processes in the context of place, culture and identity. The analysis has been made around four main axes: 1. Homeland Image; 2. Households; 3. Games, and 4. School. This study is part of a broader ethnographic research on 2nd Generation of Turkish immigrants in Berlin that is in process since 2013.

Keywords: Migrant Spaces, Childhood, Kreuzberg, Migration

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Introduction: The geography of social relations

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 2001) describes the relationship between place and people as a dialogical matter. There is certain reciprocity between those two and they transform each other in the process of their interactive relationship. Migration, as a phenomenon, which effectively and endlessly changes the place with people's touch, and the people with the place's dynamics in turn, is an important variable in terms of place – people relationship. This study focuses on the relationships of the 2nd Generation of Turkish immigrants with the neighbourhood called Kreuzberg (also known colloquially as SO36 because of its former postal code number) in Berlin where their parents have settled as guest workers since the beginning of 1960's. In the literature on migration, 2nd Generation Turkish immigrants are generally categorized as either the lost generation or the in-between generation (Abadan-Unat 1985; Kağıtçıbaşı 1987). The most significant characteristic of this generation is that their families are stuck in-between the myth of return and the inevitability of remaining. This makes their relationship with the host society both complex and debatable. The term at the centre of these debates is integration. In the 90s, a series of work, which discussed the integration issues experienced as this generation began to enter city and social life, focused on the reasons for the difficulties in adaptation. Apart from the educational deficiencies (Alba, Johann & Walter 1994), beneath these difficulties lie occupation and qualification issues (Seifert 1991, 1992). Generally, the problems they experience in forming relationships with Germans, especially, their peers, and the fact that they are often subjected to discrimination are said to be the factors that make integration more difficult (Böltken 2000). Thus, by forming strong bonds with the places in which they live, the 2nd Generation Turks have played an important part in the shaping of diasporic culture. The difficulties experienced in uniting with the host society have caused their living spaces to be taken over and ghettoized. In terms of place-person interaction, this constitutes a significant example. An important chunk of the Berliners of this generation were born in this suburb, where their families first settled, and as for the rest; they have at least lived in Kreuzberg since their childhood. Kreuzberg plays an important role in the shaping of the 2nd Generation Turkish immigrants in Berlin and is considered the home of social and cultural relations. In the space of 40 years, a unique diasporic culture and identity that reflects the transformations in the spirit of place and time has emerged (Vassaf 2002). This study focusses especially on the childhood of Turkish migrants and puts to the forefront the spatial fibre of childhood. In this sense, we examine immigrant children's growth and acculturation processes in the context of place (territory), cultural conflicts and identity. The analysis has been made around four main axes: (1) homeland image; (2) households; (3) games, and (4) school. This study is part of a broader ethnographic research on 2nd Generation of Turkish immigrants in Berlin that has been in process since 2013.

The Scene: Kreuzberg as an immigrant urban space

Apart from being the capital of Germany, as a modern city, Berlin plays an important historic and cultural role. Berlin, one of Europe's cultural capitals at the beginning of the 20th century, is noted for its colourful and multicultural lifestyle. The huge destruction left in the wake of World War II and the ensuing demographic mobility reproduced the city's multicultural fibre within a subcultural environment. The great labour immigration movement that swept through Europe during the 60s played an important role in the design of post-war Europe. During these years, not only Turks but also thousands of workers, excluded from the workforce markets in Greece, Poland, Italy, and Yugoslavia, initiated a labour movement towards Western European

countries. As was the case for Berlin, cities like Paris, Vienna, and London also required guest workers to heal post-war wounds and to fill the deficits in the workforce. In studies (Chin 2007; Richter 2005; Schiffauer 2005) that focus on the factors that contributed to cities reaching its current urban status, it can be seen that the Turkish migrants, who settled in Germany as a result of the migration of workers, also had an effect to a certain degree. This inevitable effect is correlated to Turkish migrants coming to Berlin and the district with a new and unusual cultural capital. We must remember that for nearly half a century, Turks have been one of the communities that have contributed most to this multicultural environment.

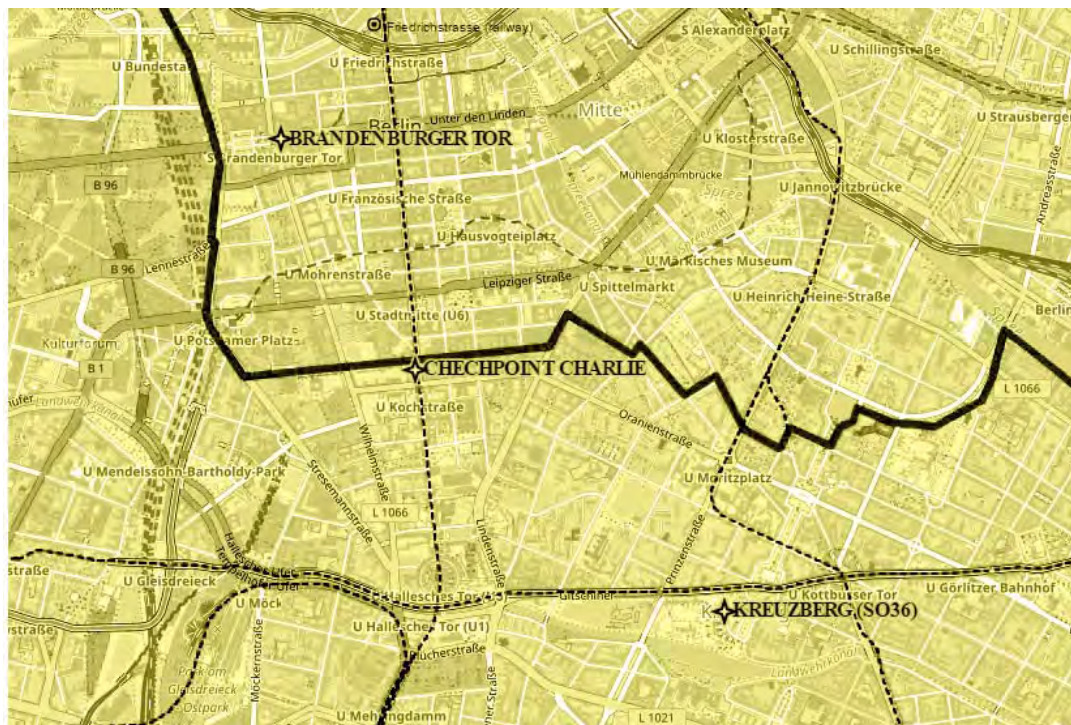
In the 50 years following World War II, Kreuzberg witnessed significant structural and demographic transformation. Berlin, which was a battlefield during the final stages of World War II, emerged from the conflict bearing many wounds. The scars of the war were noteworthy; streets erased from the map and buildings razed to the ground; it was as if the city's structural character had vanished. The toll on Kreuzberg was also heavy; less than 60% of the buildings in the neighbourhood were remained habitable (Richie 2002, 2). Most of the buildings with heavy damage that remained standing were lost in time to fires and demolition. The eradication of the Jewish community, which made up a big part of the population, is almost like a sign of human tragedy and the disappearance of the neighbourhood's unique identity. One out of every 3 Kreuzberg residents lost their life during the war. The trauma created by the war formed the driving force behind the demographic change. Thus, new and strong waves of immigration were shaped in Germany; refugees running from Nazi oppression and migrants escaping from Soviet ruled East Germany turned up at the gates of Berlin and other cities. Camps were established for the refugees due to the lack of housing and some of these camps were set up around Kreuzberg (Ebling 2013).

After the war, Berlin was divided into four by the USA, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Kreuzberg was located in the US sector and the housing issue was also a problem in the neighbourhood. Unemployment had become the biggest problem. In Berlin, immediately after the war a rebuilding scheme was put into play. The economic infrastructure of this gentrification was trying to be established with Marshall Plan aid. Up until 1961, in order to provide the city with new buildings and eliminate the housing crisis, nearly 1 billion Deutsche Marks was spent. In 1963, the Senate of Berlin announced the first urban transformation programme. The programme foresaw the demolition of 43,000 buildings and the erection of 24,000 new buildings within 10 to 15 years. Kreuzberg, right next to the Berlin Wall, was also among the neighbourhoods included in the urban transformation (Novy 2012: 71). The gentrification in Kreuzberg dates back to 1954. This venture, which step by step changed the historical fabric and unique identity of Kreuzberg, eradicated the interactions between everyday life and social and cultural life. This strategy, which separated work life and living spaces, started to tear out cultural production environments and nightlife from the heart of the neighbourhood. Thus; social unification, a product of the Kreuzberg movement and known as the 'Kreuzberg Mix' (Rada 1997, 140) suffered its first blow during these years. This rebuilding and transformation movement spread to the whole of West Germany after the war. The places affected the most by this movement were places like Kreuzberg that had a unique character and their own sense of social and cultural essence. While the new buildings were being built and while the whole country was trying to get back on its feet, the lack of a workforce was becoming more apparent. This is what constitutes the beginning of the story of how thousands of Southern Europeans and Turks first arrived in Berlin (Kaya 2000, 41).

In the years when the post-war labour migration to Germany transformed into a

social phenomenon, the Swiss-born German writer Max Frisch, penned these words, which generally sum up all mistakes made in regards to this phenomenon: “Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte und es kamen Menschen – We wanted workers, but we got people instead.” Those that came to Germany were perceived as guest workers, who were there only temporarily to help the country rebuild and get back on its feet. Thus, Turkish migrants also did not initially see themselves as staying permanently. The aim of these migrants was to quickly save money and return to Turkey as soon as possible. However, for most migrants, this aim never actually happened. The immigration became permanent despite the unwillingness of the first generation and from this conflicting situation; the next generation suffered the most.

Kreuzberg became a centre of attention for the first Turkish workers that came to Berlin. One of the main reasons why the Turkish migrants that arrived in Berlin settled in Kreuzberg is that the neighbourhood was able to offer solutions to the housing issue, which was one of the main problems for migrants. The old housing in Kreuzberg was being rented out for more reasonable prices compared to other neighbourhoods and these conditions were ideal for workers who wanted to quickly make money and return to Turkey. Because the houses in neighbourhoods where the war wreaked havoc were not very suitable for living in, it was either difficult for them to be rented out or in the least it was nearly impossible to rent them out at the prices the Turks were willing to pay (Porter & Shaw 2009). The migrant workers had no qualms with living in these houses. In time they even started repairing and restoring the houses they lived in. For example, while most flats did not have a separate bathroom, Turkish families were building toilets and baths inside their houses. Most of the workers that came to the war-torn city worked construction anyway and they played a part in repairing and renovating the houses they lived in (Güney 2015).



Map 1. Berlin, Kreuzberg (SO36) – Black line shows the Berlin Wall (1961-1989). (Source: <http://www.fhxb-museum.de>).

The Berlin Wall was one of the main factors in terms of interaction with the urban space for the Turkish migrants living in Kreuzberg. This special location of the neighbourhood made the Turkish migrants feel like they were obliged to live in a cage that denoted a closed-ghetto like life. The wall surrounded the neighbourhood on three sides and had isolated a neighbourhood, which was already on the brink of separating from the city due to it being a migrant territory, from the life around it (Map 1). Between these walls, the migrants and the Turkish worker families produced a closed-circuit lifestyle that could strengthen the cultural and social habits that they brought with them from Turkey. However, owing to the fact that Turks predominantly resided in Kreuzberg, which was adjacent to the Berlin Wall, they underwent some different experiences in terms of interaction with East Berlin. There was an agreement between both sides that allowed people to travel from the West to the East only. From the memories of the Turks that lived during the time of the Wall, it can be said that two factors played a role in people's motives for making the crossing to East Berlin. The first of these is the fact that certain bare necessities were cheaper; thus, for shopping purposes. Although people were only allowed to carry 20 Deutsche Marks with them when crossing, Turks were able to return home with large quantities of products – albeit low in choice and quality. The second motive on the other hand, was to flirt with East German women. Jeans and lady stockings were scarce in East Germany, therefore, it was easier for men to meet and flirt with East German women when they brought these products along with them from West Germany. We can also add that Turks, who crossed over to East Berlin on daily trips during their school years, remember buying books that were much cheaper in the East.

By the 1970s some buildings were still rather neglected and badly kept. And the ones that were uninhabitable were spread about the neighbourhood like rotten teeth and gave the area an unwelcoming appearance. This ruined look played an important part in the neighbourhood's post-war socio-cultural and economic shaping. The neighbourhood had long lost its charm and had entered the second half of the 20th century as a forgotten place. It was not surprising for the streets to be empty during peak hours and only a few cars drove through the streets. Rent was quite low but most of the buildings were in no condition to live in. This situation turned the neighbourhood into a sanctuary for people from many different groups who had little income and who had been marginalised. In time people who did not resemble each other, migrants, students, punks, and artists started living together in the centre of Kreuzberg and rather interesting and colourful socio-cultural blend appeared. In the Kreuzberg of those years, seeing a Turkish woman offer a cigarette to a begging punk outside of the underground was not an uncommon sight. For the Turks Kreuzberg was a rare place because this was the only urban space where they could live their own unique lifestyles without being belittled or reproached. As time passed, people from Germany's intellectual scene and artists would become a part of this cosmopolitan structure. Living in the neighbourhood of the Turks was a privilege for them as the neighbourhood's eccentric nature and blended excitement promised a lot in terms of cultural exchange and creativity. A blend of this nature was only possible in Kreuzberg and it was shortly called "The Kreuzberg Utopia" (Lang 1998, 103-179).

On May 1st 1987, the violent acts targeted at those producing and trying to maintain the Kreuzberg Utopia, led to the neighbourhood being publicised in a non-favourable manner. With a few days till May the 1st, a census had been planned for the city, however, the Kreuzbergians decided to boycott the census. On the morning of May the 1st, police raided the houses of the boycotting groups and seized around 300,000 hand-outs. Kreuzberg was subjected to police occupation and all the streets were

cordoned off with police vehicles. This stern attitude of the police agitated the leftist groups living in the neighbourhood especially. Upon the police trying to break up a Spring festival being held in Lausitzer Platz, the leftist groups mobilised and skirmishes between the police and Kreuzbergians took place during the night. These skirmishes were so violent that the events that took place on the night of May the 1st 1987 went down in history as “The Night of Terror.” Kreuzberg had literally become a “Warzone.” Around 100 were wounded and 24 were arrested. There were 35 fires ablaze around the neighbourhood and nearly 15 million Marks worth of damage (Lang 1998, 148-153). The events are quite meaningful when considering the developments that took place in the neighbourhood over the last 30 years. Turkish migrants had for years lived with atypical German neighbours from different backgrounds, however, on the whole this was a life divided into two parallel universes. Most of the time everyone was in their own little world and were trying to hold on to life with their own motivations. The events of May 1st caused the Turkish migrants, especially the members of the second-generation youth, to face a social reality that they were intertwined in and to realise Kreuzberg’s shared fate. As a community that had up until then never identified itself with Germans, they saw that for the first time they belonged to somewhere, to Kreuzberg, and had begun to stand up for their neighbourhood even more.

As the 1980s arrived, the Turkish migrants had become an inseparable part of the neighbourhood and had left their own mark on it. A city guide of the period described Kreuzberg as: “Lots of Proletariat, Turks and Freaks live together in Kreuzberg.” And today’s U1 and U2 routes that pass through Kreuzberg used to be referred to as the ‘Eastern Express’ as if they passed into a different world. With the arrival of the 1980s the neighbourhood really became reclusive and isolated itself the German society outside (for example 80 of 169 buildings, which were occupied by squatters were in Kreuzberg (Berger 1987)). The activities of the 36 gangs that were formed by young Turks had also started to properly solidify Kreuzberg’s image as a ghetto (Farin & Seidel Pielen 1994). During these years, the neighbourhood’s boundaries had become more precisely delineated and it had started to become marginalised as Germans lost all respect for it. An eerie ghetto had emerged in Germany, right next to the Berlin Wall; just like New York’s Harlem (Tebbe 1981).

Kreuzberg, which stood on the fringes of divided Berlin, remained a ghetto until two Germany’s unification in 1991 after the fall of the wall. By entering into reciprocal interactions within the closed-circuit subculture life of the place, Turkish migrants created a unique socio-cultural form in the arteries of the neighbourhood. However, following the fall of the wall, the neighbourhood began to change because of the new central positioning of the borough, vis-à-vis its former peripheral location. This made the place more fragile against the racist attacks coming from former East Berlin, and also more open to the demographic change due especially to a growing interest of artists to Kreuzberg because of its unique subcultural riches. Yet, the unique nature of the space had continued to shape the 2nd Generation and added them to the neighbourhood’s recent history narrative. This generation experienced its transition from childhood to youth within this ambience and historical breaking moments. By being moulded with the cultural luggage their families brought to Berlin and the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood, 2nd Generation migrants have become the protagonists of one of the most unique stories in migration history. The rest of this article examines the interaction 2nd Generation Turkish migrant children had with the space they lived in and its cultural fabric during the 70s and 80s. This is done by categorising the knowledge gathered from field notes into four sequences.

In between the myth of return and the host streets

The first guest workers that settled in Berlin at the start of the 1960's started to move their families to Berlin from the beginning of the 70s when the family reunion law was passed. The emergence of a new generation as migrants is due to this phenomenon. A part of the more older of this generation had been born in Turkey and had come to Berlin at school age or before. A significant portion however, was born in Berlin. 1st Generation Turkish migrants were a generation that had not severed emotional ties with its homeland and that lived with the dream of returning to Turkey; thus, especially during summer holidays, played an important role in the space perception of 2nd Generation Turkish migrant children. At home, families would constantly talk about Turkey. While this caused the homeland narrative to take on a mythological form, it also led to the children's Turkey curiosity being imposed on them. Most of the 2nd Generation migrants that we spoke to remember the preparations for holiday trips taking rather long. These trips (Map 2) signified a severe transition between spaces. It could be said that the main reason for these preparations was to take presents to relatives back home and to carefully make the plans that would constitute the conditions of the long holiday (Figure 1 & 2).



Map 2. Two main highway routes linking Germany to Turkey (approximately 3 thousand kms). (Source: <http://www.fhxb-museum.de>).



Figure 1. Germany – On the way home, 1974 (Source: <https://www.instagram.com/diasporaturk/>).

Figure 2. Germany – On the way home. Former Yugoslavia Bulgaria Border, 1976 (Source: <https://www.instagram.com/diasporaturk/>).

For the 2nd Generation migrant children, the new spatial environment they enter is more playful than nostalgic. It can be observed that an authentic experience lies at the heart of this playfulness. The environment, which is more familiar to the parents, provides the children with a more unusual atmosphere in terms of both culture and space. In the countryside images that crystallise in the holiday memories of the 2nd Generation, things like ploughs, adobe houses, shepherds, and streams are more prominent. As for impressions of urban areas, images of car horns, chaos and over crowdedness become more prominent. These holidays also allow for environments where, migrant children are spoilt by the extended family and others, to form. The lives that are on top of one another in tiny houses in Berlin suddenly grow in volume in the homeland. In the memories of the 2nd Generation, the trips to Turkey also signify noticeable economic freedom. The tight budgets in Berlin in hope of saving money correspond to sizeable wealth in Turkey. When one adds the Deutsche Mark's power over Turkish currency to the equation then reason for the prominence of economic freedom in their memories becomes clearer. The statement "We were nearly able to buy all of the village shop with our pocket money" explains this situation clearly. The experiences of the migrant children lead us to make comparisons between the environment in which they live and the environment of their origins, which they hardly know. Thus, the environment they live in is tangible and the land that they visit is intangible. Through its playfulness and range of freedoms, Turkey signifies a land of fairy-tale or an amusement park.

Despite its positive connotations, the experience of visiting Turkey also brings with it a certain amount of alienation. In the memories of the 2nd Generation this alienation becomes more prominent in cultural conflicts. The language barrier is an important handicap. The children's Turkish is not fluent and strong enough to allow them to communicate with their peers. Their dress sense, the music they listen to and their interests are also quite different. As a 'Germaner' child with a Walkman and wearing Adidas'; next to their cousin, who has got up to put their parents' sheep to pasture, this kid from Berlin looks out of place. The general perception of the 2nd Generation migrants that we interviewed was that although the trips were full of excitement and freedom, the longer they lasted the more boring they became. The children wanted to return to their own living spaces as soon as possible. In this desire for return, the longing for friends, home and play areas is intertwined. For them the end of the trip denotes a return from their parents' homeland back to their own homeland. This shows that all of the spaces of the environment in which they live and the culture have been adopted instinctually from a young age. It can be seen that in the 2nd Generation's eyes, during trips between the two environments, Kreuzberg is internalised and Turkey is romanticised.

Households as spaces of transition to the streets

One of the main components of the relationship 2nd Generation Turkish migrants experience with the spaces they live in is that most of their parents do not have a realistic view regarding remaining. Because they thought their time in Germany would not be very long, 1st Generation migrants never made any plans regarding forming the conditions for permanent stay. At the heart of this perception of life lies a busy work ethic and small unkempt housing. As a fringe neighbourhood wedged at the foot of a wall, Kreuzberg offers a protected environment that was suitable for ghettoization. This area is also one of the most dishevelled and shabby places in the city and is ready to receive newly arrived subculture groups and migrants. Slowly, the Turkish families established a temporary migrant existence living almost on top of each other within this

old neighbourhood in buildings that were falling to pieces. The neighbourhood was also a target of urban transformation (Figure 3); however, instead of investing in the buildings, the owners would rather rent out these rickety old buildings where, there were shared bathrooms and where the cold entered through cracks in the plaster, to migrants who did not make a fuss. Thus, they expedited the ghettoization. The space perception of the 2nd Generation Turkish migrants growing up in Kreuzberg was shaped within this environment. Shared bathrooms, creaky tiles, peeling plaster, crooked staircases, and overgrown back gardens are all images of those years that are never forgotten (Figure 4).



Figure 3. Berlin, 1973. Photo by Siebrand Rehberg (Source: Rehberg's personal archive).

Figure 4. Berlin, 1972. Photo by Siebrand Rehberg (Source: Rehberg's personal archive).

Migrant families began to grow when the law that allowed for families to reunite was passed. Small housing became a significant problem at that point. Migrant children define the life in that housing as on top of one another and lacking personal space. Most children did not have their own bedroom and this especially affected their success at school. Furthermore, as the number of people in the house grew, the busier the parents got. Because in most families both the parents had to work, the question of looking after the little children in the day became an issue. Among the 2nd Generation migrant children, the idea of looking after one of your younger siblings was a common practice. In some situations; by locking the kids in the house, parents tried to keep their children safe. This raises the question of a childhood at times spent stuck in a tiny home and at times spent unattended in the street. A relationship of this sort with a space could be considered as an experience that strengthened the migrant children's notion of survival and relationship with the space. From their adolescence and onwards the members of this generation started to establish their own dominions on the streets of Kreuzberg and by forming gangs and cultural groups they do things which would transform the urban space.

Streets as spaces of childish freedom

To 2nd Generation Turkish children growing up in Kreuzberg, their homes did not promise much more than family. Home life was a mediocre life as it was considered temporary. This environment materialises as an idea that feeds the children's urge to escape to the streets. We can identify that the tension caused by the restrictiveness of small living quarters and busy work life greatly contributed to the streets being

conceived as more inviting spaces. This sowed the seeds of the Turkish children's devotion to Kreuzberg's spatial fabric and streets. The linkup in this relationship was games. During those years, there were not any areas to play in the neighbourhood, which itself was on the whole neglected and desolate. As a result, spatially, in the eyes of the migrant children Kreuzberg projected itself as a natural play area spread over a wide space (Figure 5 & 6). To the East of the neighbourhood, an unoccupied empty space that extended all along to the Berlin Wall has left an impression in their childhood memories. The tramline, coal warehouses, scrap yards and empty land all abandoned due to the wall, spatially, were promising places for the children.

One of the most noteworthy of these spaces was the empty land. This land played an important role in shaping the migrant children's relationship with football. Because football was the favourite game among the migrant children, these spaces could be counted as places where their habits of gathering and acting in unison developed (Figure 7). Turkish children are used to playing football in any open space. At times even alleys are used and since the neighbourhood was bereft of a lot of traffic and of outsiders, the game never ended. Thus, the culture of playing football in the street, picked up from the homeland, was added to Kreuzberg's culture by 2nd Generation migrants.

One of the other most interesting play areas for the migrant children in Kreuzberg was the Berlin Wall, which formed the boundaries of the neighbourhood. 2nd Generation Turks especially remember images like Russian soldiers and their changing of the guard. They explain how their parents warned them not to go too near the wall yet they reveal how climbing up the watchtower and throwing stones or insults at the Russian soldiers was a childhood ritual they could not give up. One other feature that makes the wall interesting is the pictures and writing upon it. 2nd Generation Turkish migrants first came across examples of graffiti belonging to hip-hop culture, which they would years later adopt as a street culture, while they were playing at the foot of the wall. One needs to underline the relationship of the migrant children and the wall as one of the finest examples space shaping a person. The wall has had a significant spatial effect on the migrants' life by adding to them subcultural qualities. It achieved this by shaping the space where they lived into a neighbourhood on the fringes during the years it divided Germany in two. It also contributed to them learning the practices of political conscience and resistance in the face the oppression towards migrants that come out of the East following the fall of the wall.

Another playful experience in the lives of the Turkish children in Kreuzberg was in the period when the space started to change shape or 'be renovated' due to urban restoration. In the children's vocabulary this period is drawn around the apocalyptic atmosphere that emerged while the old and rickety houses were being torn down. As both play areas and spaces that dictated the conditions of survival, the construction sites have left their mark. While large cranes and construction vehicles traversed the neighbourhood from end to end, looking for things to burn for the winter among the ruins of the houses offered the children an exciting and interesting experience. During this upheaval, the children of Kreuzberg witnessed the transformation of their living spaces. The housing estate culture, which was reshaping the neighbourhood, was especially aimed at migrants. In time, while migrant families settled in the housing estates, the street habits of Turkish children, who were moving into houses surrounding courtyards of green were transforming. The rise of these courtyards, which as their new meeting places were more protected, is significant in the development of gang culture.



Figure 5. Berlin, 1971. Photo by Siebrand Rehberg (Source: Rehberg's personal archive).

Figure 6. Berlin, 1972. Photo by Siebrand Rehberg (Source: Rehberg's personal archive).

Figure 7. Berlin 1975. Photo by Siebrand Rehberg (Source: Rehberg's personal archive).

School as a space of segregation and culture shock

In places like Kreuzberg, where lots of foreigners lived, a boom in the number of classrooms in schools was experienced when the children of guest worker families reached school age. Because the government's strategy in these neighbourhoods was based on conformity, an educational method involving German students feeling like the majority, even when they were not, was applied. The Berlin state education system foresaw three options for its foreign children. According to this, Turkish children could either receive education in common classes called 'regular classes' with German children or attend classes known as 'regular foreign classes' made up of only foreigners. In addition, they were going to continue their education by attending preparatory classes or lessons classified according to level (Kula 2012). The question of in which class the students were going to receive education was related to the education they had previously had. At this stage, knowledge of German was emerging as an important criterion. Thus, most of the 2nd Generation migrants in Berlin had to continue their education in classes only migrant children attended (Figure 8 & 9).

The most significant issue in school was that the children began to feel they were different to the host society for the first time. Separating the classes weakened the chances of making a German friend. Even if the Turkish children were willing to make friends, they were not successful enough. This is remembered among Turkish children as both rivalry and solidarity. The members of this generation that we spoke to, remember looking enviously at their friends who especially attended German classes. In order to especially meet German female students, asking for help from their Turkish peers accepted into these classes was common practice.

One other factor that made the subject of school problematic was the conflict between traditional value judgements learnt at home and the secular education system at school. One of the most significant examples we in draw attention to in the interviews we conducted, is the resistance developed by children brought up under the influence of religion towards the narrative of evolution theory. Furthermore, the difficulty experienced by teachers trying to pronounce their names was another occurrence that left its mark in their school memories. As a place in which the foundation of the reciprocal ghettoization between German and Turkish children was laid, school is a significant space. This strengthened the Turkish migrant children's feelings of solidarity and resistance. The way to school is a special journey travelled together. In our field exploration, the areas that delineated navigation in the space the most clearly were school routes. It can be seen that in the memories of the 2nd Generation, school has an important position in the effort to act together and occupy an area by ruling the space.

School was also the place where their resistance consolidated against the teachers, German students and the concept of school itself. Stories of truancy also hold an important place among their memories. These stories are also significant in terms of connecting school to other spaces. Thus, school turns into a place that is remembered relating to spaces of escape and paves the way for the discovery of special, new and secret spaces. Among these spaces parks, occupied public places and courtyards gain prominence.

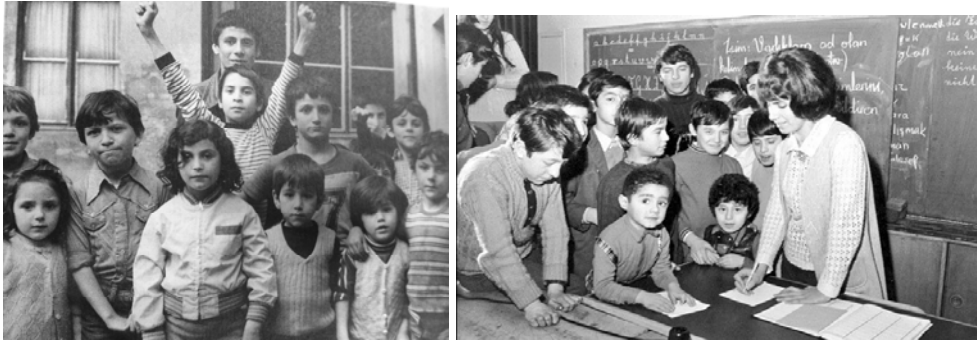


Figure 8. Berlin, 1978. Turkish Students. Photo by Kemal Kurt (Source: Eryılmaz and Mathilde 1998).

Figure 9. Berlin, 1971. Foreigner's Classroom (Source: <https://www.instagram.com/diasporaturk/>).

As a space of migration and subculture, in Kreuzberg, the new network of relations that emerged as a result of the 2nd Generation starting school deeply affected schools and the education system. The schools around Kreuzberg have for a long time been considered underachieving schools and have been, for the public, a topic of discussion regarding migration. The work we did with trainers within the education system and youth work shows that the education system experienced serious changes as the idea of migration transformed into a phenomenon. The schools around Kreuzberg changed their style in line with the needs of the migrants and important steps were taken in changing their point of view. Schools are at the top of the list of spaces that 2nd Generation Turkish migrants radically transformed.

Conclusion: Survival and change

In the life experiences of migrant Turkish children raised in Kreuzberg, the streets are vital. When the restricted mobility at home and the temporariness caused by the dream of returning home are added to the alienation at school, the importance of the streets for these children will be understood more clearly. For 2nd Generation migrants, the streets have been a symbol of freedom and expression all their lives. They have also been places where, as individuals having both migrant and subcultural identities, they determined the conditions of survival. The spatial cultural characteristics of Kreuzberg make this struggle and interaction necessary. Due to the moral distances shaped through shared alienation, the city at times transforms into a mosaic comprised of small worlds. By adhering to Park's idea (1925, 40-41), we can conclude that while trying to find a place in the streets of a neighbourhood that also housed other subcultural groups, the Turkish children experienced both a dangerous and an educational period. During the period in which a lot of Turks settled in Kreuzberg, it was like Anderson's 'hobomeia' (1923, 4). In this parallel life format in which everyone found their equal, 2nd Generation Turkish migrants emerged as an autonomous power on the streets of the city. The gang member experiences of their youth could be interpreted as an extension of their search for independence and identity. Later on, their political moulding against

the hatred of foreigners and their experiences in opening up to the outside came to the forefront. In the periods in which the neighbourhood had already become an artistic and cultural focal point through becoming a bohemia, the idea of economic existence follows this. As we have pointed out in before research, although the district is still known as “Little Istanbul,” and Turks are everywhere, their structural role in Kreuzberg is indefinite and delicate today in a different context. “A scarcity of cultural and economic capital is one explanation of the disconnection. The district, which has transformed into a bohemia, is prospering. And while Turks are trying to ride the coattails of this prosperity, often through the familiar route of food service, unemployment among immigrants is growing. Considering the accompanying increases in Kreuzberg’s rents, an exodus of immigrants from the center to the periphery seems eminent (Güney, Kabaş and Pekman 2017).

Even if the 2nd Generation Turks were shaped within the experience of migration; they were not actually a generation that migrated. They are reluctant to abandon the place they were born and grew up in and their bond with the space is strong. This could be related to their spending so much time on the streets from childhood and the relationship they formed with the space. One cannot disregard the effect of the spatial characteristics of Kreuzberg in shaping the Turkish migrant children. Neighbouring the Berlin Wall, the physical features of the buildings, the concept of a fringe neighbourhood and the fraternisation caused by diversity in demographics are the main components of this effect. We also observe that they have left their marks on the evolution of the spatial fabric of Kreuzberg. Unlike in other neighbourhoods in Berlin, the effects of this generation on Kreuzberg are permanent. In parks, youth centres, public places and living spaces the effects of Turkish migrants are still visible. While 2nd Generation Turkish migrants transformed during the acculturation process they experienced in their struggle for survival, they also transformed the world around them.

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