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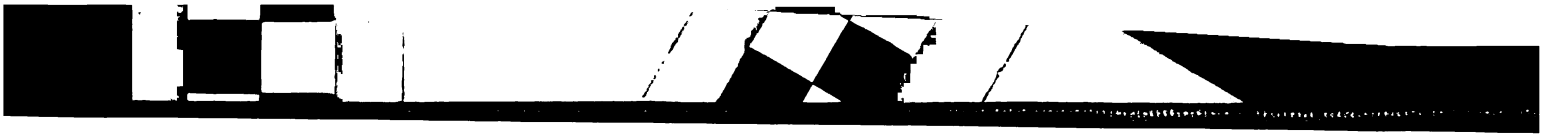

"THE NEGROES OF OUR NATION": AMBIGUITIES OF ANTIRACISM IN WEST GERMANY, 1974-1984

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ABSTRACT

"THE NEGROES OF OUR NATION": AMBIGUITIES OF ANTIRACISM IN WEST GERMANY, 1974-1984

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This thesis analyzes essays about guestworkers in the mainstream liberal and conservative West German press between 1974 and 1984. It explores the ways the debate about guestworkers provided a site for working through larger political tensions between liberals and conservatives during a decade which (in 1982) saw the shift from Social Democratic to Christian Democratic rule. The thesis assesses the ambiguities in the self-styled anti-racism of both sides and complicates standard assumptions about liberals' and conservatives' relationships to ethnic difference. It also documents how consistently writing about the so-called Others provided the occasion for Germans' efforts to come to terms with and make sense of themselves. Above all, it shows how important discussion of guestworkers was in Germans' own struggles with issues of economics and gender relations.

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INTRODUCTION

In April of 1973 the weekly news magazine Der Spiegel reported that at a meeting regarding the situation of West Germany's foreign labor force - the so-called "guestworkers" - North-Rhine Westphalia's labor minister Werner Figgen urged that "'We have to be careful that the guestworkers do not become the 'Negroes of our nation.'"[1] As Der Spiegel further noted, however, this warning went unheeded. Similarly, the Industrial Institute, reacting to increasing labor unrest among Germany's foreign labor force, feared "that the guestworkers who were often employed in lowly jobs - and paid accordingly - would soon become, as the 'Negroes of Europe,' the material of social conflict."[2]

The urgency of these prognoses originated in the rapid rise of West Germany's foreign labor force to an until then unprecedented high of 2,6 million at the time of the oil crisis. The majority of this force consisted of unskilled or semiskilled workers of which (at the time of the oil crisis) 35 percent were employed in the iron and metal industry, 24 percent in the processing trades and 16,6 percent in

[1] "Markt der Menschenhändler," *Der Spiegel*, 13/1973, 60.
[2] "Wie ein Schrei," *Der Spiegel* 13/73, 50.

construction.[3] By the summer of 1973, the diffuse but powerful sense of danger was becoming front-page news.

In July 1973, Der Spiegel ran a cover story on the issue, ambiguously titled "The Turks are coming - save himself whoever can" (Die Türken kommen - rette sich wer kann). In it, the magazine asserted that the increasing number of Turks coming to Germany heightened an already smoldering crisis that could not be solved with temporary and inadequate policies, policies which were themselves seen as contributing to worsening the situation. As the article declared - and in the months and years that followed many more in other periodicals would concur - it was becoming apparent that measures such as a proposed infrastructure tax[4] (*Infrastrukturabgabe*), the rotation of guestworkers[5] and gestures such as officially changing the term "guestworker" into "foreign employee" (*ausländische Arbeitnehmer*) were insufficient to change either public or political attitudes towards the members of the foreign

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[3] Herbert, Ulrich. *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980.* (Ann Arbor: University of Ann Arbor Press, 1990), 230.

[4] A tax targeting those companies that profited from foreign employment, it was proposed (but never implemented) as one of the solutions to reduce the employment of guestworkers.

[5] The idea behind rotation was to assure a temporary stay of guestworkers in Germany, sending them back to their respective home countries while recruiting new guestworkers to replace those who had returned home. Thus, a constant flow of guestworkers between the Federal Republic and the guestworkers' respective home countries was thought to decrease the "risk" of permanent guestworker settlement in Germany.

workforce.[6] The wide-ranging essay, however, managed not to settle the question of whether the main problem was the ill-considered government policies towards the guestworkers, or the ubiquity of popular racism, or the proliferation of guestworkers themselves (for they were "reproducing nicely"). In having it all ways at once - disseminating stereotypes while distancing itself from them, documenting harsh conditions while leaving open who was responsible for them - the article was indicative of trends to come.

This thesis analyzes essays about guestworkers in the mainstream liberal and conservative West German press between 1974 and 1984. It explores the ways the debate about guestworkers provided a site for working through larger political tensions between liberals and conservatives during a decade which (in 1982) saw the shift from Social Democratic to Christian Democratic rule. The thesis assesses the ambiguities in the self-styled anti-racism of both sides and complicates standard assumptions about liberals' and conservatives' relationships to ethnic difference. It also documents how consistently writing about the so-called Others provided the occasion for Germans' efforts to come to terms with and make sense of themselves. Above all, it shows

[6] "Die Türken kommen - rette sich wer kann," *Spiegel*, 31/1973, 26.

how important discussion of guestworkers was in Germans' own struggles with issues of economics and gender relations.

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The history of guestworkers begins in the 1950s, when Germany experienced the much-vaunted economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*), causing a significant labor shortage by the early 1960s.[7] This shortage was due to a number of factors: the generation born during the war (when the birth rate was very low) formed the majority of the labor market, unable to provide a sufficient number of workers; the building of the Berlin Wall cut off the stream of refugees from the East; and the period of education and job training lengthened. To alleviate the labor shortage, West Germany signed the first employee recruitment agreement with Italy in December 1955. Between 1960 and 1965, Germany entered recruitment agreements with seven more countries (with Greece and Spain in 1960; Turkey in 1961; Morocco in 1963; Portugal in 1964; Tunisia in 1965 and Yugoslavia in 1968). Ulrich Herbert describes German society at the time as having "developed no vistas for the future, while spellbound with the fascination of its economic dynamism" where "guest workers tended to be viewed rather as a symptom of this

[7] The history of guestworkers only marks the (if decisive) tail end of a much longer history of foreign labor in Germany. For a detailed analysis

newfound affluence—like color TV and pedestrian malls."[8] In 1961, the arrival of the one millionth guestworker was celebrated at the Cologne train station.

Not until several years later did doubts about German guestworker politics surface due to the economic recession of 1966-67. At this time, the initial enthusiasm about guestworker labor was replaced with a growing concern about foreign employment, and Chancellor Ludwig Erhardt proposed that Germans work one additional hour per week to mitigate any possible labor shortage. The guestworker presence in Germany developed into what was commonly called the "guestworker problem," setting the tone for the subsequent decades. One sign that attested to the increasing uneasiness about guestworker politics was the enactment of the Foreigner Law (*Ausländergesetz*) in October of 1965. According to this law, foreigners who indicated a desire to settle in Germany (by applying for permanent residency and working permits) faced expulsion. The law thus underscored that guestworkers' length of employment as well as their stay in the Federal Republic should be temporary.

However, legislation regarding guestworkers developed unevenly, informed by immediate developments rather than

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of German policies regarding foreign labor see Ulrich Herbert, *A History.*

[8] Ibid., 227.

long-term objectives. In 1971, for example, an ordinance on work permits allowed guestworkers who had been employed in the FRG for at least five years to apply for a special work permit. While it was limited to five years it was not in any way connected to possible changes in the workers' economic status, and thus fostered rather than curbed guestworkers' residency in West Germany.

While the economy experienced another upswing in the years after the recession, it was not able to repeat its swift recovery after the oil crisis of 1973. Since guestworkers were disproportionately employed in heavy industry, they bore the brunt of Germany's rising unemployment. Earlier notions of a "guestworker problem" thus returned in the form of German guestworker policy. The continued incoherence of solutions was evident in Germany's two-tiered approach to the problem. When the government called for an immediate guestworker recruitment ban (*Anwerbestop*) on 27 November 1973, for example, this was initially considered sufficient to stem increasing unemployment in a declining economy, to stop the influx of foreign workers, and possibly even entice some to leave. At the same time, however, the federal government also acknowledged that it was necessary to deal with guestworkers

as well as their families who were already in the country. The legislative solutions, in Herbert's words, left

> the total impression...of a very hastily conceived and occasionally hectic policy, attempting by means of ever-new decrees and ordinances, guidelines, and laws to regulate and guide social processes over the short term—without always recognizing or giving proper attention to their longer term nature or scope.[9]

Not surprisingly, then, the recruitment ban and other measures to deal with Germany's guestworkers did not have the desired effect. Instead of decreasing the foreign population, the number of foreigners in Germany rose even more. Due to the ban, guestworkers feared leaving the country for short visits home - afraid they would not be able to retain their jobs in Germany. As a result, many sent for their spouses and families, a right protected by the Federal Republic's Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*).

In addition to the recruitment ban, a change in the regulation of German child benefits was responsible for the influx of foreigners into the country. Until early 1974, guestworkers received full (monetary) child benefits (*Kindergeld*) regardless of where their children lived (in Germany or the home country). However, new legislation lowered the amount of child benefits for guestworker children who had remained behind and further convinced

[9] Herbert, *A History*. 247.

guestworkers to bring their families to Germany. The government followed up on its child benefit laws by denying employment opportunities for guestworker children. Guestworker youth joining their families in Germany after 31 December 1976 were neither allowed to hold an apprenticeship[10] nor a work permit. Already two years earlier, starting in December 1974, spouses following their partners were prohibited from obtaining a work permit.

A few years later, trends again moved in the opposite direction. In October 1978, the law was modified to allow foreigners who had stayed in Germany for a five-year-period to apply for a permanent residence permit (*Aufenthaltsgenehmigung*). One year later, in April 1979, employment regulations for guestworker children and spouses were reformed as well. According to the new laws, spouses were able to acquire a work permit after four years of continued residence in the Federal Republic; children were able to obtain an apprenticeship after two years - although only if no German claimed the job.

Thus, even as some of the foreigner policies prevented the settling of guestworkers in the FRG, other measures facilitated it. It is precisely this mix of incentives to

[10] Students who do not acquire a high school diploma (and are thus not eligible for a college education) usually enter into an apprenticeship for three years to learn a trade.

return as well as measures to facilitate integration that allowed conservatives to interpret Social Democratic politics as integrationist (and to deem that problematic), even as the ruling Social Democrats themselves continued to pretend that guestworkers' stays were on the whole temporary. In September 1979, this incoherent politics of "temporary integration"[11] - meant to mask the fact that West Germany was indeed an immigration country - was openly criticized by Heinz Kühn, the representative for matters relating to guestworkers of the federal government (*Beauftragter für Gastarbeiter-Fragen*). He presented a report which marked a turning point in the political handling of foreign workers in the FRG. Kühn "demanded a consistent line of integration within the policy of foreign nationals of the federal government rather than the codification of the non-immigration character of labor migration." This report recognized "de facto immigration," which had so long been denied, while nonetheless also supporting the ban on further immigration.[12] This is a formal indication of a shift in the guestworker debate toward a politics of integration and the recognition that many guestworkers by their actions were demonstrating that

[11] Ursula Mehrländer, "Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Ausländerpolitik im Konflikt*, ed. E. Gehmacher (Bonn, 1978), 134. Cited in Herbert, *A History*. 249.

they intended to stay in West Germany permanently. Previous policies were always based on the assumptions that foreign workers would eventually return (voluntarily or not) to their native country.[13]

Ironically, despite the ways guestworkers served as political battleground between the main parties, the shift from a Social Democratic to a Christian Democratic government in 1982 changed very little in foreigner politics. The dual impulses of Social Democratic practices were simply intensified by the Christian Democrats. Christian Democrats proceeded to pursue even more forcefully the facilitation of re-migration of guestworkers back to their home countries as well as the prevention of any further migration to Germany. Yet at the same time, for those foreigners who were already in West Germany, the Christian Democrats now argued that naturalization should be the logical conclusion to integrationist efforts. They eliminated the option of indefinite residency in West Germany, and insisted that guestworkers either stay (and then also apply for West German citizenship) or leave. As a result of this intensified double strategy, although, most aspects of foreigner policy appeared as continuities with

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[12] Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor,* 249.
[13] Ibid., 250.

the pre-1982 trends, integration would remain a point of acute contention between liberals and conservatives.[14]

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Over the last decade, a flurry of scholarship has made important contributions to an understanding of the guestworker situation. This scholarship has broken new ground by examining the ideological underpinnings of German interaction with guestworkers, as well as situating guestworker history within the larger context of German migration history[15] and particularly within Germany's history of foreign employment.[16] Since the early 1990s, scholars have increasingly explored the various ways in which guestworkers and particularly Turks - who, since the early 1970s, make up the largest minority in Germany - have been represented within German society. In addition, they have tried to explain guestworker marginalization by analyzing images of foreigners/guestworkers in German film and literary texts, thus exposing "the complicity of representation in stubbornly reproducing constructions of otherness dictated by dominant ideologies."[17] The various

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[14] Detlef Bischoff and Werner Teubner, *Zwischen Einbürgerung und Rückkehr* (Berlin: Hitit Verlag, 1992), 52ff.
[15] Klaus Bade, *Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland* (München: C.H.Beck, 1992).
[16] Herbert, *A History of Foreign Labor.*
[17] Azade Seyhan, "Introduction" to *New German Critique's* special issue on *Minorities in German Culture* 46 (winter 1989): 3. Also see Gail Wise, *Ali in Wunderland* (Diss. UC Berkely, 1995); Marie Lorbeer and Beate Wild

studies have shown that there exists, for instance, an unreflective continuation of Nazi sentiment in the treatment of foreigners (expressed in jokes, for example, that compare Turks to Jews) as well as an often "misleading binary opposition between Germanness and Foreignness" in the way guestworkers have been portrayed, an observation that my work also illustrates.[18]

Works like (the sarcastically titled) Die freundliche Zivilgesellschaft (The Friendly Civil Society) and the more recent Unsere Türken (Our Turks), approach German-Turkish relations through a critical analysis of German society instead of focusing solely on foreign (particularly Turkish) workers. Both studies reveal that racism has been consistently central to German (political, social, and cultural) dealings with foreigners.[19] Other scholars have worked to represent foreigners' perspectives on Germanness. Eberhard Seidel-Pielen as well as David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky in Turkish Culture in German Society Today, for example, present personal narratives about the Turkish experience in Germany. In addition, Horrocks and Kolinsky

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(eds). *Menschenfresser-Negerküsse. Das Bild vom Fremden im Alltag.* Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1991.

[18] Wise, *Ali in Wunderland*, 5-6; Anna Kuhn, "Bourgeois Ideology and the (Mis)Reading of Günter Walraff's *Ganz Unten*." *New German Critique* 46 (Winter 1989): 191-202.

[19] See Redaktion diskus (ed.), *Die freundliche Zivilgesellschaft. Rassismus und Nationalismus in Deutschland* (Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv,

draw attention to the increasing literature written by foreigners in Germany. A growing scholarly engagement with this genre began in the 1980s when foreign workers began to write extensively about migration and its significance in their life experience.[20] These studies too have worked to expose the problematic and often racist German attitudes vis-à-vis guestworkers and other foreigners in German society.

Sara Lennox's work, on the other hand, takes a critical look at German anti-racism. In her article "Divided Feminism: Women, Racism and German National Identity," she addresses the issue of anti-racism in a German feminist context. Lennox shows that far from aiding in deconstructing categories of difference, anti-racism has a stabilizing influence on the category of whiteness when it does not

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1992); Eberhard Seidel-Pielen, *Unsere Türken* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1995).

[20] David Horrocks and Eva Kolinsky, *Turkish Culture in German Society Today* (Providence, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996);, Barbara A. Fennell, *Language, Literature an the Negotiation of Identity* (Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Russell King, John Connell, and Paul White, *Writing Across Worlds—Literature and Migration.* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995); Gisela Brinker-Gabler and Sidonie Smith (eds), *Writing New Identities: Gender, Nation, and immigration in Contemporary Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). Sabine Fischer and Moray McGowan (eds), *Denn Du Tanzt auf einem Seil. Positionen deutschsprachiger MigrantInnenliteratur.* (Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 1997). Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantop. *The Imperialist Imagination. German Colonialism and its Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

question how "racial and national identities are constituted".[21]

Apart from Lennox's article, however, ambiguities embedded in Germany's anti-racist discourse remain under-theorized. While many scholars have referred to newspapers to substantiate their findings, their analysis lacks specific engagement with how the mainstream press has simultaneously elaborated on and decisively shaped the guestworker issue. Such an approach reveals that the print media debate itself has not only served as a site for working out relationships between German liberals and conservatives, but also served to construct as well as reflect popular German sentiment. As Eric Naiman has argued in a very different context (an analysis of Soviet ideology during the years of the New Economic Policy),

> ideology and the literature that can shape it are not purely reflective of material realities but affect the perception of those realities in ways that then have an impact on the development of material realities themselves.[22]

Naiman's sources are obviously more overtly propagandistic than the German ones. But the conceptual point he makes

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[21] Sara Lennox, "Divided Feminism: Women, Racism, and German National Identity," *German Studies Review* (1991): 493.
[22] Eric Naiman, *Sex in Public. The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

holds true for the guestworker debate in West Germany as well.

This thesis, then, is neither an analysis of popular German attitudes about guestworkers nor a study of guestworkers' own lives. It is, rather, an analysis of the way in which the mainstream media repeatedly used the guestworker issue as an occasion for addressing ideological conflicts Germans were having with each other. In this thesis, I show that while debating issues of foreign employment as well as foreign settlement in West Germany in the 1970s and 1980s, conservative and liberal newspapers and magazines alike also used the debate to discuss and thereby create knowledge not only about guestworkers but also about German economic, sexual, and national identities.

In contrast to the U.S. press, the West German press is more overtly politicized, so that papers and magazines unabashedly represent their allegiance to or criticism of either of the two main political parties and of other political tendencies to either the Left or the Right. The periodicals whose coverage I have examined include, on the conservative side, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt, Rheinischer Merkur, and Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, and on the liberal side, the magazines Der Spiegel and Stern, and the weekly and daily newspapers Die

Zeit, Frankfurter Rundschau, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Vorwärts, and Das Parlament. In 1974, in the wake of the oil crisis and the recruitment ban, the discussion of foreigners and foreigner-related government policies even in the German liberal publications took on a very critical tone regarding the ways the ruling Social Democrats handled the guestworker issue, but as I will show, there were also decisive differences in conservative and liberal treatments of the issues.

From the early 1970s on, the presence of guestworkers had become ever more noticeable in German society; this was so not only because they *stayed* but also because they increasingly started to explore alternative avenues regarding work, such as establishing their own businesses. Furthermore, as their families joined them and their children entered German schools, they transgressed spatial boundaries and gradually moved into German neighborhoods. These developments elicited ambiguous responses from the press; on the one hand, guestworkers were admired for their work ethic and family values. On the other hand—precisely because they possessed these admirable traits and were increasingly settling in German society—they were also perceived as a serious threat to German identity.

In their coverage of guestworkers, although occasionally discussing Italians, Greeks, or even the Chinese, the magazines and papers often singled out those workers and families of Turkish origin. By January 1972 Turks had become the largest foreign contingent among the guestworkers. Not only that, but while the number of guestworkers had a little more than doubled in the 5-year-period from 1968-1973, the number of Turkish guestworkers more than quadrupled during the same time frame, so that by 1973 Turks made up around 23 percent of the foreign workforce.[23] After 1973, the number of guestworkers (regardless of their nationality) declined. By and large, this also meant a general drop in the number of residents from the recruitment countries. The number of Turkish nationals in Germany, however, kept growing. Moreover, unlike most other guestworkers, Turks in Germany were seen to be especially different and unassimilable and were the center of attention because of their Asian origins (most of them came from Anatolia, located in the Asian part of Turkey), and because of their religious beliefs and oriental culture. As the articles will show, these factors set them apart from other foreign workers and often served to make them the archetype of guestworker difference.

[23] Herbert, *A History,* 230.

Guestworkers' apparent economic success accrued an especially potent symbolic meaning because of the centrality of economic issues to West German attempts at moral reconstruction in the wake of fascism. Guestworkers' roles in the economy seemed particularly threatening to West Germans who, after 1945, had sought to re-establish an identity based on industriousness and economic growth rather than national pride—or rather, industriousness and economic growth became the only legitimate sources of national pride. As Micha Brumlik and Claus Leggewie point out (with only partially restrained sarcasm), "People principally managed to master the simple every-day in the early days of the Federal Republic as economic citizens [*Wirtschaftbürger*]. The question of German identity, of a historical consciousness and self-understanding, of taking an acceptable stand on one's own history, seemed answered by [Germany's] limited sovereignty, thoughts about Europe and integration into the West—the 'burden of history' was so well taken care of by official commemorations."[24]

By comparison, the other groups who made up more than 10 percent of the foreign labor force were Yugoslavs (18 percent) and Italians (12,8 percent).

[24] Micha Brumlik and Claus Leggewie, "Konturen der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Nationale Idenität, Multikulturalismus und 'Civil Society'," in *Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland*. ed. Klaus Bade (München: C.H. Beck, 1992), 432-33.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Germans still largely identified themselves as "economic citizens." In the course of the 1970s and early 1980s, however, Germans also became much more cautious regarding their economy and its limits. German society was trying to come to terms with a growing lack of confidence about capitalism caused not only by the New Left critiques (voiced in the late 1960s and early 1970s) but above all by the repercussions of the oil crisis. After Germany had so quickly recovered from the recession in 1966-67, the post-war economic miracle now appeared really to have come to an end, and neither conservatives nor liberals seemed to know how to regard this development. Newfound anxieties about capitalism and consumerism manifested themselves in heightened ambivalence about foreign and especially Turkish participation in both. A number of articles which represent various aspects of the liberal and conservative ideological landscape implied a certain sense of loss brought about by the influence of Western consumer culture (especially as it affected moral values), and this provided the context for admiring the supposed traditional lifestyle of the guestworkers. But numerous authors also displaced their ambivalence about German consumerism by mocking foreigners' eager embrace of it.

In other instances, both liberals and conservatives used the guestworker problem as the ground on which they struggled to come to terms with the feminist movement. Conservatives demonstrated this implicitly as they expressed their concerns about low German and high guestworker birthrates. Liberals dealt with this more explicitly in their assault on—and yet also fascinated obsession with—guestworkers' purported patriarchalism. Yet other articles meanwhile, explicitly attest to continued German grappling with the National Socialist past.

In sum, the guestworker debate was never exclusively informed by labor politics in the strict sense. In worrying about guestworkers' relative success in establishing a livelihood where Germans many failed to do so, and in worrying about the growing number of second and third-generation guestworkers in Germany, Germans were worrying as well about their own values, their own comparatively low birth rates, and their own national and party-political reputations. The ways in which guestworkers and policy decisions about them were discussed in the different newspapers provided a constant forum for assessments of German history and society.

At the same time, while both sides—liberal and conservative—ostensibly discouraged open discrimination

against guestworkers, it was not just the German rhetoric of admiring guestworkers' purportedly inherent traditional values and their relative success "against all odds" (i.e. previous attempts to reduce their numbers) that revealed a systematic, stereotypical racism in the guise of antiracism. In addition, and overall, the language used in describing the guestworker problem both in the liberal and conservative print media repeatedly supported the opinion that foreigners in general and Turkish guestworkers in particular were inherently different from German people regardless of their actions. Precisely as journalists called for greater popular understanding of Germany's "guests" and styled themselves as creating the grounds for that greater understanding, they also continually reiterated an array of problematic stereotypes. They did this by elaborating on and simultaneously reifying guestworker difference. As it turns out, it is the liberals who most forcefully styled themselves as antiracists but who nonetheless, ironically, most determinedly (re)produced guestworker difference.

My analysis concludes in 1984 for a number of reasons. By 1987, two-thirds of the guestworkers had been living in West Germany for more than 10 years, i.e. had settled

there.[25] Their increasingly diverse economic and social participation as well as Germans' growing interest and support in the guestworker issue can account for the fact that in the mid-1980s the terms of the debate shifted. For example, literature by non-Germans published in Germany (and mostly dealing with their German experience) increasingly appeared on the German literary market. Writing competitions for foreigners and the creation of the annual Adalbert von Chamisso Prize in 1985 for the literature of this genre also supported the development and increasing visibility of the genre in particular and the non-Germans' voices in general.[26] As Gail Wise has pointed out, the interest in foreigners' personal narratives that developed at this time about "experiences in what was perceived to be a restrictive society" coupled with an increasing number of calls for action against racism pointed to a "tentative acceptance of foreigners as members of West German society."[27]

Another publication that centered on guestworkers was Günter Walraff's Lowest of the Low [Ganz Unten], published in 1985. The book was a sensational bestseller in Germany, and helped shape the trajectory of discussions on

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[25] Fischer. "Migration."
[26] See Sabine Fischer and Moray McGowan, "From *Pappkoffer* to Pluralism" *Writing Across Worlds. Literature and Migration*. Ed. Russel King, John Connell, and Paul White (New York: Routledge, 1995).
[27] Wise, *Ali*. 154.

guestworkers in its aftermath. Walraff, dressed as the stereotypical guestworker in old, out-of-style clothes, a black wig, and mustache, speaking broken German with an affected Turkish accent and looking for employment, encountered atrocious working and living conditions. Wallraff's muckraking exposé evoked an enormous outcry, not so much about the treatment of guestworkers, but primarily about the politics of the companies Wallraff had exposed (McDonald's and the steel company Thyssen among them). Only secondarily did the issue of racism find its way into the post-Wallraff discussion.

While some of Wallraff's Turkish co-workers, who spoke out against Wallraff's work, did not protest the author's portrayal of guestworkers in general nor the lack of a critical analysis of their treatment (instead, they protested Wallraff's sole claim to authorship, the lack of promised financial support from royalties, and unequal remuneration in comparison to their German colleagues when helping Wallraff) "by speaking about the project,…[Turkish] co-workers defied Wallraff in more than the issue of authorship" as they appeared informed and eloquent in their criticism.[28]

[28] For a detailed discussion of the reception of *Ganz Unten* see: Kuhn, "Bourgeois Ideology."

While Wallraff's book itself perpetuated and possibly even reinforced German stereotypes about guestworkers, it also evoked reactions from members of the Turkish community that clearly challenged those very stereotypes. The growing outspokenness, then, of guestworkers themselves, both about their own participation in and contribution to Wallraff's work, as well as more generally in addition to the gradual emergence of leftist and church-sponsored German antiracist initiatives, steered the debate away from an (almost exclusive) top-down approach to the guestworker problem and towards the development of more grass-roots integrationist and multicultural activism starting in the second half of the decade.

CHAPTER 1: THE CONSERVATIVES

In Germany's conservative papers, particularly Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Die Welt, Rheinischer Merkur (RM), and Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt (DAS), depictions of guestworkers in the mid-1970s were initially seemingly positive and uncomplicated; guestworkers were in Germany temporarily, had established themselves within the Germany economy, and would leave again as soon as they had saved enough money to live comfortably in their respective home countries. These same views, however, quickly became imbued with a variety of anxieties that revealed at least as much about German preoccupations with their own national, economic and sexual identities as they did about those who supposedly were the focus of their discussion. Specifically, these discussions exposed German concerns about their own lower productivity along with what they perceived to be inadequate reproductivity, and many essays pondered the consequences such factors would have on German identity. Moreover, the guestworker debate was also a forum where larger political ideologies were debated; the issue of foreign workers was often only a symptom.

In 1974, the Rheinischer Merkur published an eight-part series called "Guestworkers in Germany." This series is a

useful introduction to the conservative vista as it took shape immediately after the recruitment ban. Reacting to the recent political debate about guestworkers, the author, Gregor Manousakis, was highly critical of those left-liberal voices that considered liberal government foreigner politics as too harsh because they were oriented towards exclusion rather than integration. Rather, he felt that those opinions only provoked problems and stirred up anxieties. Manousakis took it upon himself to enlighten Germans about guestworkers and their contribution to German society, at times presenting them in decidedly positive and even laudatory terms. In doing so, Manousakis often used Germans as a point of reference, in effect revealing much about Germans as well. Overall, however, Manousakis managed to insult both, Germans *and* guestworkers.

Criticizing German workers in particular and Germans in general, Manousakis was convinced that guestworkers were largely needed because of the "misjudgment of the impact of an increasing prosperity on [Germans'] willingness to take on gainful employment."[29] In other words, he believed Germans had gotten used to their standard of living and a regulated work week, which they were able to enjoy only because of the strong guestworker presence. Since Germans

were unwilling to give up these amenities, they had to support the guestworkers' presence and industriousness. Furthermore, Germany needed guestworkers because, according to Manousakis, the introduction and popularity of the birth-control pill had caused a slump in the German birth-rate, which meant slower population growth and labor shortages.[30] Without enough German laborers, then, guestworkers were recruited to fill the open positions (overwhelmingly located in the industrial sector) and were thus assigned the role of maintaining the German standard of living. In short, Manousakis showed Germans to be weak and dependent upon the strength of guestworkers' labor. Manousakis' criticism of Germans' inadequate productivity, as well as reproductivity, would also be examined in articles by other conservative publications.

Apart from blaming Germans' personal shortcomings for the need for guestworkers, Manousakis was also quick to caricature and then decisively counter liberal notions about guestworkers' motivations to work in the FRG: "They do not come because they are in distress. Working, saving,

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[29] Gregor Manousakis, "Part III: Die Neue Völkerwanderung," *RM*, 4 January 1974, 16.
[30] Also see part V of the series: Gregor Manousakis, "Industrielle Reservearmee? Ökonomische Nutzen der Auslanderbeschäftigung sind unanstreitbar," *RM*, 18 January 1974.

acquiring wealth is their goal."[31] By the time the article series was published in 1974, many guestworkers had already lived in Germany for more than a decade. Despite this fact, Manousakis was careful to emphasize their role as *guest*workers, not permanent residents. He therefore claimed that the guestworker debate was itself based on what he saw as an incorrect liberal premise that guestworkers were in Germany to stay and thus needed to be integrated into German society. (Note that liberals in actuality at this point did not favor permanent immigration either.) Manousakis thus painted liberals as far more integrationist than they actually were so as to highlight his own perspective. In Manousakis' view, any measure taken to aid guestworkers in their adjustment in Germany was futile and was a waste of money and energy. Rather, guestworkers came to Germany because it allowed them to make more money in a shorter period of time than they could make at home. After all, Manousakis asserted, "[t]he European South has also shared in general progress,"[32] implying that the region was doing fairly well and hunger and dearth were not as prominent as Germans might have thought.[33]

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[31] Gregor Manousakis, "Part II: Sie kommen nicht aus Not. Arbeiten, sparen, Wohlstand erwerben ist ihr Ziel, " *RM*, 28 December 1973, 10.
[32] Ibid.
[33] This view of sameness would later on be contested as the guestworkers were recognized as permanent residents in Germany

According to Manousakis, stock-piling money was guestworkers' only goal and every aspect of their lives was organized around it. For him, it followed that guestworkers themselves were responsible for their generally poor living conditions in ghetto-like neighborhoods - rather than ruthless landlords and a general reluctance among Germans to live with or even near guestworkers. Such an argument also allowed him to avoid engaging critically with any legacy of German racism. As he maintained, "[t]hese people virtually live in a state of psychological intoxication. Fascinated by the possibility to carry DM150 more to the bank each month, they can not find the strength to refrain from it. They have lost any sense of time, life and money."[34] Despite such incredibly insulting characterization which shifted the blame for guestworkers' living conditions from Germans to the guestworkers themselves, Manousakis was also quick to point out that the ghettoes, which had drawn so much attention in cities like Frankfurt and Berlin, were unpleasant exceptions since most guestworkers were able to live in adequate, governmentally or company-subsidized housing.[35] Generally, Manousakis assured Germans that "to Germany come healthy, family-oriented, patriotic, [and]

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Gregor Manousakis, "Part III: Slums sind nicht die Norm. Trotzdem: Geschäft mit der Wohnungsnot," *RM*, 4 January 1974, 16.

civilized people who are deeply rooted in the traditions of their country. Their world, their social ties are intact."[36] Here, Manousakis' implications were twofold: Germans did not have to fear guestworkers because they were "decent" people; they also had strong ties to their home country and would thus want to return to it rather than settle in Germany.

The contradictions in Manousakis' account throughout the series (guestworkers characterized out-of-control desires for money versus deep-rooted traditional ties; substandard housing as a self-chosen cost cutting strategy versus housing conditions as not so bad and therefore not worth bemoaning after all) only make sense against the background of his assault on liberal state and federal guestworker strategy. Manousakis was in constant dialogue with and highly critical of what he persisted in portraying as consistent efforts to integrate guestworkers into German life. The criticism implicit in most every article in the series erupted explicitly into the forefront of the eighth and final installment, focused on guestworker children's schooling. Because he believed that guestworkers would only want to stay in West Germany temporarily, Manousakis advocated educating guestworker children in a way that allowed them to return to their home countries rather than

[36] Ibid.

teaching them how to cope in a German environment. He lauded classes that were taught by teachers from the recruitment countries who themselves were barely in command of the German language. Moreover, Manousakis believed that it was particularly advantageous that these teachers had "hardly any connections to the leftist Pedagogy establishment in the Federal Republic" and, thus, he was satisfied that "their classes could not be converted into pedagogical laboratories." According to Manousakis, leftists, however, found

> The situation...unacceptable, the 'situation' had to be changed. The agitation against foreign elementary school classes began and was successfully executed through a typically leftist-radical move. It was determined that the Mediterranean text books supposedly contained anti-democratic bodies of thought; the Left at least declared all patriotic expressions and songs in these books as such. The outcry was enormous. Patriotic education today belongs to the untouchable, sacred privilege of socialist people's democracies. Whoever thinks such an education appropriate outside the communist world is a 'fascist.'[37]

Besides the general scathing sarcasm and criticism of leftist ideology, the reference to the potentially fascistic nature of foreign education politics indicated another point of contention between liberals and conservatives - how to deal with foreigners in Germany in light of the country's fascist past. Manousakis attempted to undo the ideological

linkages between postwar conservatism and fascism by making a mockery of and purporting to expose the hypocrisy in leftist critiques of conservatism. Conservatives were anxious that their preoccupation with encouraging guestworkers to return to their home countries rather than integrating them into West German society could be associated with racist Nazi policies; lampooning and exaggerating leftist cries of "fascism" was an effective way to turn the tables.

Many of the themes in the Rheinischer Merkur series were evident in Die Welt's portrayal of guestworkers as well even as Die Welt made even less flattering remarks than Manousakis had about guestworkers and particularly Turks. For example, in 1974, a contributor in Die Welt, while agreeing that "the Turks attempt to lay the groundwork for a future existence at home," nevertheless declared that "More than any other groups Turks stand out because—in comparison to other groups of foreigners—their degree of civilization is the lowest compared to that of the Germans."[38] But Die Welt also reprimanded Germans for their attitudes that made guestworkers necessary in the first place. The paper

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[37] Gregor Manousakis, "Part VIII: Schulexperimente mit Auslanderkindern. Die Golgen eines verfehlten Unterrichtssystems—Das Recht auf Muttersprache," *RM*, 8 February 1974, 16.
[38] "Die Schnauzbärte vom Bosporus arbeiten hart und leben karg," *Die Welt*, 12 January 1974, 3.

reported, for example, that even "in times of immense unemployment no law could probably force the German unskilled laborer to ever do the dirty work again…Before he himself will take hold of the broom again, he will prefer to live off unemployment benefits rather than face such 'social decline.'"[39] Such a statement spoke to the immense stigma that was attached to most of the jobs guestworkers held. Apart from performing the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs in heavy industry, guestworkers worked in the fish-processing industry, tanneries, commercial cleaning, and the catering trade. Over the decade (and beyond), the distribution of occupations did not change much at all. By 1984, well over 80 percent of the guestworkers still performed blue-collar labor. [40]

Moreover, Die Welt further underscored Manousakis' critical viewpoint of liberal ideology. In an essay somewhat derogatorily entitled "The mustaches from the Bosporus work hard and live meagerly," the paper vehemently dismissed what it called "social criticism on TV," "TV shows tinted with social criticism" and "books from progressive publishers." Conservatives argued that while liberals were portraying guestworkers as the source of a possibly precarious social

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[39] "Bei weniger Arbeit wird Ibrahim zum Problemfall," *Die Welt* 1.11.74, 4.

situation, liberals themselves were doing nothing to improve the situation. In fact, conservatives contended that liberal criticism of the status quo and suggestions for improvement were worsening rather than bettering the guestworker situation.[41]

It was precisely, then, in order to counter what it saw as liberal trouble-making that Die Welt, like other conservative papers, offered what it saw as more positive images of the guestworkers by focusing on guestworker success stories. These emphasized that some guestworkers had indeed reached high ranks in certain industrial branches and lauded their discipline and industriousness that had earned them such positions. The tension with liberals is crucial in understanding the phenomenon of the positive conservative portrayal of guestworkers, which (to us in hindsight) might otherwise appear bizarre because praise for guestworkers could of course as readily been translated into support for guestworker integration into German society.

Although Die Welt and Manousakis' essays are representative of early conservative praises for guestworkers as contributing, goal-oriented, and above all

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[40] See Herrmann, Helga. "Ausländer am Arbeitsplatz." *Informationen zur politischen Bildung* 237/4. Quartal 1992, 12.
[41] See "Die Schnauzbärte vom Bosporus arbeiten hart und leben karg" in *Die Welt*, 12.1.74, 3; as well as "Bei weniger Arbeit wird Ibrahim zum Problemfall," *Die Welt* 1.11.74, 4.

temporary inhabitants of the Federal Republic, Die Welt and Manousakis' series also already address one of the themes in the guestworker debates that would be very much in the foreground by the late 1970s. While discussing the guestworker "problem," the conservative press reveals a deep-seated anxiety which over-masculinizes the guestworker and-by default-places Germans in a weaker, less (re)productive light. Manousakis in particular shows the beginning of this trend as he depicts the virile sexual young guestworker on the verge of invading Germany.

> Lonely? No, their [guestworkers'] leisure time is filled with cars and women. Women? At this thought at the latest, many young men and women[42] who have grown up experiencing the sexual discipline of a patriarchal society become rebellious. The next day they are waiting in line in front of the German embassy of their home country [organizing their departure for Germany].[43]

Despite this one vision of sexually charged guestworkers flooding into Germany, most conservatives in the mid-1970s declared that the debate about guestworker mores itself was contrived. The conservative press repeatedly asserted that the German people had nothing to fear because guestworkers were traditional, civilized people who helped maintain

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[42] Despite Manousakis' inclusion of women in his discussion of rebellious Turkish youth against a patriarchal society, his focus is clearly on foreign men in Germany, as the reference to leisure time filled with cars and women shows.

[43] "Part II: Sie kommen nicht aus Not," 10.

German standards and were only *temporary* residents. For these reasons, guestworker politics and concomitant efforts to integrate guestworkers into German society stirred up unnecessary uncertainties about Germany's future that formed the basis for these so-called groundless debates.

Between 1974 and 1977, the most prolific of the conservative papers in its coverage of the guestworker debate - the highly respected and influential Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung - continued to publish articles that identified guestworkers as single, transient males. The articles attempted to promote an understanding of male guestworkers, by implying that what they possessed that made them different and admirable was what Germans were ultimately lacking. The guestworkers were portrayed as non-threatening, even endearing in their sheer simplicity; they were seen as "thrifty", "religious", and "humble," as well as praiseworthy for their economic and sexual discipline.[44] Such images had also prevailed throughout the debate prior to the recruitment ban. They had, however, always been coupled with the assumption - or fervent hope - that most guestworkers would return to their home countries due to the

[44] see Petra Michaely, "Auch an der Saar weiß man wo Mekka liegt," *FAZ* 21 September 1974, 6(BZ); Key L. Ulrich, "Türkische Arbeitnehmergesellschaften-Geschäft mit der Hoffnung," *FAZ*, 12 October 1976, 7-8. Jürgen Eick, Gatarbeiter. Mehr, weniger oder gar keine," FAZ, 3 March 1976, 1.

strain that monastery-like living arrangements put on them. This strain was created by the alien environment in which they lived, without women or family, as one journalist explained it. So, even though they were praised for sexual restraint, there was fear that it would not last long. By 1974, it had become clear that such assumptions, however about guestworkers' imminent return to their home countries were already wishful thinking.

Positive images of guestworkers mingled and eventually gave way to ever more ambiguous ones, which further exposed conservative anxieties about guestworkers by revealing German insecurities about themselves. Rather than promoting an understanding for temporary foreign workers, there was now an increasing number of more critical depictions of guestworkers. In March of 1975, Axel Schnorbus, a journalist with the FAZ, contemplated the consequences of Germany's guestworker politics and how they reflected on German national character, calling into question the benefits of using foreign manpower to increase the German standard of living: "If we don't want to knuckle down to it ourselves to reach a higher standard of living, then we have to let even more foreigners work for us. However, this would be a highly

doubtful improvement."[45] Following Schnorbus' line of argument, Jürgen Eick in the article "Guestworkers: more, less or none at all" broached the issue unequivocally: "Without a doubt, this country needs guestworkers. However, does it need another million Turks?" Eick answered his own question with a "no," showing the dilemma in which Germans saw themselves at the time and, without a doubt, had gotten themselves into by first welcoming and then taking for granted guestworker labor.[46] Part of this skepticism also grew out of the belief that guestworkers were impossible to assimilate into German culture because of their "fixation on family" rather than on their German environment.[47]

This awakening to a possibly permanent guestworker population in Germany further established an image of guestworker work and family ethic as superior in comparison to Germans while also using these elements to mark them as different. A discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of guestworker contributions to German society revealed as much if not more about Germans' perceptions of themselves as they did about the guestworkers. By 1977, what harmless and possibly endearing portrayals there had been of guestworkers

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[45] Axel Schnorbus, "'Gastarbeiter mach Deutsche arbeitslos.'Oft wird nur die eine Seite gesehen," *FAZ*, 3 March 1975, 11.
[46] Jürgen Eick, Gastarbeiter. Mehr, weniger oder gar keine," *FAZ*, 3 March 1976, 1.

ceased to exist and the same characteristics were now seen as threatening. Guestworker productivity became less the focus of attention (and anxieties), except when it was discussed in exclusively masculine terms. Generally, guestworkers were described as virile males, appropriating parts of the German landscape. Articles in the FAZ like "When guestworkers settle down" and "The Turks are here" spoke to an awareness of a more permanent guestworker presence, while portraying that presence in, at best, ambivalent terms. Guestworkers became conspicuous and ubiquitous in "larger masses of men" gathered in train stations or in such situations when "little, strong men with back mustaches hauled trash cans,…[and] Mediterranean musclemen incomprehensibly shouted after young girls."[48]

In the early 1980s, when unemployment in Germany steeply rose again, additional articles appeared that reported in an increasingly alarming tone about guestworkers in the German workforce. Guestworkers became especially newsworthy when they dealt with and even succeeded in situations where Germans faltered: "According to the main branch of the German retail trade organization, for the owner of a grocery

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[47] Knut Barrey, "'Unfreundlich und nicht hilfsbereit.' Deutsche und Gastarbeiter—Eine Mainzer Studie," *FAZ*, 17 April 1974, 6.
[48] Peter Hort, "Wenn Gastarbeiter seßhaft werden. Müssen Familien draußen bleiben?" *FAZ*, 15 January 1977, 10.
Bruno Dechamps, "Die Türken sind da," *FAZ*, 21 April 1979, 1(BZ).

store to succeed, each of his employees needs to do DM 25,000 worth of business if he wants to do reasonably well. To the Turkish or Chinese grocer these narrow margins do not apply…[because] the whole family pitches in…[Thus] industry and readiness for action as well as their modesty are their strongest trump cards in the competition.[49]

Not only were guestworkers perceived as the ones who could persevere in situations that Germans were unable to master, they even succeeded when Germans made the conscious effort to hold them back: "Despite the fact that obstructions have…always been put in their way, they hold whole branches of the industry… virtually in their hands. Against this background, the Turkish cobbler, the Greek produce store, and the Yugoslavian tailor (who does alterations) are extraordinary achievements, that reveal where the foreigners' capabilities lie: in their determination, their competence and their industriousness….In regards to performance many of them are equal to Germans if not superior to them…the role of pariah…now threatens the Germans."[50]

While finding multiple examples among the various ethnicities, most concern was expressed about the largest

[49] Gottfried Eggerbauer, "Vom Wohlstand nicht nur naschen," *RM*, 29 January 1982, 11.

ethnic community in Germany, the Turks. The conservatives believed that the German environment and Germans' rejection of Turks was actually conducive to Turkish industriousness and success because (referring to Germany) "to have to live in a soulless world and to be the ones in need, has encouraged many Turks to seek self-affirmation...Turks in the Federal Republic today already have 17 billion marks at their disposal. 'One has to encourage them to invest this money in the German industry to help invigorate the German economy,'" says Zafer Ilgarb, head of the Turkish Community in Berlin.[51] Thus, at the core of German anxieties about guestworker industriousness was the recognition that guestworkers were needed to uphold a West German standard of living (inferring its connection to German identity). Their successful, and even superior, work ethic maneuvered Germans into a marginal position that seemed to deny them much control over the situation.

This work ethic was not perceived as entirely positive, however, but rather exposed German ambivalence about capitalism and the work ethic and the greed -and exhaustion - it brought out in many guestworkers, and not just Turks. "I know Sergio and his stubborn way of getting out of this

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[50] Konrad Adam, "Die Letzten könnten eines Tages die Ersten sein," *FAZ*, 7 November 1981, 1(BZ).

Germany whatever he can," an article in the FAZ opined. The article also described how "at the end of the day everybody is dead [tired] and everybody screams at everybody else and they throw around pots and hate each other in this dreadfully small apartment. At least they have earned money, and of course, [they] won't give any of it to authorities and other enemies."[52] While Germans were enjoined to work hard and save (virtuous traits in German society), this virtue, when pursued by others, seemed to be revealed as selfish (i.e. a vice). What is exposed here is a constitutive incoherence within capitalist morality, one that is, however, not recognized as such. Moreover, the view—also revealed in the quote above—that working (too) hard ruins people's private life exposes yet another incoherence within capitalism which is rarely confronted directly. Only in the context of "pitying" foreigners was it, at least partially, acknowledged.

These depictions also reveal that by the early 1980s Germans were well aware that many guestworkers had settled in Germany. They had brought their families into the country and established their own businesses. Conservatives, however, were still unwilling to acknowledge that Germany

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[51] Mascha M. Fisch, "Sokrates soll Deutscher sein," *RM*, 16 December 1983, 27.

had become an immigration country. Paradoxically, the guestworkers who had been described as extremely successful competitors in the German economy because they opened businesses with the help of their families—and had thus been held up to Germans as examples—were also perceived as the ones least likely to settle and assimilate into German culture. "The Turks flock [to Germany], trailing Tunisians and Moroccans. [These people], then, would probably be only marginally capable and willing to settle down [and integrate] in Germany."[53]

This shift in the origin of guestworkers (from a European to a non-European-based guestworker force) amplified German apprehension while continuing to fuel concerns about fears of overpopulation by what the conservatives depicted as the most undesirable groups of foreigners. Consequently, while implicitly admitting that Germany had de facto become an immigration country, and that action had to be taken to make this reality as painless as possible, fears concerning a loss of German identity were implicit in the conservative discussion as Germanness and German social structures were threatened because - no longer temporary - growing numbers of guestworkers were becoming

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[52] Horst Schötelburg, "Sagen wir doch ruhig einmal danke," *FAZ*, 13 March 1982, 2(BZ).

permanent members of German society. There developed another strand of conservative rhetoric that not only criticized liberals' (purported) integration efforts as impracticable but also emphasized guestworkers' own inability to integrate into West German culture, regardless of any efforts that would be made to aid them in the process

Guestworker reproduction as well as appropriate roles for guestworker and German women respectively gained increasing attention - as the numbers of those perceived as impossible to integrate rose - and, moreover, was considered another factor that severely threatened Germany's national and ethnic character. As early as 1975, difficulties in advancing guestworker integration were traced back to guestworker mothers who were trying to hinder their children's success of integration. "The man wants to stay, his wife does not. Therefore, she does not want to learn German and children who do not speak it either or only badly, are her security for a return home."[54] Such articles implied that guestworker wives' traditional behavior posed a threat to integration efforts, and it was proposed that integration could be improved through "provision of jobs for

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[53] Konrad Adam, "Die Letzten könnten eines Tages die Ersten sein," *FAZ* (Bilder und Zeiten), 7 November 1981, 1.
[54] Key L. Ulrich, "Die Städte und ihre Ausländer," *FAZ*, 13 January 1975, 6; also see Renate Mreschar, "Eltern ausländischer Kinder kenn ihre deutsche Umwelt kaum," *FAZ*, 19.January 1977, 6.

[foreign] women."[55] Guestworker mothers and non-working foreign women, then, were seen as the reason for failed integration attempts,[56] which is interesting when juxtaposed against the liberal discussion of the strong patriarchal structure of the guestworker household.

In the 1980s, when the number of Turkish, Tunisian and Moroccan guestworkers increased in comparison to the number of guestworkers from European countries, the focus of attention broadened to include German women and particularly their reproductivity (which, by extension, reflected German "values"). Initially, the issue of German reproductivity was not always at the center of the debate. Rather, it was implied in discussions about the threat of over-foreignization that measures had to be taken to stop the forces that were identified as rapidly changing Germany's character.

The issue was first openly discussed in 1980, in an extensive, full-page FAZ editorial by the scientist Dr. Theodor Schmidt-Kaler, called "How many foreigners Germany

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[55] "'Ohne Gastarbeiter müßten wir dicht machen,'" *FAZ*, 21 February 1975, 13.

[56] The traditional (patriarchal) structure of the guestworker family is much less seen as a specific problem. For example, as is pointed out in one article, "young foreigners stumble [*straucheln*] in [both], the border zone [*Grenzgebiet*] between the old milieu of the extended family (with its taboos) and the new one of their German friends (with other but also rigid rules)" (see Key L Ulrich, "Aufenthalt ja—lernen und arbeiten nein," *FAZ*, 1 February 1977, 5).

can live with."[57] Schmidt-Kaler differentiated between different cultural rates of reproduction (where Asian and Moroccan women had the highest level of fertility and German, Yugoslav and Greek women's were much lower) and determined their respective potential for integration into German society. He concluded that, if current developments were to continue, one had to realize that "[t]he [German] cultural tradition is disrupted, another nation with a different ethnic and spiritual substance will live in our country one day…Our problem is not the guestworker per se, but the Asians [in this group of guestworkers]." However, it is important to notice that Schmidt-Kaler did not so much blame what he called the "Asiatic races" for obliterating the German character, but that he ultimately saw the problem in German (women's) attitudes.

> However, the encouragement of our younger generation is critical. The drop in the birth rate…[is] at least partly the consequence of individual reactions to conditions that have developed in various aspects of our lives in regards to state measures, internal company behavior and so on.[58]

According to Schmidt-Kaler, the situation could be alleviated with a return to older values. As he put it,

> an immense relief of the job market is…to be expected, when young women become mothers…Having children is an existential part of humans' self-fulfillment…[and it

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Theodor Schmidt-Kaler, "Mit wievielen Fremden die Bundesrepublik leben kann," *FAZ*, 30 September 1980, 11.
[58] Ibid.

> is] a gift and responsibility...What good is the prosperity of the present generation if the identity, the perpetuation of the German nation is jeopardized?[59]

This fear of a deteriorating German identity was expressed again a year later, when the FAZ declared that "Nations [*Völker*] must remain recognizable...and...over-foreignization, especially when there is unlimited immigration, leads at some percentage point to a nation's demise."[60] That same year, a letter to the editor targeted Germans themselves for what was perceived as an immediate threat to German national identity:

> Losing control of the foreigner situation can primarily be attributed to the fact that German couples prefer consumption over children. Isn't it much more convenient, and particularly more prestigious, to spend money on cars, luxury apartments and exotic travel? On the other hand, for foreigners often with traditional family ties children are an indispensable part of their lives, and that, in my opinion, is much more human and natural.[61]

Guestworkers' reproductivity, in short, combined with their supposed retention of traditional family values, came to be a point of envy as well as extreme concern to Germans whose dwindling numbers and pleasure in consumption left them weak and vulnerable to non-German forces. As with earlier articles that highlighted guestworkers' supposed superior work ethic, this article again severely criticized Germans -

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Hans-Otto Maetzke, "Umgang mit Fremden." *FAZ*, 9 April 1981, 1.
[61] "Ausländerfeindlich (Leserbrief)." *FAZ*, 7 November 1981. 10.

this time for their consumerist attitude - and in this way too expressed ambivalence about capitalism which was seen as being at the heart of Germany's crisis.

Ultimately, the discussions surrounding issues of guestworker politics (that were intimately tied to productivity and reproductivity) also led to an examination of the relationship between these issues and Germany's National Socialist past. Unanimously, conservative journalists rejected any possibility of a continuation of Nazi sentiment within German society in general and guestworker politics in particular.[62] There existed, however, an agreement that Germans, because of their National Socialist past, were very sensitive in their dealings with foreigners and especially guestworkers.

Crucially, liberal policymakers were identified as interpreting more conservative/restrictive measures and critical voices (i.e. anti-integrationists) as National Socialist in spirit because of their racist overtones. The conservative press also at times admitted that problems surrounding guestworker integration evoked difficult connections to Germany's National Socialist past. Therefore, finding strategies regarding the guestworker problem while simultaneously discussing them in racially and politically

neutral terms, became almost impossible, a situation greatly lamented by conservatives. The attempt at debating guestworker integration measures in a neutral language, it was asserted, only led to a different form of extremism without leaving room for any middle ground. As one journalist asserted, one was caught between "'Foreigners Out!' and 'Love thy foreign fellow neighbors' and had to decide if one wanted to be a Nazi pig or a humanist."[63] It was feared that guestworkers would only take advantage of Germany's remnants of national guilt. In addition, conservatives displaced the responsibility for German unwillingness to adapt to the diversity that accompanied large guestworker communities onto the guestworkers themselves: "You [the guestworkers] are forcing your way of life on us…For the lovely [foreign] brothers and sisters are often the most radical. They have no comprehension for the diversity of our Federal Republic."

As early as 1974, Henk Ohnesorge pointed out that "Those [people] who were for the rotation method [and] sending foreigners home after a certain amount of time, and who justified these solutions with reference to foreign development aid [*Entwicklungshilfe*] through the technical

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[62] Also see *FAZ*, "Sagen wir doch ruhig einmal danke," 2(BZ); Friedrich Karl Fromm, "Gefahren kann man auch herbeireden," 27 August 1982, 1.

know-how [gained in Germany] and the confrontation with a modern industrial society; who argued this would assure that the largest possible number of Mediterranean job seekers would have the opportunity to acquire starting capital for a modest existence at home; [people who proposed these ideas] were accused of inhumanity, rigid profit orientation and - yes, even of - master race mentality."[64] This statement (like the Manousakis one in the Rheinischer Merkur) anticipates and exaggerates - and in this way attempts to preempt - the way that left-liberal critics would make a connection between the current guestworker problem and the Nazi past.

Such concerns reappeared again and even more forcefully in the early 1980s, as Hans-Jürgen Schilling wrote in the Rheinischer Merkur: "Does Auschwitz oblige us to the defiant determination to keep even those minorities who can not be integrated, since we have not even been able to protect our own Jewish citizens who, for the most part, were German-nationally minded and had been assimilated into German culture for hundred of years? Or shouldn't such horrendous memories rather help us to bring us to our senses, that nothing, nothing at all justifies our assumption that the

[63] Horst Schlötelburg, "Sagen wir doch ruhig einmal danke." *FAZ (BZ)*, 13 March 1982, 2-3.

reformed/purified [*geläuterte*] post-war ethic could set an example in the world how multi-racial co-existence can work?"[65] While Schilling tries to free the debate about guestworkers from Germany's past—even as he presents an offensively distorted vision of the Holocaust *and* seeks to instrumentalize the Holocaust himself – the Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt too voiced general fears that the intense debate in Germany about the situation of foreigners in their country could, outside of Germany, be perceived as xenophobia: "The current critical discussion about foreigners threatens to paint the Germans as racist within the country as well as outside of it."[66]

Thus, over the course of a decade, many different dynamics became evident at once in the various conservative contributions to the guestworker situation. On the one hand, conservatives praised guestworkers for their work and family ethic while paradoxically lobbying for their exclusion from German society. Part of this paradox was rooted in what the conservative press perceived as a loss of appreciation for "traditional" family values among Germans who instead embraced the questionable merits of consumer capitalism. The

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[64] Henk Ohnesorge, "Bei weniger Arbeit wird Ibrahim zum Problemfall," *Welt*, 1 November 1974, 4.
[65] Hans-Jürgen Schilling, "Warnung vor humanitären Utopien," *RM*, 9 January 1981, 3.
[66] Liselotte Funcke, "Wir haben sie doch gerufen," *DAS*, 20 June 1982, 5.

liberal tendency to taint conservative politics with the brush of Nazism was a further component embedded within the guestworker debate, and it became a site for working through a number of anxieties only indirectly related to foreign labor in the Federal Republic.

CHAPTER 2: THE LIBERALS

While liberals, like conservatives, were interested in guestworker work ethic, i.e. their life in the West German public sphere, liberals were even more concerned with the private side of guestworker life. They focused more on the relationships between guestworkers and Germans, looking at neighborhood attitudes, for example, and tended to present individual feature stories. Within such stories, liberals tried to combat racism by creating an understanding through depictions of the guestworker situation. Whereas the conservatives discussed the issue of racism only marginally or not at all to deflect attention away from or avoid association with it, liberals pointed to its ongoing pervasiveness. Moreover, liberals were extremely concerned about guestworker "self-segregation" as well as highly critical in their assessment of guestworkers' purported patriarchal lifestyle, especially as it interfered with integration attempts. Similar to the conservatives, liberals also criticized the Social Democratic Party (SPD) politics regarding guestworkers. Whereas conservatives criticized SPD strategies for supposedly being too soft on stemming the stream of guestworker relatives into Germany and too passive to effectively encourage them to return to their respective

home countries, liberals accused the SPD of focusing solely on restrictive politics that, at best, made guestworker integration difficult, and, at worst, completely undermined it.

The discussion of guestworkers in the weekly intellectual newspaper Die Zeit was not only guided by German discussions about "over-foreignization" but also by the liberals' and guestworkers' perceived fear of "forced Germanization"[67] - two extremes that were portrayed as the result of a lack of knowledge and trust on both sides of the German/guestworker divide. The liberal consensus was that both, guestworkers as well as Germans, needed to be educated about each other. Thus, Die Zeit informed the public about guestworkers in an attempt to overcome various negative stereotypes and to integrate guestworkers successfully into German society.[68] This education of both the guestworkers and the German community, however, was promoted almost exclusively from a German standpoint and thus was deeply influenced by German perception of guestworkers. Turks, in particular -seen also by liberals as the most foreign and

[67] German politicians as well as guestworkers themselves viewed schools as the primary site for such intervention. As many guestworkers still planned on returning home one day, they were especially concerned for their children and their relation to their respective home counries.
[68]. "Ausländer? Aber ick bin doch hier jewohnt," *Zeit,* 31 December 1976, 18. "Wohin mit dem vierten Stand," *Zeit,* 7 January 1977, 7. "Mustafa im Hinterzimmer," *Zeit,* 12 May 1978, 37.

exotic - were singled out and eventually came to be seen as the group needing the most attention. As a result, they also came to be seen as the general indicator for the guestworker situation.

An article in 1978 made clear that Turks had become the ultimate Other, even in the eyes of fellow guestworkers. As one journalist reported after overhearing an Italian guestworker discussing Turks:

> [T]he problem...are the Turks. One has to fear for one's life. If, by chance, you ask a Turkish woman to dance, you are going to have a knife between your ribs right away. [And what do] the Turkish men [do] in comparison to that? Always four, five girls in their arms at once. No wonder, what with their weird religion.[69]

Although Die Zeit did not generally perpetuate depictions of Turks as knife-carrying womanizers, the paper, nevertheless, consistently portrayed Turks as inherently different from Germans.

In its elaboration of guestworkers' supposedly inherent differences, Die Zeit was preoccupied with a number of themes: their class status created ignorance, a tendency toward prejudices, and language barriers; their cultural leap from the medieval period into modernity, from peace into restlessness, from poverty into consumption; their

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[69] Monika Fresenius, "Besuch im Zugabteil. Na Also!" *Zeit*, 24 February 1978.

distance to the German logical-realistic way of thinking.[70] Against these assumptions, Die Zeit made its mission promoting understanding for the Turks' inherent differences and at the same time depicting them as incapable of full integration and thus in need of the German understanding the paper set out to foster. So while promoting integration, Die Zeit at the same time nevertheless questioned its possibility. As I will show in the following discussion, *throughout* its coverage of the guestworker situation, Die Zeit positioned Germans vis-à-vis guestworkers and, in this way, implicitly criticized as well as established boundaries of German identity.

Until the mid-1970s, guestworkers in general figured only one-dimensionally in Die Zeit. By criticizing German workers' attitudes toward "menial" work—similar to portrayals of guestworkers in conservative newspapers—Die Zeit created a positive guestworker image that was tightly connected to their work identity. In an overall evaluation of the guestworkers as *workers*, they clearly came out ahead

[70] See Ruth Herrmann, "Laßt uns mitspielen," *Zeit,* 15 July 1977, 41. "Gastarbeiterkinder. Kein Platz an der Sonne," *Zeit*, 14 April 1978, 16. Jürgen Bertram, "Mustafa im Hinterzimmer," *Zeit*, 12 May 1978, 34. Gunter Hofmann, "Bürger statt Gastarbeiter. 'Einwanderungsland Bundesrepublik'?" *Zeit*, 7 September 1979.

when compared to their German colleagues.[71] It also set them apart.

Die Zeit believed that German attitudes as well as the social welfare net of the Federal Republic were the seedbeds for larger problems regarding guestworkers. Not only did guestworkers seem to be able to function well in spite of the limited means available to them, they also seemed to be settling in Germany, at times, at the cost of Germans:

> According to official observations, as a consequence of the republic's social security net guestworkers increasingly get their wives and families to come: whoever can show their five children is less in danger of losing one's job than a bachelor or even a native.[72]

As is evident in the tone and argument of these remarks, in some ways Die Zeit's view surprisingly strongly reverberates with statements made by the conservative FAZ. In short, guestworkers were successful and were lauded for their contributions to German society but only to a certain point: as long as they were only evaluated within their capacity as workers. On the other hand, they were already being shown as developing strategies (i.e. using their children) to "steal" German jobs.

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[71] also see Frank Otto, "Arbeitslos in der Fremde." *Zeit*, 25.10.74: 41. Wolfgang Hoffmann, "Draussen vor der Tur." *Zeit*, 27.8.76: 17. Ruth Herrmann, "Alle Turken sind schon da." *Zeit*, 8 September 1978, 12.
[72] Eduard Neumeier, "Raus mit dem asozialen Gesindel," *Zeit*, 24 January 1975.

Die Zeit not only was concerned with the guestworkers' professional lives but with their private lives as well. By the mid-1970s, the male-dominated image of the guestworker was giving way to a more family-oriented image. This image correlated with the increasing visibility of a guestworker second generation in the German educational system as well as in the German job market. Moreover, the new child benefit regulations in early 1974 increased the number of guestworker children who were brought into Germany. The image of an exploding Turkish guestworker population loomed large, making the issue of understanding Turks in particular for the purpose of integration that much more pressing and difficult.

As a result, both female and male guestworkers were constantly evaluated in respect to their familial roles - as mothers and fathers, wives and husbands. Foreign women's double burden of being both a mother and an employee came under scrutiny. Die Zeit criticized them for bad parenting when they neglected their children because they went to work. They were portrayed as mothers and wives first while German women were portrayed as career women which placed them on the opposite side of the same coin, as for example when Ruth Herrmann indicated in Die Zeit that, "74,3% of foreign mothers see the meaning of life…in having children.

(70,3% of German mothers reject this attitude). When it comes to earning money, the 'meaning of life' does not matter - especially for the husband, who has the say in these families."[73] Herrmann managed to criticize both, German feminists as well as guestworker patriarchalism.

In this as well as a variety of other articles, the failure of Turkish guestworkers to integrate was closely connected to their gender roles, since these roles made it difficult for them to behave in ways that would allow liberals to endorse or even approve of them. Turkish men were seen as the culprits preserving the traditional patriarchal system,[74] while women were forced into subordinate roles that restricted their liberties, especially when interacting with a non-Turkish environment. Two articles by Ruth Herrmann, written two years apart, are of special interest in this respect. They are feature stories that focused on the difficulties of members of a Turkish family coping within their German environment while

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[73] Ruth Herrmann, "Gastarbeiterkinder. Kein Platz an der Sonne," *Zeit*, 14 April 1978, 16.

[74] See also Michael Holzach, "Ausländer? Aber ick bin hier doch jewöhnt." *Zeit*, 31 December 1976, 12. In an article by Ruth Herrmann, Turkish parents are also held accountable for the problems that grew out of the increased number of children that followed their parents to Germany after 1973, blaming them for neglecting to think about their children's welfare but rather about the money involved (*Zeit*, 30 March 1979). Moreover, not only were foreign working mother evaluated for their lack of parenting skills (or the lack thereof), but they were also not discussed at all regarding their performance at work (compared to

also attempting to retain traditional values. Herrmann makes the overarching claim that these families are largely helpless, rooted in their tradition, and that especially the wife has the most difficulty and the least success negotiating her life. What is remarkable in these articles is Herrmann's condemnation of patriarchy coupled with a seemingly contradictory fascination with and delight in what she clearly sees as the antithesis of German life. Her fascination manifests itself in her detailed descriptions ranging from the decoration of the apartment to the wife's traditional garb and her utter submissiveness to the family as well as Herrmann, the visitor. Herrmann's assessment of the wife's potential is even more telling as she asserts that the wife's emancipation from her traditional life through the acceptance of a more German lifestyle is impossible. For example, Herrmann determined that for a Turkish man "to have a wife is, first and foremost, useful. Useful to bear sons. And when that is over, then for something else. Always a useful worker."[75]

Herrmann depicted the mother and wife - called Saime in the first essay, Mujgan in the second (although it is obvious that both articles deal with the same family) - in a

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German women, for example), even though many guestworker women were employed in Germany.

way that did not allow her to escape the subordinate role of "the oriental woman" despite Saime/Mujgan's best efforts. Instead of "granting" Saime/Mujgan the possiblity of future agency, Herrmann evoked sympathy for her while emphasizing her (and, by extension, all Turkish women's) "genuineness" and "naturalness" (which, in turn, gained Herrmann's admiration).[76] Rather than portraying Saime/Mujgan as a capable woman, Herrmann depicts her as a victim. This is a result of Saime/Mujgan's position in relation to German capitalist society but also because of her "backward," "pre-modern" native culture; i.e. the patriarchal system. Even though Herrmann evoked sympathy for the Turkish wife, Herrmann clearly did not perceive her as an equal. Rather than promoting an understanding for Turkish women's difficult position in Germany, Herrmann underlined the inherent differences between German and Turkish women while also offering criticism of the ways Turkish women were treated. The narration of Saime/Mujgan's life in Turkey (including her marriage at the age of fifteen), her servile attitude towards Herrmann, and her almost fatal belief that the uterus is the organ that defines a woman, all served as

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[75] Ruth Herrmann, "Immer Heimweh nach Anatolien," *Zeit,* 16 December 1977, 52.

[76] It could be inferred that Herrmann displaces her own desires and anxieties onto Saime/Mujgan: her fear that she might never be

part of Herrmann's criticisms of the system that cast Turkish women as victims.[77] This depiction further allowed Herrmann to delineate herself (read: all German women) from Saime/Mujgan (read: all Turkish women). In Herrmann's view, Saime/Mujgan was caught in the patriarchal system and seemed to have lost part of her old identity while unable to gain a new identity in Germany. In the end, however, Herrmann identified this as Saime's/Mujgan's failure to become more German. This view, then, reasserted that German women could view themselves as emancipated and "patriarchy-free" in comparsion. It also allowed German feminists to pride themselves in social gains they may or may not have achieved. Furthermore, it permits them to shift focus away from German men toward the demonization of Turkish men.

Herrmann did not approve of Saime's transformation into a more "Western" woman. Rather, she believed that "the seven years in Germany have affected Saime like dye remover affects colorful fabric."[78] This sentiment was repeated in even more explicit terms in the second article when Herrmann wrote,

> Her [Mujgan's] transformation has confused even myself. [When I had met her the first time] her head was tied into a veil...And when a male person came near her, she

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emancipated; a desire to not have to try to be the role of emancipated woman

[77] *Zeit*, 16 December 1977, 52.

[78] Ibid.

> pulled it up to her eyes…she did not sit at the table, stood waiting if Kave in tiny coffee cups had to be refilled, offered hazelnuts and apples...At the time, she had to give up…work in the café, because two men…were supposed to work in the same room [with her]. At the time, she walked four steps behind her husband.[79]

In the end, Herrmann concluded, "[Mujgan] *feels* emancipated" (emphasis mine) denying Mujgan the ultimate success and regarding Mujgan's attempts at emancipation as a failure.[80]

In the late 1970s, Die Zeit's discussion continued to show evidence of the belief that integration was unlikely. As long as guestworkers had asked for help or seemed helpless, the paper made attempts to evoke sympathy for their situation. However, once some of them became more successful and started to adopt Western capitalist values, they were depicted in a critical light. Like conservatives, Die Zeit found guestworkers' loss of "authenticity" disappointing. Any attempt that guestworkers made to negotiate German customs—which was depicted by journalists as the vacuous values of a consumer culture—was criticized. Even worse, their efforts were seen as a threat rather than a potential boon because the outcome posed a risk to the order of German society, especially as guestworker children

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[79] *Zeit*, 19 January 1979, 58.
[80] Ibid.

grew up in two cultures. A large part of this criticism grew out of the perception that Germany had become an immigration country, since many of the worker recruits from the 1950s and 1960s clearly turned out not to be "guests." This, in turn, raised a number of questions: How were guestworkers to be viewed if not as temporary migrants? What was the guestworker's "proper" place in Germany society? How was permanent guestworker settlement to be handled?

The discussions that grew out of this new realization foreshadowed the notion that solidarity between Germans and Turks would not be possible because Turks - quite literally - bought into what Die Zeit perceived as a deeply flawed consumption-oriented German value system which conservatives criticized as well.[81] In other words, Germans wanted Turks to fit in but not *really* be like them. For example, in 1984, Nina Grunenberg, a journalist for Die Zeit, observed about one of the members of a group of Turks on their way to Turkey that,

> Emina thought it important to establish that she will be able to travel with her husband in a brand new Opel Ascona for DM 35,000 this summer. Traveling by bus is a little beneath her…her surroundings apparently have not

[81] See Ruth Herrmann, "Immer Heimweh nach Anatolien," *Zeit*, 16 December 1977, 52. Ruth Herrmann, "Mit vier Söhnen und einer nützlichen Frau." *Zeit*, 19 January 1979, 58. Ruth Herrmann, "Eine Schranke ist gefallen," *Zeit*, 30 March 1979, 79. Nina Grunenberg, "Emina ist keine arme Frau," *Zeit*, 15 June 1984, 9f.

> only colored her German…but also her attitude towards property and money.[82]

About another traveler, Grunenberg remarks, "Achmed gives a somewhat nouveau-riche impression. In Belgrade, he wanted to pay for his lunch with a one-thousand-Mark bill…for Turks, this is quite extraordinary behavior.[83] Clearly, Grunenberg understood what she saw as inherent Turkish humility and simplicity to have vanished. Thus, Grunenberg was not only disappointed about the loss of what she perceived to be original Turkish qualities. Both of Grunenberg's remarks reveal her annoyance that the Turks did not remain impoverished and exploited laborers to be pitied and defended by valiant liberals. Grunenberg's observation also exposed some confusion, however, about how to feel about the supposedly good life everyone in Germany is daily encouraged to have.

Die Zeit's discussion of (inferior) German and (superior) guestworker work ethic greatly resembled conservative arguments as the paper initially evaluated German work ethic and values vis-à-vis those of the guestworkers. Germans were portrayed as "spoiled," welcoming the guestworkers as they took over the "dirty work,"—not the least because Germans had "unemployment benefits [and

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[82] Nina Grunenberg, "Emina ist keine arme Frau," *Zeit*, 15 June 1984, 9f.
[83] Ibid.

welfare] behind them," especially in contrast to Turkish migrant workers.[84]

An explicit discussion of Germans' questionable values also appeared in a letter to the editor. Its author, Hans Rosen, argued what other articles had only hinted at: that the guestworker force which was supposed to make German life better was instead corrupting Germany's value system, implicitly condoned by German actions. Rosen openly accused fellow Germans for thinking that,

> guestworker children are supposed to even out the [German] birth deficit! The thought of counteracting diminishing population with the naturalization of foreigners appears to many a very convenient solution to the problem. What kind of society is this, which sees it as normal that guestworkers take care of not only the dirty work, but also of having children? It is a society in which the basic duty of human existence, to father and raise children for the sake of our own future...is not only not upheld, but also degraded...It is a society that tries to cover up...its deep insecurity, its inferiority complex with the frenzy of production and enjoyment. It is a society that is not interested in its self-preservation because of its inferiority complex. Those who do not respect themselves are not going to make the effort to preserve their identity for the future.[85]

What Rosen feared, then, was that Germans allowed guestworkers to replenish the dwindling numbers of West German inhabitants, and while praising guestworkers' morals and adherence to traditional family values, Rosen, saw

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[84] Ruth Herrmann, "Alle Türken sind schon da." *Zeit*, 8 September 1978, 12.

Germany's moral fiber dramatically weakening to the point of possible obliteration of German identity.

The daily newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung resembled Die Zeit in its doubled-edged and implicitly racist stance towards guestworkers. There was a definite ambiguity regarding guestworkers and their integration into society. For example, the Süddeutsche envisioned "in Turkey, an army of millions of young men and women" that was just waiting to come to Germany, it pointed out how "the different groups of foreigners assiduously produce children".[86] Another article in Süddeutsche titled "In Frankfurt, the alarm is going off" also pointed to the "high birthrates of the Italian, Spanish, Yugoslav and Moroccan neighbors." [87] Paradoxically, in the same breath the paper called for an "image campaign" to counteract the racism it found so prevalent in the German press[88] and contended that

> "after five years, as experience has shown, the will [of guestworkers] prevails to stay here and to live more or less like their German colleagues. Then, wives and children are fetched or they want to have a family; then, one makes an effort to learn German and generally to try to conform socially.[89]

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[85] Hans Rosen, "Leserbrief: Gastarbeiterkinder. Dreckarbeit," *Zeit*, 16.5.80, 53.
[86] Stefan Klein, "Stichproben aus einem tristen Milieu," *SZ*, 2 June 1977, 3. See also Alexander Hoffmann, "In Frankfurt läutet die Alarmglocke," *SZ*, 2 June 1979, 9.
[87] Peter Diehl-Thiele, "Die Deutschen und ihre Gastarbeiter," *SZ*, 6 February 1975, 4.
[88] 2 June 1977, 3.
[89] 15.2.75, 4. Also see 18 August 1979.

While thus emphasizing guestworkers' growing effort to integrate, the Süddeutsche's criteria to support its belief were strongly tied to guestworkers' reproductive behavior. Citing data from the *Statistisches Landesamt* Baden Wurttemberg, the paper interpreted a later marriage age and a decline in birth rate as strong indicators that many guestworkers embraced integration.

Thus, the Süddeutsche moved back and forth between a more positive and assertive view of guestworker integration and the fear that this undertaking would not be possible. Integral to the success of integration into German society, then, was absolute assimilation. In the eyes of the Süddeutsche, this entailed absolute conformity: in terms of language in particular and social conformity in general. In the end, however, it did not show confidence that integration could be attained. Like Die Zeit, the Süddeutsche also regarded guestworkers as inherently traditional. However, it is important to note that tradition, and the need to adhere to it, are constantly being newly invented, not least in resistance to German racism. Ruth Mandel's discussion of Turkish women's headscarves provides a strong example.[90]

[90] In her article "Turkish Headscarves and the 'Foreigner Problem': Constructing Difference Through the Emblems of Identity," Ruth Mandel maintains that since most Turks are denied integration into German

Part of the skepticism about Turkish assimilation was founded in Muslim guestworkers' increasing religious fundamentalism and especially in their adherence to patriarchal family structures that compromised integration efforts and also formed a resistance to them. Of course, the fear that Muslims could not possibly integrate into German society is oddly coupled with the pre-stated anxiety that they will integrate all too well—by becoming rampant consumers and mediocre workers. In one of its feature stories about an ethnically mixed working-class neighborhood in Duisburg,[91] the Süddeutsche acknowledged the rampant racism when it cited housewife Margret Hempel: "I really don't have anything against Turks, good Lord, no, but the dirt and noise - especially in the evening, that's when they [Turks] get really lively" and when she further recalls her son urinating on a Turkish child, her only comment is "He was right."[92]

While displaying German reluctance to show understanding for the guestworkers, the paper also determined that a

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society they deploy contested symbols such as the headscarf as a means to express their resistance to German racism. Thus, the identity that has been chosen through the conscious choice of wearing the headscarf to protest German racism shows that certain identities grow out of a "particular situation,...are generated, contested, not simply decreed or enacted" (45).

[91] Duisburg has a comparatively high number of guestworkers due to the concentration of heavy industries like coal mining and steel, a sector in which the majority of guestworkers is employed.

coming together of foreigners and Germans was often hindered not only by women like Margret Hempel but also by a "Turkish husband who cannot get used to the idea that his wife does something on her own all of a sudden."[93] In the guise of education, the paper tried to inform its readership about guestworkers as it pointed to the patriarchal structure in guestworkers' lives. Not only did it talk about German women's problems in marriages with foreigners, it also depicted the problems of second generation guestworker women who were forced to adhere to a patriarchal lifestyle in which the men of the family decided over the women's lives.[94]

Rivaling this explanation was the view that foreigners' lack of familiarity with the language in particular and the German life-style in general hindered the integration process; that their difference caused rejection among Germans.

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[92] Stefan Klein, "Die 'Frontstraße von Hüttenheim," *SZ*, 10 November 1980, 3.

[93] Ibid. This situation was portrayed as similar for German women married to foreigners. "As many women in a similar situation, she [Heidi] suffers most from the sense of family that is strongly developed among Orientals." However, it is interesting to note that the head of the Bavarian center for emigrants and people working in foreign countries [*Auslandstätige*] places blame on the German women who are not interested enough to find out where their husbands come from (Sabine Reuter, "Heidi, Osman und Vorurteile," *SZ*, 13 March 1981, 3.)

[94] See Reuter, "Heidi," 3; Gerd Krönke, "Bist nie richtig weggegangen und nie richtig angekommen," *SZ*, 26 September 1981,8; Christian Schneider, "Die stummen Schaufensterpüppchen," *SZ*, 29 September 1981, 3; "Türken sollen ein Konzept vorlegen," *SZ*, 17 August 1982, 3.

> Because men often have jet-black hair and dark mustaches, because the women sometimes wear headscarves and the girls long pants under their skirts, they stand out on the street. Because they have different habits and a different religion and because their lack of knowledge of the German language makes it hard to make themselves understood, Germans perceive them as alien, sometimes even sinister.[95]

Repeatedly, then, Die Süddeutsche was caught between its seeming desire to create an understanding for guestworkers and its inability of looking beyond those differences it highlighted. In this way, it reinforced those differences and fostered stereotypes in its attempt to break with them. Thus, the paper became complicit in the perpetuation of unreflected criticism of guestworkers while securing a sense of German superiority.

In the early 1980s, as racist attacks against guestworkers, especially Turks, were on the rise, an increasing number of debates around guestworker integration targeted policies that failed to solve what had become the "guestworker problem". The weekly paper Vorwärts was more critical than most other liberal papers in its discussion of integration and German attitudes toward guestworkers. As early as December 1974, the paper had asserted that guestworkers were still needed in the German industry and that even "more important than the question of how continued

[95] *SZ*, 17 August 1982, 3.

influx [of guestworkers] could be curbed, seems to be [finding] a recipe for how integration…can be made possible or easier for those who are already here."[96] In an article called "Calculation instead of Morals and the Consequences," published in 1977, Vorwärts criticized the lack of moral and social standards in the political decisions involving the guestworkers, including suggestions such as only giving residence permits to those guestworkers who agreed to assimilate into German society.

By the 1980s, when the Süddeutsche increasingly tried to explain guestworker policies to its readers, Vorwärts pointed to the consequences of 1970s politics. Germans displayed a decided lack of interest in improving the situation of guestworkers as well as German-guestworker relations. Vorwärts found implicit evidence for its claim in the poor living conditions that guestworkers still endured[97] as well as in the explicit racism that was expressed in threats like "You can be sure that your men will be sent to the oven," alluding to the fate of Jews during the Holocaust and speaking to a lack of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.[98] Vorwärts saw part of the continuing problem in journalists'

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[96] Petra Rosenbaum, "Mitbürger statt Reservearmee," *Vorwärts*, 26 December 1974, 8).
[97] See Willi Grandrath, "Die vergessenen Mitbürger" *Vorwärts*, 22 May 1980, 20.

and politicians' creations of "*the* guestworker problem" that allowed Germans to "select their very own personal guestworker problem: the foreigners' loud children in the apartment next door, the smell of non-Germanic spices from the kebab store at the corner, overall, the many foreign faces in the big city streets of intellectual provincialism."[99] Vorwärts' awareness of guestworkers' continually bad living conditions; the pervasive racism in German dealings with guestworkers; as well as journalists' complicity in perpetuating guestworker stereotypes, marks Vorwärts as more critical than other papers are in their depictions of guestworker life and guestworker problems. One of the solutions that Vorwärts proposed was an extension of suffrage to the foreign members of German society to lift guestworkers out of their second-class position and to be able to "realize living together in a neighborly fashion through the practice of solidarity politics."[100] Such a proposal would also mean a German loss of ius sanguinis (citizenship rights based on bloodlines rather than place of birth) and thus a loss of privilege as *Germans*.

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[98] Christian Bockemühl, "Ständiger Kampf gegen Unverständnis," *Vorwärts,* 10 December 1981, 10.
[99] Horst Heinemann, "Ein Stichwort wird zum Alibi," *Vorwärts*, 25 March 1982, 23.
[100] Hermann Korte, "Ausländer waren immer da. Und waren immer schlecht dran," *Vorwärts*, 2 December 1982, 18.

The liberal weekly Das Parlament picked up on a number of the issues put forth and interpreted by Die Zeit, the Süddeutsche, and Vorwärts, and in 1981, it devoted an entire issue, containing more than 15 articles, to the topic of guestworker integration. The articles were largely dedicated to finding explanations for why integration of guestworkers in Germany was so difficult to accomplish - no liberal paper denied that - and discussions on possible approaches to alleviating the problem. Parlament determined that one of the main difficulties regarding integration stemmed from a German lack of compassion for the guestworkers. Rejection mechanisms and the Germans' "own inadequate integration abilities" were offered as explanations.[101] It was determined that "in the end, integration depends very much on the willingness of German adolescents and grown ups to talk to an Italian, a Turk or a Greek in the street," putting the onus for integration back on "the German."[102] In essence, then, what Germans were reluctant to recognize was not only the fact that "with regard to immigrants different rules apply than in regards to guests. Immigrants are fellow citizens who have to be accepted by society, not just temporarily but permanently," but also that -- for all

[101] Herbert Leuninger, " Assimilation oder eigenständige Entwicklung," *Parlament*, 29 August/5 September 1981, 2.
[102] Ibid.

intents and purposes -- guestworkers had indeed *become* fellow citizens.[103]

Parlament also found evidence and support for this reluctance to acknowledge a citizen-like status of guestworkers in German politics. Political strategies seemed to deny guestworkers a permanent status and treated them as a temporary problem that needed to be solved. As such, the paper decried the ambiguous, changing nature and unfavorable outcomes of policies when it pointed out that it was

> unacceptable that foreigners were expelled [from Germany] yesterday because they wanted to become naturalized (and, as such, violated the "interests" of a non-immigration country) only to expel them tomorrow because they did not want to be naturalized.[104]

Moreover, the paper asserted that "Shortcomings in education policies in addition to equivocally formulated foreigner policies...have, in essence, limited the appeal of West Germany to the value of the D-Mark, material things and social security."[105] Parlament clearly tried to place the responsibility for whatever unpleasant materialism guestworkers evinced on the inhospitality of German society.

Such discussions also pointed to the ambivalent nature of an understanding of integration itself. For example: Did

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[103] Fritz Franz, "Konsequenzen ziehen! Die Bundesrepublik ist ein Einwanderungsland" *Parlament,* 29 August/5 September 1981, 3.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Herbert Becher, "Arbeitsintegration ja—doch was ist in der Freizeit?" *Parlament,* 29 August/5 September 1981, 6.

integration mean participation in German consumer society? Or did it mean granting permission of suffrage for guestworkers? Or was integration even the right goal? Despite the paper's overarching tendency to criticize German racism, one contributor questioned the desirability of a swift process of assimilation while another asserted that the numbers of foreigners had reached a height that would make the success of integration itself questionable.[106] Still others were highly critical of the process of integration itself, objecting to what, some authors thought, amounted to "Germanization" - but were also quick to establish that a "Khomenization," , i.e. a fundamentalist-islamic world view, was not to be tolerated either.[107] All these arguments appeared rooted in the concern that integration would be difficult to achieve. Erika Schmidt-Petry, one of the contributors to the special issue, explained the reason for this problem when she pointed out that

> Many citizens and politicians still understand the "integration" of foreigners to mean "Germanization." In this context references to the Huguenots in Berlin are made who, after only a few generations, had become assimilated to the German life-style. Such comparisons are unsuitable. The Huguenots came from a higher social strata than the average of the population and belonged

[106] Leuninger, "Assimilation," 2.
[107] Heinz Kühn, "Angebot zur sozialen Integration. Ausländische Arbeitnehmer sind nicht nur Faktoren des Arbeitsmarkts," *Parlament*, 19 April 1980, 10.

> - like the Ruhr-area Poles - to the occidental culture group.[108]

Such an evaluation of the situation implied that the contemporary foreigners were too different to be really allowed to integrate. While complaints about the failure of integration abounded, many of these discussions revealed that there was also the fear that integration would eventually happen; that Germans really would have to share their lifestyle; and that it would be inevitably modified by those groups who were non-European, i.e. Turks. Underlying such fears was the further assumption that there existed *one* lifestyle that underwrote German society.

Thus, the majority of the articles asked for more tolerance among the Germans while pursuing the strategy of educating the readership about the differences inherent in guestworker culture. Parlament was similar to Die Zeit as it established differences, and thus hindered integration and understanding while at the same time it supposedly spoke on behalf of the foreigners in order to facilitate their acceptance in German society. Various articles testify to Parlament's ambiguous effort to redress what it perceived as the reason for all the problems: a lack of understanding of guestworker culture.

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[108] Erika Schmidt-Petry, "Brennpunkt Berlin," *Parlament*, 29 August/5

The journalists explained the problems in communication between guestworkers and Germans in terms of the guestworker's "completely different way of looking at things" which was "rooted in cultural differences."[109] Thus, to understand the problems of integration, the journalists asserted that one first had to understand this urban-rural difference. Implicit in such distinction was always the idea that the salient problems resulted out of an urban-rural polarity -- between the German industrial society and the rural origins of the guestworkers. Intimately tied to this geographical difference was an intellectual discrepancy, rooted in the anonymity inherent in the industrial German city and in stark contrast to the strong extended family ties of the agrarian society from which guestworkers had originated. Here, under a different guise, cultural difference was again traced back to traditions and family values. In his article "Deep down they have not even begun the trip to Germany," Andreas Zacharioudakis observed the situation of Greek guestworkers to explain the problem of integration the most candidly:

> Most Greek guestworkers come from agrarian regions, their ties to their home country are the least intellectualized. The intellectual/imaginary bond of intellectuals cannot be compromised through spatial

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September 1981, 8.
[109] Oezcan Saglam, "Probleme betrieblicher Interessenvertretung," *Parlament*, 29 August/5 September 1981, 6.

> distance, it remains their property. The workers, however, carry - as in a wheelbarrow - their native village always around with them. Their strong sense of home [*Heimat*], access to familiar perspectives and forms of behavior in their home town is inhibited by their spatial distance [to it] - thus, the Greek worker has to reproduce the patterns of home life, as far as he can, so that his memory does not fade, thus potentially leaving his feelings of home objectless [*gegenstandslos*] and making him feel uprooted. Deep down, he has never started his voyage to Germany and shows only reluctant willingness to learn, as he is not uncommonly convinced of his Hellenic merits...This is the difference in mentality between Greeks and Germans.[110]

Zacharioudakis was convinced about the failure of integration because the *guestworkers* were unable to bridge the mental distance between their agrarian home and their industrial workplace. Thus, they created the obstacles that would make solidarity between Germans and Greeks impossible. According to Zacharioudakis, the industrial development of a country strongly correlated to the mental faculty of its people. Ultimately, such distinction created rejection on either side because the result was that,

> [t]he German rather takes things seriously and, in general, has a very keen sense of what is or should be the rule;…the individualism, on the other hand, that is typical for the Greek also makes him tolerant of the individuality of his fellow human beings he interprets the term "rule" rather generously, often delights in its exception - for him that which is the exception can become the rule. Thus, he hates, even loathes the German ability for self-discipline, because the price

[110] Andreas Zacharioudakis, "Im Inneren haben sie die Reise nach Deutschland nie angetreten. Integrationsproblematik der Griechen in der Bundesrepublik," *Parlament*, 29 August/5 September 1981, 10.

> for it appears too high for him - his idea of humanity includes that which is only too human: weakness, even self-pity…He sees that the German does not stand in his own way and that, through his will power, he is capable of organized co-operation. In the meantime, [the Greek himself] - much more introverted - expends himself in burrowing himself in feelings and thoughts. Still, such self-discipline seems to him too inhuman. Now and then, the German industrial society seems to him as the fully developed form of this special Germanic trait; in comparison, his home, thank goodness, appears still underdeveloped, and he constantly thinks about it, otherwise he would not be able to endure it here [in Germany].[111]

Apart from Zacharioudakis' shift in characterizing Greeks alternately as individualists and part of a collective, his interpretation of the conflict reverberated strongly with the view expressed in numerous other articles: There was a recognition of guestworker difference and even admiration of it—along with a confused mix of criticism and praise for supposedly distinctive German traits—but also an ultimate opposition to integration *because* of this difference, and the ultimate conclusion that the only viable solution for guestworkers was to return to their home country.

Zacharioudakis styled himself as speaking from the guestworkers' point of view. But other contributors held similar views. For example, Parlament's contributors, German as well as foreign, saw family as one of the most important aspects of evaluating guestworker integration (a view that

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[111] Ibid.

was shared by the majority of liberal papers). The difference between German and guestworker families was related to the fact that those "foreigners who came from pre-industrial society did not experience the sharp division of life into work time and leisure time, especially those who came from Mediterranean countries."[112] Their strict family order offered "care and protection," and they knew "a stronger bond of the family, often extended family." However, "their lively social intercourse inside and outside the home, does not help to appease…natives" they were "neither able to act independently nor able to learn how to protect themselves…especially in a foreign country, in the isolation of the developed industrial society, they develop an even stronger desire for ethically and morally justified protection"; meanwhile, moreover, "the patriarchal system created many taboos…especially for women and girls." [113] These depictions vacillated between admiration and criticism. On the one hand, liberal journalists admired a concept of family that was perceived as much more grounded, traditional and extensive. Seemingly, the guestworker family had much closer ties that were able to provide a safe haven for its members *due* to the family's strict hierarchy. On the

[112] Becher, "Arbeitsintegration," 6.

other hand, liberal journalists took a critical look at the family's power to prevent integration *because* of its strictly hierarchical, patriarchal structure.

Like many of the other papers, the weekly magazine Stern did not focus much on guestworker life in Germany prior to 1980. Its coverage of guestworker issues at that time was sporadic and mostly guided by sensationalist stories involving guestworkers. Still, these stories already indicated some of the topics that were to become the articles' later focus. The earlier articles largely discussed a guestworker culture that: 1) prompted Muslim parents to send their children to a Koran school where they were taught discipline and obedience and were inculcated with radical Muslim beliefs; 2) was able to bring traffic to a stand still because "Muslims threw themselves onto the street at an intersection and prayed to Allah" after they had committed a hit and run; and 3) led a Turkish husband to murder his wife's son because "according to the Islamic tradition, it is almost unthinkable to marry a woman who is no longer a virgin." Since the child was not the husband's,

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[113] See Becher, "Arbeitsintegration," 6; Schmidt-Petry, "Brennpunkt Berlin," 8; Bernd Eichmann, "...und Aischa hat jetzt eine Bankvollmacht," *Parlament*, 29 August/5 September 1981, 10.

he killed it to escape the shame.[114] These stories did not yet have the purpose of making guestworker life more transparent to West Germans, but showed a fascination with guestworker life, thus anticipating issues about guestworker difference.

By 1980, guestworker life in Stern came more into focus and was, for instance, addressed in a series of articles called "Immigration Country Germany," that set the tone for the magazine's approach to the issue. These articles, published between March and December 1980, were centered on the problems of German/guestworker relations and geared towards the education of its readership. Specifically, each article sought to bring to light poor guestworker living conditions in a country, where the "economy need[ed] their labor, but [where they were] otherwise unwelcome guests that only caused trouble."[115] Stern emphasized that not the guestworkers were to blame for their bad situation but that Germans largely caused their condition. The magazine claimed, however, that guestworkers were unable to find quality housing "because they [the guestworkers] are foreigners and thus, according to a widespread prejudice among German landlords, [they are] dirty and messy and will

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[114]All in *Stern*: "Koranschulen im Namen Allahs," 14 July 1977; "Heimwärts bis die Achse bricht," 21 July 1977; "Ein Mord, den niemand begreift," 7 December 1978,

ruin good living space." They were further threatened by German adolescents who "did not like the fact that young Turks danced with German girls."[116] Such attitudes, Stern determined, were not only "signs of mere ignorance...but rather the product of a 'member of the master-race' mentality...that denied [foreigners] the moral right to voice equal desires and demands."[117] Like other liberal publications, the magazine saw a large part of the problem embedded in inadequate guestworker policies, which exacerbated German reactions to the guestworkers.[118] Particularly, it was the lack of government action and the government's belief that the problems (bad living-conditions, for example) were caused by the guestworkers themselves that Stern viewed as a grave error. Thus, Stern provided episodes of guestworker life that were meant to counteract negative German sentiment and aid in improving German/guestworker relations. The magazine depicted oriental markets, circumcision rituals, domestic Muslim fathers and

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[115] "Das Türken-Ghetto," 20 March 1980, 40.
[116] Ibid., 60.
[117] "Leben auf Abbruch," *Stern*, 23 October 1980, 117.
[118] Ibid., 121. Also see "Sie leben auf gepackten Koffern," *Stern*, 11 December 1980, 76-94. "Die Kinder der Gastarbeiter." *Stern*, 17 December 1980, 68.

sons,[119] and pointed out (according to Rosi Wolf-Almanasreh who had been married to a foreigner) that foreigners showed

> a high degree of community that she thought Germans had lost. Germans, at least she [Wolf-Almanasreh] has had that experience in her own family, are rarely there for each other and, on principle live in great emotional coldness.[120]

These images spoke to a fascination with oriental guestworker culture that epitomized wholesome traditional values while criticizing Germans' lack of such values.

Stern believed that Germans had discarded these kinds of deep-rooted values in favor of a goal-oriented and ambitious, yet vacuous lifestyle. Stern, much like Die Zeit and Parlament, invariably proceeded to depict Germany and the guestworker countries of origin as polar opposites. Therefore, their depictions cast major guestworker problems to be rooted in the extremes of each location: German society was anonymous, highly industrialized and consumption-oriented—the epitome of a "cold foreign country and soulless consumption," exuding the "stark light of a cold competitive society." The guestworker origins, on the other hand, such as their "familiar village" or, more strongly, "underdeveloped society" and "Anatolia's darkness"

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[119] See "Das Türken-Ghetto." *Stern*, 20.3.1980, 40-60. "Die Kinder der Gastarbeiter." *Stern*, 17.12.1980, 60-74. "Tod eines Türkenjungen." *Stern*, 24.3.1982, 272.
[120] "Ehen mit Ausländern," *Stern*, 10 December 1981, 209.

were the antithesis of that German coldness.[121] Both worlds appeared extreme and both were viewed in rather critical terms.

Apart from also demonstrating a basic German bias against guestworkers, more than any other paper Stern denounced growing German radicalism directed at guestworkers. This radicalism was expressed in public West German references to Turks as the "new Jews." Stern found ubiquitous evidence for this racial replacement in newspapers, schools, the workplace, and the soccer stadium.[122]

As previously indicated, Stern had always been critical of guestworker politics, largely because the magazine determined that political measures had not been decisive enough to improve life for guestworkers in Germany. By 1983, however, a year after the sea change in the German political landscape, (Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl was elected as chancellor) a number of Stern articles on foreigner politics severely condemned conservative CDU measures against foreigners in Germany because of the party's absolute lack

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[121] see "Die mit den Kopftüchern," *Stern*, 27 May 1982, 27. "Unsere Türken oder Nagelprobe der Toleranz," *Stern*, 6 October 1983, 3. "Die Türken-Angst," *Stern*, 3 November 1983, 63.

[122] "Terroristen: Der importierte Bürgerkrieg," *Stern*, 28 May 1981, 222. Ehen mit Ausländern," *Stern*, 10 December 1981, 208. "Gastarbeiter in Deutschland. Herzlich Willkommen," *Stern*, 24 June 1982, 13. "Wie die Juden so die Türken," *Stern*, 26 August 1982, 98. "Schulen: Gegen Türken und 'Kanaken'," *Stern*, 10 November 1983, 226; "Ausländerhaß. Den Türken 'aus Spaß' aufgehängt," *Stern*, 19 July 1984, 129.

of consideration of human aspects.[123] Noting in July 1983 that "the [political] liberality has long since gone," Stern pointed to a number of incidences that showed clear collaboration between the German government and foreign military regimes. One of the worst outcomes of this alliance was the suicide of Cemal Altun, an asylum seeker who was a member of the Revolutionary Student Alliance and was pursued by the Turkish police after a military coup. However,

> he absolutely had to go back to Turkey. Behind this [decision] was the new minister of the interior in Bonn, Friedrich Zimmermann. [Zimmermann] had been...to Ankara and, with the help of the military regime, had scouted out how the Federal Republic could master its Turkish plague. Because, as Zimmermann thought, who is fond of offensive comparisons, "it's just like lead-free gasoline - we have to start somewhere." It would be to the minister's taste if the environmental problem "Turks," could be solved by decreasing their number by 20,000 every year.[124]

Here, Stern exposed the racist attitude inherent in some conservative visions on solving the guestworker problem that had developed into a Turk problem.

Stern itself was ambivalent in its treatment of guestworkers. The magazine attacked the blatantly racist elements in conservative dealings with guestworkers, while itself offering oriental images of guestworker culture

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[123] "Asylrecht. Angst vor Knast und Folter," *Stern*, 7 July 1983, 118. "Ausländer. Rausschmiß nach 22 Jahren," *Stern*, 21 July 1983, 112. "Ende des Rechtswegs - Weshalb der Turke Cemal Altun starb," *Stern*, 8 September 1983, 25. "Asylbewerber in Deutschland. Wo die Menschenwürde nichts mehr gilt," *Stern*, 29 September 1983, 71.

admiringly. However, Stern also condemned the patriarchal elements it saw within guestworker culture and the problems inherently embedded in it. The patriarchal system stood in the way of integration in that it always subordinated women and children. It interfered with guestworker women's life in public because if they took up work outside the house they gained "economic independence that translated into self-confidence, which, in turn, threatened the dominant role of the husband."[125] Stern further maintained that in the name of patriarchy, not only women but also their children -- daughters, in particular -- were kept away from life outside the home as much as possible, denying them much freedom in the name of religion and, thus, perpetuated the patterns of failed integration for generations to come.[126]

Stern's ambivalence about guestworkers reached its peak in 1983 when the magazine published a 23-page illustrated essay on the history of the Turks, called "The Turkish Fear: For 1000 years, a nation has sought its way westward."[127] In its opening paragraph, Stern asserted that "The occident has always been a temptation for the Turks. However, their

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[124] "Ende eines Rechtswegs," 25.
[125] "Die Kinder der Gastarbeiter," *Stern*, 17 December 1980, 70.
[126][126] "Die Kinder der Gastarbeiter," *Stern*, 17 December 1980, 72; "Ein deutsches Dorf kämpft um seine Türken," *Stern*, 14 May 1981, 203-204; "Tod eines Türkenjungen," *Stern*, 24 March 1982, 276; "Die mit den Kopftüchern," *Stern*, 27 May 1982, 28-29; "Die Türken-Angst," *Stern*, 3

oriental spirit still dominates their culture."[128] With this statement as the main argument of the article, Stern proceeded to walk its reader through the tumultuous history of the Ottoman Empire and, subsequently, Turkey. Spanning almost a millenium, Stern's article emphasized that, in the pursuit of greatness and progress, its pursuers repeatedly resorted to brute force, as in the case of the Ottomans, who "feel it to be their mission to spread Islam through a world of non-believers. [However,] they do not want to convert like Christian missionaries. They want to conquer and subjugate to disseminate the power of the prophet."[129] The problematic parallels are obvious, the juxtaposition of gentle Western world tradition with brutal Oriental measures left unquestioned. Stern further asserted that "[t]he Turkish state needs war because only then is it able to function. It needs new land to exploit and humans to extort money from them, so that the military and the state machine can be paid."[130] Turkey's tragedy, or so it was portrayed, was the fact that in all its attempts to move forward, it actually remained in its medieval mindset, where, for example, and presented as the eptome of backwardness, "the

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November 1983, 63. "'Du bringst Schande über uns,'" *Stern*, 23 February 1984, 212.
[127] "Die Türken-Angst," 40-63.
[128] Ibid., 40.
[129] Ibid., 56.

woman...is the man's slave... this happens in [contemporary] Turkey and is still being hushed up in the middle of the 20th century."[131] Stern concluded that Turkey had "the spirit of the Orient, the money from the Occident" and was thus "a nation [that] has searched and still searches desperately for its identity."[132] Clearly, Stern saw the Turks' attempt to "westernize" as futile because they were always still guided by and unable to escape the Orient. Regardless of which viewpoint Stern advanced (favorable or unfavorable), guestworker culture always already stood in opposition to and, as such, was unable to gain a place in German culture.

Der Spiegel, the leading West German weekly political magazine, was much less preoccupied with the history of guestworkers and their culture as a way of explaining guestworkers' position in Germany. Neither did the magazine publish individual features in order to acquaint the readership with guestworker difference. Instead, most of its articles were centered around guestworker politics. The magazine maintained that regulations like the adjustment of child benefits for children of guestworkers who lived outside of Germany had created unfavorable conditions for

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[130] Ibid., 58.
[131] Ibid., 63.
[132] Ibid.

the guestworker families because "guestworkers are worse off than before and [the cutting of child benefits] contradicts the instructions of parliament for the preservation of assets."[133] Furthermore, the magazine argued that: 1) despite regulations like the recruitment ban and the economic crisis, an increasing number of foreigners continued to join their relatives in Germany; 2) the high unemployment rate in branches of the industry where a high number of foreigners were employed pushed guestworkers' family members into illegality; and 3) administrative regulations like the recruitment ban, a ban on moving into parts of the city with a certain guestworker density [*Zuzugssperre*] as well as a ban on guestworker employment [*Beschäftigungssperre*] did not aid in solving the problem but rather fueled it.[134] In Der Spiegel's opinion, such measures were actually responsible for the increasing number of illegals that attempted to avoid the regulations set by the government. It also opened the doors to corruption within German bureaucracy, which exacerbated the problem.[135] On the other end, in Turkey, for example, it caused young Turks to take advantage of the once-in-a-lifetime adjustment of their birth-certificates to

[133] "Billige Kinder," *Spiegel*, 41/1974, 33.
[134] "Ich hier Bruder besuchen," *Spiegel*, 23/1975:40.
[135] "Gastarbeiter. Aha, unser Mann," *Spiegel*, 12/75, 74-76.

have their age changed and, thus, to be able to enter the country "legally."[136]

Still, Der Spiegel regarded the Janus-faced SPD guestworker politics of labor secretary Walter Arendt as the biggest problem. For example, Arendt proclaimed that "'We refuse to end the stay of guestworkers compulsorily.'" Der Spiegel, however, pointed out that "[t]hose affected [by these policies] assessed their situation much differently" and, reported that nationwide, foreigners were driven out of their jobs and deported.[137] A year later, Der Spiegel saw its assessment justified because

> ever more forcefully do West German authorities push foreigners out of the labor market and out of the country. Counseling positions are cut, rights cleverly withheld. Discretionary powers extended. In doing so, the authorities often refer to ministerial instructions and now severely reinforce the [exclusionary] policies regarding foreigners.[138]

Thus, it was not only discriminatory policies but the discrepancy that existed between official political credos and the actual measures taken that accounted for the problems visible in Germany.

In an article about foreign entrepreneurs in Germany, Der Spiegel further underscored its view that Germans themselves

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[136] Gastarbeiter. Gut gemeint," *Spiegel*, 23 March 1981, 82-84.
[137] "Gastarbeiter. Dicke Luft," *Spiegel*, 18/1975, 50.
[138] "Ausländer: Abgeschoben, fortgejagt," *Spiegel*, 23-1976, 74.

had to be held responsible for what they perceived as a guestworker problem.

> Foreigners push into a gap in the market that discriminating [*anspruchsvolle*] Germans have left behind…Thus, ever more often, Turks have taken over the mom-and-pop shops. They guarantee the supply, also for German neighborhoods, of rolls and milk - and, in clumsy German, even of gossip. They open tailor shops for altering clothes, often viewed as an inferior trade by German master craftsmen, and save the pub on the corner from being transformed into a drinks cash and carry. Few of them ever make it big.[139]

Such a view very much echoed Die Zeit in its notion that guestworkers were the ones who had to keep German society together; paradoxically, had to keep it German. What was missing from Der Spiegel's report was the anxiety that was clearly detectable in other publications. For Der Spiegel, then, politics forged the situation that made it necessary to create an understanding for guestworkers. Thus, the problem of integration did not so much originate in difference but rather in the discrepancy between official policies and the way they were executed.

Looking at the ways in which the liberal publications dealt with guestworkers, one can see that the coverage and characterization of the guestworker situation became much more focused and critical in the early 1980s. Journalists saw a need for an explanation of the issue and felt

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[139] "Gastarbeiter. Fatales P." *Spiegel*, 38/1977, 87-88.

compelled to contribute to the education of the German public. In doing so, each paper evaluated the German-guestworker relationship and based their evaluation on a clash of opposites, and, in the process—with the exception of Der Spiegel—aided in perpetuating that which was perceived as the inherent difference of guestworkers and thus in some ways also constructed that difference.

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Important points of convergence existed between liberal and conservative arguments. For example, just like the conservatives, liberals also engaged in discussions of and praise for guestworkers' work ethic. Moreover, guestworkers' (at least initial) frugality and lack of consumption also ranked high in the liberals' minds. Despite liberals' positioning themselves opposite of conservatives' exclusionary (and racist) politics, and thus styling themselves as the tolerant group that wanted to further guestworker integration, many liberals themselves were greatly responsible for the intensification of images of Turks as the other. Therefore, although they said they wanted integration they at the same time ultimately facilitated rejection because they saw the Turks as too different.

In their self-designated antiracist debate about the guestworker question, both, liberals and conservatives, performed incredible ideological labor to perpetuate the German/foreign dichotomy, trying to keep these inherently unstable categories in place. Because German post-war identity was built upon the country's thriving economy, its continuing growth was vital for German self-esteem. The fact that foreign workers were needed to uphold prosperity already complicated and thus questioned categories of German and Other. It also raised a host of questions for Germans, not the least of which were in regards to German (re)productivity.

After 1973, when the economy experienced a severe downturn, these issues moved into the foreground, and rather than fulfilling their initial purpose of strengthening German identity through a superior economy, the presence of guestworkers introduced a host of questions that went beyond concerns about the development of Turkish ghettoes and a permanent foreign underclass. The contortions of white self-definition of an oppressed people turned out ironically to be truer than the commentators thought. In a constant attempt to circumscribe Germanness, seemingly unrelated issues like German feminism and sexuality were embedded in discussions about guestworker achievements in an unfriendly

environment. Persistently, then, the guestworker debate revealed how tenuous and fluid German identity was and how tenaciously both, liberals and conservatives, worked at not letting it appear this way.

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