

*Summaries**

Klaus-Jürgen Nagel

The »multicultural society« and state interventionist policy in the city of Barcelona between the 1888 and 1929 World Exhibitions

»Multicultural society«, a term which originated in England, is an inadequate description of the complex co-existence of different cultures in Barcelona in the years 1888 to 1929. On the one hand, the public domain was no longer completely dominated by Spanish culture. On the other hand, the private domain was undergoing an opposing process: at least until massive immigration started during World War I, Spanish native speakers were swiftly integrated into their Catalan surroundings and after 1918 the danger of ghettos forming only increased slowly. Contacts between the largely proletarian newcomers and Catalans of various social strata were facilitated by several factors: Barcelona's economic structure was marked by many small and medium-sized businesses, the class barriers surrounding the proletariat were weak for a long time, and most city quarters were socially heterogeneous. Professional and leisure organizations enlivened Catalan »civil society«, there was no really separate proletarian counter-culture, and labour unions kept their distance from the national question. This explains the marked presence of Catalan ideological elements among many workers. However, this presence was only made possible by the failure of the interventionist policy of the state. Neither the implementation of universal compulsory schooling and military service nor the social welfare and housing benefit policies were successful enough to encourage local loyalty to the state. In Catalonia, representatives of the state were not the factory inspectors, the mediators in labour conflicts or the teachers, but the captain-general and the civil governor.

Ludger Mees

The Basque Labyrinth

Social historical implications, cultural environment and political articulation of Basque nationalism 1876–1937

The terms »labyrinth« has been used on various occasions to describe the Basque region, its history and politics due to the region's inscrutable complexity. Without denying the current, often extremely complicated problems in the field of culture, politics and economics,

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which are further aggravated by terrorism, this paper attempts to qualify the thesis of the »Labyrinth«. By analyzing the historical evolution of Basque nationalism up to Francoism and carefully tracing its social historical implications, its cultural environment and its political articulation the paper seeks, on the one hand, to establish a better understanding of the causes of the current Basque national conflict while, on the other hand, making a contribution to international comparative research on nationalism. The latter has acquired a new relevance through the resurgence of East European nationalisms in the wake of »perestroika« and through the debate on social coexistence of various social and ethnic groups and cultures in a »multicultural society«.

The rise of Basque nationalism is understood here as a consequence of the failure of Spanish nation-building. A major prerequisite for its genesis was the radical socio-economic modernization process which began in the last third of the 19th century and within a few years led to a complete restructuring of Basque society. However, the rapid growth of the Basque nationalist movement cannot be understood without considering the historical experience of Basque self-rule gained until the end of the second Carlist War and the point of reference of Basque cultural particularism (above all the language) which the nationalists have taken full advantage of. The relative minority situation of the nationalists in the cultural and political sphere as well as the often repressive exclusionist strategy pursued by Spanish governments of various political colours on the one hand reinforced the inner cohesion of Sabino Arana's supporters while on the other hand strengthening the movement's radical nationalist, separatist wing. This internal cohesion of the Basque nationalists is striking in comparison with, say, the Catalan nationalist movement and has only been endangered when severe political crises coincided with international class conflicts (1921) or in situations of general political and social upheaval (1930). Other factors that make it clear why the cross-class Basque nationalist movement has such organizational stability are the integrating effect of Catholicism's ideological hold and the fact that – due to the enormous differences between the nationalist and the non-nationalist community – potential splitters can hardly expect any support from the other camp.

The clear strengthening of the nationalists in the post-Franco era, the increasing rejection of a role as »victims« and finally the joint alliance of all Basque, nationalist and non-nationalist democrats against terrorism has brought both communities closer together and smoothed the way for a normalization of Basque society, for straightening out and signposting the Basque »labyrinth«.

Detlef Schmiechen-Ackermann

Solidarity-based representation of interests and cultural self-assertion

»Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie« (ZZP – Polish Professional Association) and the establishment of a trade union organization in the Hanover cement industry before 1914

The village of Misburg situated outside the gates of Hanover developed from 1880 onwards into a site of major industry which initially employed almost exclusively Polish migrant workers. In response to the pressure towards Germanization exerted by the state and the Catholic Church, the bonds between Poles took on a special intensity within their own social milieu in the church-social clubs and in the Polish Professional Association, the ZZP. At the same time, the »national-Polish movement« remained largely insignificant in the political sphere (Polenpartei and »Sokol«). After the Free and Christian trade unions had failed in their attempt to organize the Polish cement workers in trade unions, Misburg developed into the centre of ZZP activities in the Hanover region from 1906. This was a nu-

merically strong Polish colony living closely together in a small area within a very homogeneous social frame of reference as a result of the working conditions in the dominant local cement industry. The Polish trade union officials were successful not only because they could respond to the need for cultural self-assertion and maintenance of traditional values, but also because they stood up for concrete improvements in working conditions and thus offered the migrants a trade union perspective geared to their own social environment. Despite being excluded culturally, they were interested from the beginning in cooperating with the German trade unions. A comparison with other regions shows that the Polish Professional Association was more successful in places where the demographic, social and political structures had first developed in the framework of the urbanization process of the high period of industrialization than in places where the workers' proletarian milieu had already evolved and the Social Democratic labour movement had achieved a dominant position.

Witold Molik

Assimilation of the Polish intelligentsia in the Prussian area of partition through education during 1871–1914

In the Prussian area of partitioned Poland, less favorable conditions existed for educating Polish intellectuals than in the Kingdom of Poland or in Galicia. Poles had extremely limited access here to posts in the state administration, judiciary and school system. Before the outbreak of World War I, the Polish intelligentsia numbered 4,000 in the Grandduchy of Posen (Poznan) and only 1,500 persons in Western Prussia. Roman Catholic clergymen, medical practitioners, lawyers and journalists formed the core of this social stratum.

Members of the Polish intelligentsia underwent processes of assimilation and, even more frequently, of acculturation. The school system played a leading role in these processes. Many who would later be reckoned among the Polish intelligentsia had the longest exposure to the influences of the school system since they generally spent several years at German universities after attending primary school and Prussian »Gymnasium« (grammar-level) or »Realschule« secondary schools. It is difficult to determine the extent to which Poles educated at German schools and universities became Germanized. It can generally be said that it was rarer for ex-Polish grammar school pupils and university students to be completely denationalized in the Grandduchy of Posen and Western Prussia than in Eastern Prussia and Upper Silesia. However, a further result of attending German high schools and colleges was that nearly all Polish intellectuals living in the Prussian area of partition were subject to acculturation. Not infrequently, they had a better command of the conqueror's language than of their mother tongue and took over many German customs, modes of behaviour and thinking patterns. On the other hand, many partly or completely acculturated Poles cemented their national awareness and patriotic sentiments while teaching and studying at German universities.

Stefan Plaggenborg

Popular religiosity and anti-religious propaganda in the early Soviet Union

The paper proceeds from the basic assumption that the anti-religious propaganda disseminated between 1918 and 1919 cannot be explained adequately without considering the po-

pular religious background. It therefore seeks to describe this aspect of spiritual restructuring in the population in terms of the difficulties it encountered, instead of following the hitherto customary portrayal as a straightforward, purposeful policy that was laid down from the outset by the Bolsheviks and implemented in the face of any resistance. The paper starts by sketching the development of popular religious feeling from the pre-revolutionary era until the late 1920s. The main conclusion is that the strongest trends towards secularization existed in industrial centers among male workers, as well as among juveniles. It is not possible to speak of a general secularization of Soviet society. Conversion proved to be a determining factor which particularly benefitted the Baptists and Evangelical Christians, with the Russian sects profiting less. This was frequently due to the favorable economic circumstances of religious communities which were still supported by the state. On the whole, the religious situation became more complicated after the Orthodox Church had been pruned back. The organized »Godless« movement started faltering at this point because it now faced a varying, more subtle spectrum of popular religiosity. Apart from organizational problems (not examined here), a lack of clear concepts and internal programmatic struggles hampered anti-religious (not anti-clerical!) propaganda. Uncontrolled anti-religious carnivals, soft proselytizing and a class-struggle orientation combined to create harmful repercussions. Emelyan Yaroslavsky forced the movement onto a moderate course in 1926, and it fell apart again in 1929. Only temporarily silenced, the radicals gained the upper hand at the second congress of the society of the now »militant Godless« and adopted existing slogans for foe-bashing. The moderate line appears to have foundered through its own disorganization and chronic lack of success. Yaroslavsky, their representative, accommodated to the new situation. Religious plurality came to an end and was followed by homogenization and repression. The paper concludes with a wider historical comparison of anti-religious movements and state policies. The carnivals show parallels with the de-Christianization of the French Revolution period. The official line was very similar to the rationalizing reforms carried out under Austrian Hapsburg Emperor Joseph II, despite the great differences in attitudes towards religion. This was explained by the historically dislocated role of the Bolshevik enlighteners. A final glance at the contents of anti-religious propaganda prompts interest in a more detailed examination of the pseudo-religious sacralization of the regime from this perspective.

Frieder Ludwig

The discovery of the black churches

African and Afro-Caribbean church communities in England in the post-war period

African and Afro-Caribbean church communities have spread rapidly in England in the post-war period. It is to be assumed that today more than 100,000 people belong to independent black churches. This means that between 15 and 20 % of the black population of Great Britain come together in these churches and there is no other institution in which immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean are anywhere nearly so well represented. The existence of these strange and different Christian communities was ignored in England for a long time. Meetings and dialogue only started in the mid-seventies and the African and Afro-Caribbean church communities have been integrated into the ecumenical movement and increasingly recognized as representatives of the coloured minority.

This process is determined by internal and external factors. On the one hand, as the number of members grew, so the structure of these churches changed. The example of the Cherubim & Seraphim church from Nigeria shows how once small prayer circles developed

into larger self-assured organizations which sought cooperation with British institutions. On the other hand, the attitude of the British public to these churches also changed. One important factor in the start of the dialogue was the »discovery« of black churches by academics whose writings – especially those produced in Birmingham – endeavoured to reach a deeper understanding. Birmingham also saw the beginnings of practical cooperation with the founding of the »Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership«, which became the model for the establishment of similar centres in London. At the same time, the British Council of Churches opened up. The Cherubim & Seraphim church was accepted in 1976 as an »associate member«; it was the first African church to gain admittance.

As a result black churches underwent further change. They have become more self-assured and they are also increasingly exercising social responsibility. They now have real influence, which they can use to articulate the interests of the black population in Great Britain and thus also to contribute to the processes of change in British institutions.

Lothar Kettenacker

The Empire strikes back: Coloured minorities in Great Britain

The article essentially deals with the migratory movement from the New Commonwealth to Great Britain that took place on a larger scale after 1948. While the countries of white settlement (the dominions) cut back on immigration from the colonies at an early stage, the mother country maintained an open-house policy for a long time. Only when the flow of immigrants from the Caribbean and from the Indian subcontinent continued to swell did the British government decide (in 1962) to introduce a quota system geared to the economy's labour requirements. Further restrictions followed until a new nationality law was passed in 1981, which was clearly designed to prevent an uncontrolled influx from the crown colony of Hong Kong. At the same time the government tried to stem the growing tide of racism with legal measures. This meant giving the issue of equality before the law priority above the social integration of ethnic minorities.

The social disadvantages are seen above all on the labour market, in the education system and in the housing sector. Especially the young people of Afro-Caribbean origin regard the future as bleak, with no real prospects and continuous police harassment. In the 1980s their pent-up frustrations exploded on a number of occasions in serious riots, sometimes resembling civil-war. The Thatcher government presented the events as a public order problem. However, experts agreed that the protests had social dimensions.

The author concludes by arguing that it is not enough to ensure formal legal equality if there is no serious effort to ensure the social integration of coloured citizens – and this entails an awareness of the need for positive discrimination.

Felicitas von Aretin

The schools policy in Alsace-Lorraine during the Kulturkampf (1872–1873)

The Kulturkampf in Alsace-Lorraine provides an exemplary demonstration of Bismarck's attitude to the Catholic Church. The Imperial Chancellor wanted to put the Catholic Church in its place without fundamentally questioning its influence in schools. The Church did, however, have to accept his basic idea of the separation of State and the Church in the schools system. But the degree of actual agreement demanded by Bismarck depended on political and pragmatic considerations.

Bismarck found in Alsace-Lorraine a good basis for his goal of separating the sphere of influence of the state and the church. This helps to explain the mild form taken by the *Kulturkampf* in Alsace-Lorraine. French law relating to both the church and schools as well as the special constitutional position of Alsace-Lorraine had laid down the supremacy of the state in many areas of public life.

The differing actions of the administration in the eastern provinces and in Alsace-Lorraine point to the different attitude which Bismarck and the civil servants showed towards the anti-German sentiment among the Catholic clergy in the East and in Alsace-Lorraine. This attitude had its roots in the differing assessments of Polish and French national feeling.

Although the *Kulturkampf* took a moderate course in Alsace-Lorraine, the enactment of the law on the supervision of schools led to the politicization and agitation of wide sectors of the Catholic population. In this situation the Church was able to offer scope and opportunity for people to feel Catholic and French.

René Del Fabbro

Migrant workers or immigrants?

Italian migrant workers in Wilhelminian society

Problems relating to foreign workers in the German empire have been examined particularly closely in the research on historical migration completed over the last decade. However, the object of study was almost exclusively the Polish seasonal workers who mostly found employment on farms East of the Elbe. This focus on the group of Polish migrant workers favoured the development of a historiographical picture that virtually rules out the possibility of immigrants integrating successfully into the society of the empire. However, an exact quantitative and qualitative examination of the almost unknown Italian migration to Germany proves that this picture did not apply to all nationalities. As time progressed, the group of Italians showed clear tendencies towards settling down in the host country. The paper investigates the transition from migrant worker to immigrant on the basis of ten selected areas:

1. Numbers involved and seasonal fluctuation – 2. Regional distribution – 3. Horizontal mobility – 4. Balance of the sexes and family background – 5. Age structure – 6. Occupational mobility – 7. Social mobility – 8. Trade union organization – 9. Clubs, organizations and societies – 10. Stabilization, assimilation and integration.

Luigi Cajani / Brunello Mantelli

Working in Germany

The Italians – from the Axis to the European Community

Emigration has been a constant factor throughout modern Italian history. The country's industrial development following the last decade of the 19th century did not halt the stream of emigrants. Instead, the outcome was extremely uneven growth. Its hallmark was the side-by-side emergence of strongly industrialized areas and weak regions, the latter producing large numbers of emigrants. The Italian model of development consequently included a juxtaposition of industrialization with emigration, which headed overseas as well as towards other European countries.

The case of Germany is highly interesting in this context because it has a number of special aspects. This development started when the fascist regime, previously opposed to emigration for reasons of political image, changed its attitude during the general reorientation of Italo-German relations under the »Axis« (1936). Then, the emigration of Italian workers to Germany during World War II was overtaken by the large-scale raids on human resources after the Italian capitulation (September 8, 1943). The victims were Italian prisoners of war, civilians seized in search operations and deported political prisoners and Jews. In this manner, Italians entered the slave labor army in Germany. Finally, the establishment of the Common Market turned post-war Germany into the main European target of the Italian emigration movement.

Günther Schultze

Is the Federal Republic of Germany on its way to a multicultural society?

The process of integration of young Greeks and first and second-generation Turks

Germany has become a country for immigrants. The migration of foreign workers and their dependents from Mediterranean countries to Germany is a prime example of how the intentional action of individuals can lead to unintentional consequences and social facts. Germany's contradictory policy towards foreigners does not take into account the de facto existence of an immigration situation and continues to exclude »foreigners« from important social decision-making processes.

On the basis of the results of two empirical research projects on the lives of first and second-generation Turkish immigrants and young Greeks between the ages of 15 and 24, the stage reached in the process of their integration into our society is described and analyzed. One important result of this study is that these immigrants do not form a homogenous group, but display very diverse behaviour patterns and attitudes. In the second and third generations of immigrants, a distinction can be made, for example, between the group of »migration losers«, who have left school with few or no qualifications and, like their fathers and mothers, occupy poorly paid, insecure jobs, and the »migration winners«, who did better at school and have been able to reach higher positions at work.

The concept of the »multi-cultural society« has replaced the idea of »integration«, which in the past dominated public and academic debate on issues relating to foreigners. The concept of the multi-cultural society takes on ideological functions when the social coexistence of different nationalities and ethnic groups is defined exclusively as a cultural problem. In fact, the primary goal must be to bring about occupational, social and political equality for immigrants living in Germany for long periods.

Peter Heine

Yezidi in the Lower Rhine region

A Kurdish minority torn between tradition and the modern world

The Yezidi form a religious minority in parts of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and the former Soviet Union. Both in their religious ideas and their social structure, they differ considerably from neighboring ethnic groups. Since their religion is not among those tolerated by Islam, they have always had to suffer persecution by Islamic majorities. In modern Turkey especially, their situation has become even more difficult because they have remained neutral in the

military clashes between Kurdish nationalists and the Turkish central government, which has been regarded by both sides as an unfriendly act. Their legal insecurity and the frequently successful attempts by large landowners to seize Yezidi land have forced large groups of this minority to emigrate.

Quite a large group of Yezidi ended up in Germany, where they settled mainly in Berlin, Saarland and in the Lower Rhine region of North-Rhine Westphalia. Severe ruptures arose within the Yezidi group living in Cleves, resulting among other things in German court proceedings. It has thus become apparent that these Yezidi are finding it difficult to find their way in their new social and legal situation. They are torn between clinging to traditional notions and values, which are now upheld mainly by the older women, and adapting to majorities.

Peter Becker

Marginal groups as viewed by the police

An attempt to explain the perspective of the »eye of experience«

In the 19th century, the police was concerned as far as possible with the preventive elimination of threats to the safety of persons and property. To this end, police officials required appropriate stereotypes to single out dangerous individuals before they could commit crimes. Yet making preventive counteraction of crime, an objective poses major difficulties in police work, especially in a multi-cultural society. In trying to identify potential criminals, concepts of normality (as a starting point for distinguishing the »suspicious« from the »normal«) must be used which distinguish between particular classes and cultures. In seeking to narrow down the ideal of normality, police officials had only their own experience and professional knowledge to rely on – i.e., »eye of experience«. This guaranteed an efficient reduction of complexities in everyday police work, ensuring a mode of operation that was flexible but still rule-bound. However, an analysis of contemporary police handbooks puts a new light on the »eye of experience«. For, in trying to (re)construct the conditions of criminal life, police investigators did not interpret certain socially specific deviation from bourgeois behavioural standards as an aspect of a different, equally justified way of life; rather, they were seen as hallmarks of the »dangerous classes«. Social problems were thus reinterpreted as moral ones and culpable actions were ascribed to the persons involved. Police practitioners also believed that criminal actions were not only caused by voluntary moral aberrations. Especially when confronted with the descent of »decent« people into criminality, police thought that deviant action also resulted from external influences. This turned transgressions of the borderline between respectable bourgeois society and criminality into a problem of external »stimulation«, and thus into a problem of social order that could be fought with police measures.