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TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF MIGRATION

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham,
Department of Anthropology,

Durham, 1982.



24 MAY 1984

"We called for workers and there came human beings."

Max Frisch.

This is a study of some of those who came.

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To Oya and Barış

both of whom had to endure "a migrant's
existence" during our prolonged stay in
England.

ABSTRACT

TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF MIGRATION

BY A.E. YÜCEL

* *

This is a study of the process of labour migration from Turkey to the Federal Republic of Germany. It is based on fieldwork carried out in the FRG. A major claim is made about methods, namely that in the study of urban societies, participant observation among a small group - the traditional approach of anthropology - can be fruitfully supplemented by a larger survey based on questionnaire interviews. This is the approach of this study. At the core of it is a survey of 267 migrants in different towns and industries in the FRG. Migration is understood as a dynamic social process and the international labour migration emerges as an aspect of differential regional development. Within this framework migrants are seen as decisionmaking individuals, negotiating two systems with conflicting expectations and pressures, those of Turkey and Germany. Their decisions are made with the help of their social networks which are based on kin, fellow-countrymen and friends.

Empirically this thesis shows that labour migration is very selective and highly organized. Migrants work in low-skill, manual, low status positions that are left open by the indigenous population. Their positions in the labour and housing markets reflect their marginal positions and vulnerability. There is variation, however, within the migrant population. The variation appears as a result of differences in migrant ideology and such differences determine the migrants' plans for the future and their return to Turkey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are countless persons and organizations whose assistance and generosity with their time and resources made this research possible.

I am grateful to the Turkish Ministry of Education for supporting me with a grant for six years for without that I could never have attempted post-graduate education in England and later research in Germany.

During the course of my fieldwork many people in Turkey and Germany have assisted me in my efforts to gather information. Mr. Ilhan Gulsun of the Ministry of Labour in Ankara was particularly helpful in securing my access to the Ministry's documents and I would like to thank him.

In the FRG, I would like to thank Dr. K. Schade and Herr R. Jablonski of the Internationaler Bund fur Sozialarbeit - Jugendsozialwerk for helping me gain access to the workers' hostels in Russelsheim; members of the Turkish Consulates in various cities, and our friends, Erkan and Gul, who first welcomed us into their home and put us in touch with people who proved most helpful, and my brother, Erhan, who helped with some of the interviews in the Opel and Dunlop hostels.

At the University of Durham, in the Department of Anthropology I would like to thank Professor Eric Sunderland, who always made himself available to help and encourage, and Professor Norman Long, and for initial suggestions I would like to mention Dr. W.D. Wilder. I would also like to

thank the staff of the Middle East Centre and the Oriental Library, with special thanks to Mrs. June Nelson who willingly lent her typewriter for this thesis and this has been greatly appreciated. At the School of Oriental Studies I would like to say thank you to Mr. John Norton who has always been most helpful, and to Dr. Bill Hale in the Department of Politics.

I am most grateful to my friend, Brigid O'Connor, for typing this thesis, to Diana Williamson, who proof read some of the chapters very willingly, and to other friends who came in towards the end and helped me greatly by collating.

Without the help and advice and encouragement of Pandelis Glavanis and Bill Williamson this study would doubtless never have taken on the final shape it did. My good friend Pandelis read various chapters and gave his advice and encouragement and, in addition, has been most helpful in many other ways too numerous to mention. Bill Williamson, who took over the supervision of this work, has given of his time most freely in helping me develop my ideas by endless discussions; he has helped, too, with all sorts of other problems and has applied subtle pressure throughout the last few months which has in the long run enabled me to conclude my work. It is to these two friends, and especially to Bill, that I owe a great debt of gratitude.

However, none of this would have been possible without my wife, Oya, who in addition to being a mother has been the main bread winner for

the last few years in Durham thus enabling me to bring my work here to a successful conclusion. To her my gratitude is endless for she has been a loving and encouraging partner who has helped me throughout my period of research in Turkey, Germany and England.

Of course special thanks are also due to all those Turkish workers in the FRG, especially those who worked for Ahmet in his workshop, who accepted me so readily, confided in me, offered me hospitality and friendship and co-operated with me for the purposes of this study. All the names of the persons and places (except, of course, the large cities and main companies) have been changed in order to preserve privacy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.f.A.	Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (German Employment Service)
I.L.O.	International Labour Office
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
I.U.I.F.	Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi (University of Istanbul, Faculty of Economics)
S.I.S. (D.I.E.)	State Institute of Statistics
S.P.O. (D.P.T.)	State Planning Organization
T.E.S. (I.I.B.K.)	Turkish Employment Service
WDR	West Deutsche Rundfunk (West German Radio-Television Network)

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Introduction

Human spatial movements have always generated tensions and problems of a demographic, social, psychological, economic, political and environmental nature. These problems, in their turn, have attracted the attention of social scientists creating a tremendous amount of published research in the field of human migrations. Today the literature continues to grow in an increasing scale just as improved communications make it easier for people to gather information on opportunities elsewhere and move. There are always new areas of migration appearing, new people joining the bandwagon in an old migration area, or the character of migrations changing, an area of emigration becoming an area of immigration, etc., thus providing the social scientists with new fields of research.

This study tries to answer some of the questions usually asked by students of migration from a particular angle, that of social anthropology. In an effort to understand the meaning, scope and effects of migration, scholars, especially sociologists and economists, have generally concentrated on the macroscopic aspects of migration, relying heavily on census data, official statistics, surveys and similar quantified data (e.g. Ravenstein, E.G., 1889; Abadan, N., 1964; Rose, A.M., 1969; Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973; Paine, S., 1974, etc.) While sophisticated use of these techniques can expound the



dimensions and general characteristics of large scale migrations, they do not provide an insight into the actual processes of migration without the help of the traditionally microscopic attention of the anthropologist.

One of the major shortcomings of macroscopic approaches is that the social and cultural diversity within a migrant population is often ignored. One of the main claims of this thesis is that Turkish workers in the FRG are a heterogeneous social group and that this heterogeneity follows certain parameters which include differences of education, regional origin, skill, sex, age and marital status. There is no migrant type; Turks may be perceived in Germany as one distinct group among the Gastarbeiter (guestworkers) but the differences among Turks, at least for the Turks themselves, are far more significant than the similarities. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize about migrant workers. Generalization is, of course, necessary but the limits of generalization must be precisely drawn. Anthropological research can help in this, for without detailed descriptions of the diversity among migrant communities it is all too easy to create a false migrant type that exists not in the field but only in the minds of those who created it.

Writers like Descloitres, R., (1967), Rose, A.M. (1969), Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1973) and Mehrländer, U. (1975), for example, who are regarded as authorities on European labour migrations, have created such general and false types. Basing their generalizations

on macro statistical indicators about the sending societies which stress their underdeveloped characteristics, like high rates of population increase, low levels of education, high unemployment and low per capita incomes, these scholars have arrived at typologies of migrants that portray them as classic peasants: unskilled, uneducated, impoverished, tradition-bound and hopelessly ignorant of industrial urban life (Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 69).

The three quotations below could have been taken from the same book.

"One of the most important differences between immigrants and the population into which they move is a rural-urban difference. A considerable proportion of the 'excess' population of emigrant countries comes from rural areas... Immigrants face problems adjusting not only to the national cultures of the immigrant countries but to the urban culture and to the specific occupations into which they move. Just how extreme this can be is suggested by the fact that many companies in Germany feel compelled to give their Turkish workers a course on traffic signals because these nationals were found to be so ignorant of traffic safety rules as to be highly accident prone." (Rose, A.M., 1969: 38-39).

"The immigrant worker, coming to Western Europe for the first time, may never have seen a factory before, let alone have worked in one. He has probably lived all his life in a peasant community, using traditional production methods and pre-industrial technology. The hours and rhythms of work have been determined by the seasons and by the natural needs of plants and animals. The discipline and strict time-keeping required by industrial work, therefore require a painful change in the habits of the immigrant. Urban life too can prove difficult and confusing. People coming from small villages have to get used to new forms of housing, to unaccustomed modes of transport and to new methods of exchanging and distributing goods." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 46).

"Home life as it is understood in Central Europe might...have been unknown to many of those... when they first took up residence in the Federal Republic of Germany. Scientific studies have shown that sublimated home life, i.e. the need for cleanliness, order and decoration in the home and the heightened desire to shape one's own home, have to be interpreted in part as a direct result of industrial activity and factory discipline. Because of their socio-economic background, the majority of foreign workers will have had no opportunity to be influenced by these factors as far as accommodation requirements, way of living and home life are concerned." (Mehrländer, U., 1975: 246, as quoted in Rist, R.C., 1978: 160).

I will attempt to show that in the case of Turkish migrant workers, who are regarded as the most backward of all the migrant groups in Europe, the views expressed above are grossly over-simplified and are not representative of the great majority of the migrants. Because of the highly organized nature of the present day European labour migrations and the specific demands of the industrial countries of Europe, the migrants constitute, if anything, comparatively more educated, skilled and urbanized segments of the labour-sending countries and represent "a kind of working class brain drain" (Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 70).

The model of the "average migrant" that will emerge in the following chapters will, therefore, be significantly different from the one portrayed above. Although necessary in explaining the general trend and macro aspects of the migration process, the building of models and creation of a general migrant type falls short of explaining the internal mechanisms (micro aspects) of the problem under consideration. To be able to explain, for example, why some people

migrate while others do not, why some migrate earlier than others, why some go to country X while others go to country Y, or why some go to cities A and B in country X while others go to cities C and D, why some stay permanently in the country of immigration while others return home after a couple of years, why some bring their families along and live in private houses while others come alone and stay in workers' hostels, we need to look closer at the general type created and recognise diversity.

I.2. Scope of the Study

There are numerous definitions of migration. Most of them are limited to the "permanent change of residence" and do not take into account the sociologically most important aspects of spatial movements: the choices made by the actors in the migration process and the changes occurring in the social relations of the persons involved as a result of the movement. The one definition that does take into account these points is by Mangalam: "Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants." (Mangalam, J., 1968: 8). The discussion that will follow will largely be based on this definition.

Migration is a dynamic social process. As such it consists of interlinked phases like gathering information, decision making, recruitment, moving, re-socialization, adaptation, assimilation or ghettoization, etc. All the phases are connected by the migrating units, the migrants, and are usually divided by the time factor. The phases cannot be separated from one another except for analytical purposes when the researcher focuses his attention on one or other of them. Even then one must not forget that the stage under observation is only a part of a whole and that it cannot be explained in isolation from the rest of the phases. It is also important not to forget that the migration process as a whole operates not in a social vacuum but in a social field where it is constantly influenced by other fields of activities, e.g. the political and economic, and any change of conditions in the surrounding fields which affect one of the phases in the migration process is felt throughout the field. For example, in the case of international migrations, any change in policy by a labour importing country towards the restriction of foreign workers will have important economic, political and social repercussions for the labour sending societies and will affect both the workers who have already migrated and the ones who were intending to migrate. Some prospective migrants will change their recruitment channels and go spontaneously, some will change their destinations and go to other countries, some of those who had already migrated will change their decisions about return migration or bringing their families to the host country. In the case of Turkish migrants in the FRG all these changes have been seen after the 1973 energy crisis and the restrictions on migrant labour which followed it.

We can detect some distinct types in the history of human migrations. These could first be classified into Involuntary and Voluntary migrations. In involuntary migration the migrants have either very little or no choice in the process. They may be forced either ecologically (e.g. as a result of droughts, earthquakes, nuclear or chemical pollution, etc.) or politically (as happened during and after the Second World War). They may be forced out of their homelands but could choose where to go, or they could be taken forcibly out of their homes and sent to specific locations elsewhere. According to the amount of choice the migrants can exercise, the involuntary migrations have been divided into impelled (little choice, hence flight), and forced (no choice, hence displacement) types (Petersen, W., 1958). The people involved in these have been called, according to the circumstances, refugees, displaced persons, expellees, etc. (Beijer, G., 1969).

If the migrations occur within the national boundaries they are called internal migrations. Migration across national boundaries is called international migration. These could be either emigration (outbound), or immigration (inbound). A migrant is the person involved in the migration process.

This study is concerned with the voluntary international migration of Turkish workers to the Federal Republic of Germany (which from now on will be referred to as the FRG). The term migrants will be used in a slightly wider sense to include all the people who intend to

live and work in the FRG for any length of time, whether it is some months, years or indefinitely. The reasons for this is that it is very difficult to differentiate between permanent and temporary workers. Some of the migrants originally come for one year and stay for years while others come for years and return after some months with disillusion.

While anthropology is particularly suited to the study of migration, surprisingly it has had many shortcomings in this field. First and foremost has been the slowness of the theoretical developments in the anthropology of migration (Kasdan, L., 1970). Perhaps this is not very surprising when one considers the scope of the subject. Every migration process involves an origin: the sending society; a destination: the receiving society and the migrating units: the migrants. Every act of migration brings the two social systems, that of the migrants and the hosts, or at least parts of them, together. Today migration is a phenomenon extending from pre-literate, through peasant and developing to post-industrial societies, and sometimes involving them all. It is not difficult to find many people in Western Europe, especially in France and Britain, who have managed to come here from their remote tribal lands by first going to an urban centre in their countries, then making their way to a port, sometimes in another country, and finally landing in one of Europe's post-industrial societies (e.g. Jeffery, P., 1976; Midgett, D.K., 1975; Aurora, G.S., 1967; Adams, A., 1979; van Amersfoort, H., 1972). The history of migrations, under various forms, of tribal people to the

administrative, industrial and mining centres of the continent, provides us with many examples of the interlinking of different social systems (Mayer, P., 1961; Mitchell, J.C., 1969A, 1970; Schildkrout, E., 1969, 1974; Southall, A., 1961). The same pattern is also well represented in the Latin American interstate migrations and migrations to the United States of America (e.g. Gonzales, N.L., 1975; Lattes, A.E., 1975; Whiteford, S. and Adams, R.N., 1975).

Obviously there are considerable conceptual difficulties in encompassing such a large area of study. These difficulties are so great that some scholars have even argued that it is not easy, if not impossible, to formulate a general theory of migration which could cover the whole range of migration forms (e.g. Jackson, J.A., 1969; Lee, E., 1969; Mangalam, J. and Schwarzweller, H., 1970).

The lack of a well defined theoretical perspective and set of problems have prompted anthropologists to diversify in their studies of migration and have brought about a varied literature. Some have concentrated on the causes of migrations (e.g. Haddon, A.C., 1912; Numelin, R., 1937), some on the sending communities (e.g. Schapera, I., 1947; Gulick, J., 1955; Abadan-Unat, N. et al., 1975; Akre, J., 1974; Simon, K.E., 1976), some on social changes and modernization (e.g. Southall, A., 1961; Simon, K.E., 1976; Yasa, I., 1979; Magnarella, P.J., 1974, 1979), some on voluntary associations (e.g. Green, V., 1973; Little, K., 1965; Mangin, W., 1959), while most of them have concentrated on the adaptation of migrants to the new environment, using such concepts

as accommodation, acculturation, detribalization, assimilation, integration, urbanization, ethnicity and social networks (e.g. Mayer, P., 1961, 1962; Brody, E.B., 1969; Mitchell, J.C., 1969B, 1974; Epstein, A.L., 1969A; Harries-Jones, P., 1969; Cohen, A., 1969, 1974; Denich, B.S., 1970; Hannerz, U., 1974; Lloyd, P.C., 1974; Heller, C.S., 1975; Hodge, W.H., 1975; Southall, A., 1975; Schildkrout, E., 1975; Jeffery, P., 1976, etc.) In spite of their diversity, all these anthropological studies have one thing in common: they bring a "human dimension" (Alverson, H.S., 1970) into the study of migrations which is rarely found in the studies made by scholars in the sister disciplines. Through these studies we gain an intimate knowledge of the people who are involved in the migration process.

Some of the concepts developed by anthropologists have helped greatly in gaining this insight to migration. The application of network analysis has been one of ~~the~~ most widely used and successful in this respect. It has been especially useful as a tool in explaining the behaviour of small groups of migrants in specific contexts, in how the social norms operate, how the information, opinions and attitudes, goods and services are transmitted and how people are socialized in one direction rather than another (e.g. Mayer, P., 1961; Barnes, J.A., 1954; Bott, E., 1957; Mitchell, J.C., 1969A). The concept of social networks as developed by the urban anthropologists as a complementary framework to conventional anthropological methods is generally used in an analytical sense as

"a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved" (Mitchell, J.C., 1969A: 2).

Intrinsic to the concept of networks are the elements of choice and decision making by the actors. They are required to choose who to recruit to their networks, how many links to utilize to achieve a particular end, whether or how much to reciprocate to other persons in the network, for how long to operationalize a network, how frequently to interact with their links, etc. When applied to the study of migration the migrants here are no longer aggregates of numbers who flock into the industrial centres because they are all 'pushed' out of their rural homes or 'pulled' by the urban centres because of economic imbalances (although they are very important), but people who make rational decisions -within the structural limitations of their social situations - about whether or not to migrate, how and when to migrate, which channels to use, which part of their total networks to utilize, where from among many possible destinations to go, etc.

However, to be able to put network analysis to good use in the migration studies we must not forget the fact that there are three different orders of social relationships which are "characteristic of large scale societies - possibly of all societies - but particularly of urban systems... These are:

a) the structural order by means of which the behaviour of people is

interpreted in terms of action appropriate to the position they occupy in an ordered set of positions, such as in a factory, a family, a mine, a voluntary association, a trade union, political party or similar organization;

b) the categorical order by means of which the behaviour of people in unstructured situations may be interpreted in terms of social stereotypes such as class, race, ethnicity,...

c) the personal order by means of which the behaviour of people in either structured or unstructured situations may be interpreted in terms of the personal links individuals have with a set of people and the links these people in turn have among themselves and with others..." (Mitchell, J.C., 1969A: 9-10). Social

networks must be used as complementary to structural and categorical explanations to elucidate the details of social interactions on the personal order. A knowledge of the institutions and the categories of the migrants is crucial in understanding their personal relationships and the decision-making processes of the individuals have an important influence on the structural and categorical relationships of the actors.

Turkish migrant workers operate within social networks which might be described, following B.S. Denich, in terms of concentric spheres (1970: 137). An inner core consists of relations with yakın akrabalar (close relatives, including affines as well as kinsmen) with whom mutual binding obligations are acknowledged. Around this are graduated spheres of relations with more distant

relatives (uzak akrabalar) and hemşehriler (fellow-countrymen) and arkadaşlar (friends) who are not specifically obligated to a person but who may be called on for specific services. The relationships within the social networks are very much "instrumental" in character (Wolf, E., 1966: 12). Each member of a person's network is a potential link with other persons who may be in a position to help him but who are not personally known to him. Because of the severely limited structural positions of the migrants on the margins of German society, their achievements in the FRG depend on the success of their manipulation of their categorical and personal relationships. These relationships are governed by what M.D. Sahlins called "generalized reciprocity" (1972), which is a form of exchange based on the assumption that returns balance out in the long run and are supported by norms that are believed to be "Turkish." Relatives, hemşehriler or friends are frequently called upon to find jobs, accommodation or provide other services either for oneself or for another friend. Those who are approached in this way feel obliged to do what they can and help, for not doing so would be un-Turkish (Türklüğe yakışmaz) and entail, in repeatedly proven cases, being ostracised by the Turkish community which is the source of recognition and status for an overwhelming majority of the Turkish migrants.

In the course of this thesis I shall describe how the migrants I studied used their social networks of relatives, hemşehriler and friends to facilitate their migration and settlement in the FRG. However, before the analysis can be developed it is necessary to examine some aspects of the social structure of the society

from which the migrants came and to which they go, and the relationship between the two. Essentially this is a relationship which must be grasped historically.

I.3. Turkish Social Structure

I.3.1. Underdevelopment

The main structural feature of modern Turkey, at present, is its underdevelopment with its wide-ranging consequences for the social institutions of Turkish society. The particular causes of this underdevelopment are to be found in the coincidence of the decline of the Ottoman Empire (starting in the mid-sixteenth century with the disintegration of the land tenure system) and the expansion of European capitalism on a world scale. Both historical processes, while having their unique and separate causes, are nevertheless interconnected. The development of capitalism in Europe had direct consequences for the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire had reached its optimum growth at the beginning of the 16th century when more than 50% of the total revenues went to the Sultan (treasury). Towards the end of the 16th century, although the revenues had increased more than four times, the treasury's share had fallen to 25%. This meant that the optimum point of growth had been exceeded (Çavdar, T., 1973: 11). Conquests

were becoming less and less lucrative. From then on the decline of the Empire started. It became progressively less powerful in both military and economic fields. First of all the land tenure system collapsed with far-reaching effects on the population.

The Ottoman land tenure system, called timar, had its roots in the Islamic ikta system. Under this system a certain portion of the conquered lands were assigned to the commanders of the army for their services. In the Seljuk and later in the Ottoman Empires, this system was sophisticated and connected to the military organization of the Empire. The result was the military ikta system by which the land was classed into three groups: has, ikta and haraci lands. Has was the private property of the Sultan. Ikta lands constituted the bulk of the Empire and were divided into timars (fiefs). Haraci lands were the conquered lands of the non-Muslim people which had remained the property of their ruler in return for a certain amount of tax (harac).

Timars were assigned to the commanders and soldiers of merit (called sipahis), in return for their military services. They had to be ready for war at any time and supply the Sultan with a certain number of soldiers in full armament. The land belonged to the centralized state. The Sultan, who personalized the state, distributed the control of the land as timars among the sipahis in return for their military services. The land still remained the property of the state but was controlled by the

sipahis. The revenues from the timars went to the sipahis, who paid their taxes to the Sultan according to the size of their land. Peasants had rights to plots of land for their livelihood for as long as they cultivated them. They paid taxes for these rights which were inherited by their sons. Although there was a relationship of authority between the sipahis and the peasants (reaya), the latter were subjects of the Sultan and not of the sipahis. There was a set of laws governing the relationships between these two groups and protecting the peasants.

By the mid-sixteenth century when this system started disintegrating some powerful sipahis, civil servants and religious functionaries started owning private farms and estates and employing farm workers (irgats) and shepherds. In spite of the obstacles in the land tenure system, some peasants became richer and owned more land while some became poorer with less land. As time passed richer peasants became even more powerful through usury and poor peasants started to lose their land. These developments resulted in an internal migration from rural areas towards the cities. This internal migration was greatly accelerated by the population explosion in the 15th and 16th centuries: between 1530 - 1580 the population in the Empire increased by 40-50%, and in many large cities this increase was more than 100%. In the 1478 census Istanbul had a population of 97,956 which had increased to 400,000 by 1520 and to 800,000 in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the population of

Istanbul was estimated at around 1 million. Comparable figures for Edirne in Eastern Thrace were 200,000, Sivas and Kayseri in Central Anatolia 150,000 and 95,000 respectively (Avcioğlu, D., 1969: 15,16).

Meanwhile in Western Europe a capitalist society was beginning to develop. With the shift of the international East-West commercial route which crossed the Ottoman lands from the Mediterranean to the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the Europeans developed a rich colonial trade in the 16th and 17th centuries. Great inflation in Europe after the enormous increase in the amount of gold and silver being brought in following the exploration of America caused the Europeans to search for cheap raw materials and agricultural products. They found these in the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the exportation of raw materials and following inflation, Ottoman industry found itself in a crisis and started to decline. With the development of manufacturing industry in Europe and simultaneous economic recession in the Ottoman Empire, more and more European goods started infiltrating the Empire with consequent disintegration of traditional craft forms and institutions of production. Handicrafts and guild organizations were the first victims. Members of these organizations later became labourers in the modern sense after the full separation of the labour force from the means of production.

These developments resulted in the heavy migrations of the 18th and 19th centuries from rural areas to the cities and especially to Istanbul. The population of many cities like Filibe, Lom, Hacioglu, Pazarcik, Selanik and many others in Anatolia and the Balkans increased with the migration of landless peasants. These people provided the work force for those reviving branches of Ottoman industry from the 19th century onwards.

The economic difficulties of the Ottoman governments reached a crisis point in the 1840s when they had to submit to the imperialistic policies of the West, particularly of Great Britain and France. With a trade agreement between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire in 1838, the Empire became an open market for capitalist European industries and in the face of European competition most of the traditional Ottoman industries disintegrated within ten years.

However, during this economic and industrial recession, some serious attempts were also made by the state to establish a modern industrial base. New textile, leather, metal, glass and paper factories were set up but due to a lack of technical and administrative expertise and regulations which would have protected national industries (the Capitulations had been granted previously), most of these industrial establishments could not survive and had to close down. After the failure of this attempt the state did not undertake any serious industrial initiative again until the establishment of the Republic in 1923.

In the 1840s some factories were also established in the private sector, first in the textile industry and almost exclusively by foreign capitalists and Christian minorities. The labour for these newly established industries was provided by the rural migrants and the former members of various craft guilds that were disintegrating at the time. The other branches of industry that drew many workers from the surrounding areas all over the country were the mining and building industries (highways and railways).

The emergence of Muslim women as industrial workers came after the 1860s in Turkey. They first appeared in silk and carpet factories in Western Turkey (Sencer, O., 1969: 94). Spinning, rug and carpet making were of course the traditional activities of women in rural areas.

The migration of peasants to urban centres gained momentum after the famine years in the last quarter of the 19th century. Hundreds of thousands of people abandoned their homes in Central Anatolia, in and around Ankara, Kırşehir, Yozgat, Çankırı and Sivas and came to cities like Adana, Bursa and Istanbul in 1874 and 1891 (Sencer, O., 1969: 116-118).

Comparable statistical information for the 20th century on internal migrations in what had become Turkey only became avail-

able with the regular population censuses after the foundation of the Republic. The number of inhabitants of a province who were born in other provinces was first recorded in the 1935 census. The information was improved in the later censuses by recording the population of provinces by birthplace (1950), and the population by provinces and birthplaces for localities above and below 10,000 inhabitants (1955).

If we look at the figures, we see a steady increase in the number of people taking part in internal migration. (Table I.1).

Table I.1. Internal Migrations in Turkey.

Years	Total Population (in '000s)	Those Born in Other Provinces (in '000s)	Percentage
1945	18,790	1,347	7.2
1950	20,947	1,693	8.1
1955	24,065	2,505	10.4
1960	27,755	3,179	11.5
1965	31,391	4,019	12.8

Source: State Institute of Statistics, Population Censuses.

The general trend of migration is from the eastern half of the country towards the western half. Most of the migrants go to the big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Zonguldak and Samsun. The general pattern is for the young men to migrate first and bring

their dependents only after they feel secure in their new environment. The men constituted 62% of the total migrants in both 1935 and 1960 censuses (Tümertekin, E., 1968: 5), which figure stood at 61% in 1965. Unfortunately, we have no information regarding the length of this cycle of the migration of men/settling down in a city/bringing the family to join them. Of course, some men never bring their families to the cities: those who have some land and animals to be looked after and those with dependents too young or too old to work in the city prefer to leave their families behind - a factor which later was found to be true for some of the migrant Turkish workers in West Germany. The aim of the majority of the men in this category is to save enough money in as short a time as possible and go back home to better their life there by buying some land or animals. However, most of them can never achieve this aim and become permanent workers in the cities. When another member of the family becomes old enough to work he either joins or replaces the one already in the city.

Internal migrations in Turkey are directed towards large and relatively industrialized cities. In 1960, more than 70% of the migrants preferred to settle in provinces with a population of more than 100,000 and 40% of the total migrants actually went to the three largest cities of Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir (Tümertekin, E., 1968: 128). Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing the stages involved in the internal migrations in Turkey for censuses provide no information on the past experiences of migrants, so we

do not know to what extent the "Law of Migrations", as Ravenstein calls it (Ravenstein, E.G., 1889) - i.e. the migration of people first from village to town, later from town to city and lastly from city to big cities - applies in Turkey. But the fact that towns in Turkey are rather small and economically undifferentiated from the villages (Dewdney, J.C., 1971: 80) and that there are vast differences regarding industrialization between the eastern and western parts of the country in favour of the latter, together with the fact that the general trend of the migration is from the eastern towards the western parts of the country and that more than 70% of the migrants settled in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, as mentioned above, leads to the conclusion that internal migrations in Turkey are, in general, directly from rural settlements to big cities and are, therefore, of the long distance type. Supporting evidence for this is found in the population surveys in the following Table I.2.

Table I.2. Urban and Rural Populations (in '000s), 1950-1970.

Years	Total Population	Population		%		Increase Rate	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1950	20,947	3,872	17,075	18.5	81.6	---	---
1955	24,065	5,425	18,639	22.5	77.6	6.8	1.7
1960	27,755	7,308	20,447	26.3	73.7	6.0	1.9
1965	31,391	9,383	22,009	29.9	70.1	5.0	1.5
1970	35,666	12,805	22,861	35.9	64.1	6.2	0.8

Source: Yalçintaş, N., 1972: 130,131.

We can see that the urban population in Turkey is increasing faster than the rural population. The difference is particularly apparent after 1960. Between 1965-70 the increase in urban population was 3,433 million, whereas it was only 852,000 for the rural areas. However, according to the Turkish Population Survey in 1967 it was established that the general population increase rate in Turkey was in fact higher in the rural (2.7%) than in the urban areas (2%) (Ibid., 131). This implies that a large part of the natural population increase in rural areas is transferred to the big cities.

The population increase rates in Table I.2 indicate that the highest urbanization occurred between 1950-55. There are important reasons for this development. Until 1950 the rate of population growth was rather slow. Although Turkey was not directly involved in the Second World War, these years were characterized by high mortality together with very low birth rates. Extensive efforts were made after the war to bring down the death rate in which the large scale use of penicillin, successful control of malaria, improvement in the provision of drinking water pipe lines, etc. were very effective. In addition, thousands of youths discharged from the army increased marriage and birth rates. As Dewdney points out:

"There can be no doubt that the first post-war decade saw a marked acceleration in the rate of population growth, resulting from a recovery in the birth rate and a sharp decline in mortality. Official estimates of the death rate show a downward trend from an average of 20 per 1,000 between 1940 and 1945 to 12 per 1,000 for 1955-60, while the birth rate showed a marginal increase from 40 to 42." (Dewdney, J.C., 1971: 84).

The population explosion of the early 1950s coincided with the large scale introduction of tractors to Turkish agriculture as part of the U.S.A. Economic Aid Programs (Marshall Aid). Table I.3 shows the sharp increase in the number of tractors and the area of agricultural land worked by tractors.

Table I.3. Use of Tractors in Turkish Agriculture, 1940-1972.

Years	Total Sown Area ('000 ha.)	No. of Plough Animals (Pairs)	Sown Area by Plough Animals ('000 ha.)	No. of Tractors	Sown Area by Tractor ('000 ha.)	%
1940	14,160	2,590,961	14,080	1,066	80	0.5
1945	12,664	2,287,030	12,577	1,156	87	0.7
1950	14,542	2,495,256	13,298	16,584	1,244	9
1955	20,998	2,563,878	17,977	40,282	3,021	14
1960	23,264	2,647,695	20,104	42,136	3,160	14
1965	23,556	2,674,000	19,456	54,668	4,100	17
1970	24,296	2,167,555	16,356	105,865	7,940	33
1972	25,073	2,052,836	14,891	135,726	10,182	41

Source: Tütengil, C.O., 1975: 130.

It was found that, depending on the region and degree of mechanization, between 3 and 15 agricultural workers were made redundant by the use of tractors (Çavdar, T., 1973: 69; Yalçıntaş, N., 1972: 138). This surplus workforce was apparently drawn to the big cities. Extensive road-building programmes starting in the late 1940s greatly facilitated

the movement of population. Road networks had increased from 40,932kms in 1940 to 47,080kms in 1950 and to 61,542kms in 1960 (Çavdar, T., 1973: 69).

Although various writers give different accounts of the causes of internal migrations in Turkey, they all agree that the population explosion, the land squeeze, agricultural mechanization, improved transportation and communication, access to education and public health institutions and better employment opportunities in the big cities have been the most important (Ekin, N., 1971: 209; Robinson, R.D., 1967: 27; Tütengil, C.O., 1975: 224-227; Yalçıntaş, N., 1972: 132-137).

Among the many important effects of internal migrations in Turkey, the one concerning us the most is that the majority of the early Turkish migrant workers in Germany were the people who had once migrated to big cities in Turkey and used them as jumping-off grounds for their venture into Europe. Abadan found in a sample survey that 53.3% of the Turkish workers in the FRG indicated that their permanent places of residence were the three big cities (Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir), but only 23.6% of them had been born there (Abadan, N., 1964: 50). However, this pushes the account too far ahead and too quickly, for this aspect of migration will be discussed in more detail later (Chapter 1). For the moment it is important to discuss the effects of underdevelopment on the structure of the Turkish labour force.

I.3.2. Structure of the Turkish Labour Force

Turkey was first used by the capitalist West as a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods and later as a place for investment. The first investments were channelled to the infrastructure (the building of railway networks, ports, waterworks, electricity grids, etc.) to facilitate the marketing of the commodities produced in the West and to have access to the raw materials and natural reserves in Turkey. Most of these investments took place in the western parts of Anatolia, partly because of their proximity to Europe and the sea routes and partly because the most important of the raw materials needed by the West, like cotton, silk and tobacco, were grown in these parts (together with the Çukurova region). There was only one railway line built across the country from Istanbul in the north-west to Adana in the south-east, which was completed in 1918 as a result of the German desire to control an overland route to the Persian Gulf connecting Berlin to Baghdad (Dewdney, J.C., 1971: 140). Road transport was very much neglected and restricted until after the Second World War. When the Republic of Turkey was formed in 1923, the country had almost no industry and very poor infrastructure, limited mostly to the western regions. The Republican governments adopted a policy of state capitalism in order to create a capitalist Turkey similar to those capitalist states of Western Europe. Most of the investments had to take place in the regions where the existing infrastructure yielded quick and most profitable returns. The result of such processes was uneven

regional development in Turkey in favour of the western part (western Black Sea, Marmara and Aegean regions together with the Çukurova region in the south - Aydın, Z., 1980: 28-31).

These historic processes have clear consequences for the structure of the Turkish labour force. The development of the division of labour of the economically active population into sectors of employment displays the underdeveloped nature of the Turkish economy over the years from the beginning of the Republic. The following Table I.4 indicates what these changes have been in broad terms.

Table I.4. Percentage Distribution of the Turkish Work Force into Sectors of Employment, 1935-1975.

<u>Years</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Services</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
1935	82.5	8.2	9.3	---
1945	80.3	7.3	12.3	0.1
1955	82.0	9.0	9.0	---
1965	75.0	12.0	13.0	---
1975	60.9	12.3	25.9	0.9

Sources: T.C. Çalışma Bakanlığı, 1973: 50, Tablo 5; Kongar, E., 1976: 354, çizelge VII - 9.

Evidently the change from an agricultural to an industrial economy is slowly taking place. While the share of the working population in agriculture dropped from 82.5% in 1935 to 60.9% in 1975, it

was the service sector which grew most (from 9.3% to 25.9%) rather than industry, which grew by only 5% - from 7.3% to 12.3% - during this period.

Another indication of the underdeveloped nature of the Turkish economy is the composition of the working population consisting of employees, employers, self-employed and family workers, i.e. those engaged essentially in small scale agricultural production. The composition of the Turkish work force is conspicuously different from that of Western industrial societies. Although decreasing over the years, family workers still constitute the largest segment of the active population (45.2% in 1975). The self-employed have constituted the next largest group until 1975 when their numbers fell slightly behind those of employees. (See Table I.5). Both the small drop in the number of family workers and self-employed and the increase in the number of employees indicate a slow structural change in the economy from that of an agricultural economy to an industrial one (T.C. Çalışma Bakanlığı, 1973: 51-52).

Table I.5. Composition of the Economically Active Turkish Population (in %), 1955-1975.

Years	OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION				
	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Family Workers	Unknown
1955	13.3	0.3	29.9	54.6	1.9
1960	18.8	1.2	28.4	47.9	3.7
1965	22.4	1.0	28.7	47.3	0.6
1970	27.0	0.7	27.1	44.7	0.5
1975	27.7	0.8	25.6	45.2	0.7

Sources: T.C. Çalışma Bakanlığı, 1973:51, Tablo 6; Middle East Yearbook, 1979: 219.

There is no need here to elaborate further on the structural characteristics of the Turkish labour force, but this structure does have significance for the analysis later in this study of the expectations and aspirations of migrant workers. It will be shown that a major element in the decision to migrate is the hope that, after a few years, it will be possible to return to Turkey with sufficient capital to set up in business and join the ranks of the respected self-employed. These aspirations may be very significant in explaining the attitude of Turkish workers in Germany to the work they have to do and the conditions they face. Many of them can accept great privation in Germany in the belief that it is only temporary and will eventually lead to better things. In this respect Turkish workers are very different from their German counterparts and perhaps to other migrants too. It might also explain the readiness of German employers to take on Turkish labourers in preference.

1.3.3. Regional Differences

Underdevelopment also has its regional aspects which are reflected in the fields of education, health services, transport and communications as well as the economic structure. All these services are concentrated in the more developed regions and provinces. A.M. Kazamias notes, concerning education that:

"the greatest disparities in the growth and present status of educational enterprise are evident in the geographical distribution of education. The progress and the present diffusion of education varies markedly from province to province." (Kazamias, A.M., 1966: 162).

The inequalities between regions is even more marked at the level of higher education. Until the recent boom in the establishment of universities in various parts of the country, the four universities Turkey had were all concentrated in the three big cities: Istanbul (Istanbul University and Istanbul Technical University), Ankara (Ankara University) and İzmir (the University of the Aegean).

Most of the hospitals, dental clinics and health test laboratories as well as private surgeries were also located in the developed provinces. Even today most of the specialists are only available in the metropolitan centres of Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir, usually in the university hospitals.

Until recently only reliable and efficient transport services were available in and between the big cities with only old, sub-standard and infrequent extensions to the other provinces. Most of the railway lines were built in the early decades of the Republic and extended the Berlin-Baghdad line, which had branches to Ankara, Mersin, İzmir and Bandırma, to Elazığ (1935), Diyarbakır (1935) and Kurtalan (1944) in the south-east, and to Kayseri (1927), Sivas (1930) and Erzurum (1938) in the east, thus connecting the west and north-western provinces with the east and south-east.

There have not been any substantial increases in the railway networks since the 1940s (D.I.E., 1973: 407).

After the Second World War most of the investments in transport went on the building of road networks, which increased from 18,335kms in 1923 to 61,542kms in 1960. After this most of the effort went into maintaining and modernizing the existing networks. After 1950 road transport overtook the railways as the most important means of communication and increased its passenger share from 46% in 1950 to 67% in 1960 and 87.8% in 1970 (D.I.E., 1973: 405-407). The improvement of the road transport system has had by far the most important influence on the physical mobility of the people in Turkey, bringing the remote Anatolian villages and towns within easy reach of the big cities. Thus with population growth, economic development, industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, changes in land tenure and increased communications, the foundations were laid, within a framework of uneven regional development, for the massive internal migrations that started in the early 1950s and continued to the present day (Karpat, K., 1976: 7), with international extensions to Europe, Australia and later to the Arab countries.

This is not, however, a study of underdevelopment as such so there is no opportunity to examine in detail the historical and structural manifestations of underdevelopment on Turkish society.

These themes have been discussed extensively elsewhere (e.g. Cem, İ., 1970; Yarasimos, S., 1974-76; Aydın, Z., 1980; Keyder, Ç., 1981), but it is important to grasp that it is the underdevelopment of Turkey which explains the development of the Turkish economy as a labour reserve economy on the periphery of Western Europe and which lies behind the decisions of thousands of Turkish workers to escape from the prospect of poverty and unemployment in their own society to seek a better standard of living abroad. As Miller and Çetin put it in 1974:

"Turkey presented and continues to present a fairly unique situation in which the structural transformation from an agrarian to industrialized economy releases a steady flow of labour and the present rate of industrialization is unable to absorb the surplus labour. Thus the fact that Turkey presently is able to meet the European demand for labour may be viewed in part as a historical coincidence of the existing differential development levels between Turkey and other Western European nations." (Miller, D., and Çetin, I., 1974: 1).

Turkish labour migration is primarily an artefact of underdevelopment. It is something, however, which also has to be understood against the specific characteristics of the Turkish social structure.

I.3.4. Family Structure and Social Values

In addition to understanding the historical structure of underdevelopment in Turkish society in its effects on the structure of the labour force, internal migration, etc., it is important also to understand something of Turkish social institutions, particularly

those of kinship and family, "for kinship relations form the prototype of all social relations in Turkey" (Sacks, M., 1976: 28).

Underdevelopment lies behind processes of labour migration but the pattern of migration and the rationale for migration from the point of view of the migrants themselves are intimately bound up with the structure of family life.

Family and kinship relationships are at the centre of community life. Commitments which arise from and are part of family life together with the social values and personal feelings do not simply disappear with migration. They continue to represent the framework of personal values and social recognition of the migrants. The importance of these frameworks can override the obligations and commitments attached to other structural positions such as those of worker or town-dweller.

The predominant family type in Turkey is the nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and their unmarried children. 60% of all Turkish families are of this type. Patrilineally extended large families consisting of father and mother, their married sons with their wives and children and the unmarried children, make up 19% of all Turkish families. Transient extended families consisting of husband and wife, their unmarried children, one of the husband's or wife's widowed parents and/or their unmarried siblings, constitute 13% of Turkish families, while the remaining families (8%) are dissolved families in which only a father or mother lives with the unmarried children (Timur, S., 1972: 30-31).

There are considerable differences between the geographical regions and between the rural and urban settings concerning family type. The ratio of nuclear families increases steadily from the villages (55.4%) to the towns (63.3%) and cities (65.8%), reaching its highest in the three biggest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir) with 67.9%. Only 4.6% of the families are patrilineally extended large families in these cities, while they constitute 9.5% of the town and 25.4% of the village families. Interestingly, the ratio of the transient large families does not display significant changes according to the rural-urban differentiation. They constituted 12.4% of the families in the big cities, 15% in the towns and 13.3% in the villages. The dissolved families seem to be a feature of the big cities with 15% of the families in the three big cities, 11.9% in the towns and only 5.9% in the villages (Timur, S., 1972: 30-32).

Among the geographical regions, the Mediterranean region boasted the highest percentage of nuclear families (67.4%) and the Black Sea region the lowest (46.3%). In Eastern Anatolia 63%, in Central Anatolia 63.6% and in Western Anatolia 59.1% of the families were of the nuclear type (Ibid.: 32-36).

The size of families also varies among the regions of Turkey and between urban and rural settlements. While the average size of the Turkish family is 5.5 persons, this drops to 4.1 in metropolitan centres but goes up to 5.6 in the towns and 6.1 in the villages. The Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia regions have on average

larger families (6.2 persons) than the rest. Western Anatolia region has the smallest average size with 4.7 persons (Ibid.: 36-41).

Timur found ample evidence that there is a close relationship between the family size and the property ownership. The larger the size of the property controlled by the family, the more likely it is for the family to be a large, patrilineally extended type. She shows that among families owning less than 10 decares of land, 59% live in nuclear families and only 22% live in patrilineally extended families, whereas among those owning more than 100 decares of land the relationship is reversed, with 59% large, patrilineally extended families and 22% nuclear families (Ibid.: 175-176).

Most of the nuclear families in the rural areas are to be seen among the sharecroppers (64%) and landless farmworkers (79%), while in the urban areas professional people (77%) and industrial workers (74%) display the largest nuclear families.

The authority and economic structure that characterize the Turkish family is primarily based on sex and relative age. Each family has a head (aile reisi) who is usually a senior male, except in some dissolved families where there are no senior males. In nuclear families the family head is the husband. In patrilineally extended large families the head is usually the patriarch. Sometimes,

if the family is rich and has many able sons, the patriarch may decide to retire and devote his time to religion, delegating his authority to his eldest son. In this case the eldest son becomes the family head and exercises decision-making powers.

The rank and prestige of individuals in the family are defined by the amount of respect (saygı) they command. The most important criteria for the command of respect are sex and seniority. Briefly, males are superior to females (thus respected by them) and old people are superior to young people (and respected by them) (Engelbrektsson, U.-B., 1978: 125). In the nuclear family the husband is respected by the whole family, the wife is respected by the children, older siblings are respected by the younger siblings. Children pay more respect to fathers than mothers and respect their older brothers more than their sisters. In patrilineally extended families, the patriarch is respected by all the members. The next position of status is usually occupied by the eldest son followed by the mother, married sons, their wives and unmarried children and grandchildren (Yenisey, L., 1975: 331).

The notion of respect implies power and responsibility. In rural and lower income urban families the heads of the families are the all-powerful decision makers and the controllers of economic resources in the family. They decide what crops to sow and when, what sort of machinery and techniques to employ, how to utilize the family's labour, cash and livestock resources, etc., in the villages.

In the urban areas they decide what to do for a living, how long to work, what sort of house to rent or build (if they live in the shanty-towns, gecekondus), what to burn in winter, how much fuel to buy, how much to spend on food, clothes, durables, etc., how long to educate the children, where to shop, who to borrow from, whether to allow the wife and children to work and if so in what kind of jobs, etc. The family heads are expected to provide economic and physical protection and security, affection and love for the members of their families. Expectation of respect and protection are complimentary. Those who command respect must provide security and affection. Thus women are protected by the men, younger siblings are protected by the older brothers, etc.

The justification for these social norms, especially in the rural areas, is usually given in terms of religion. As Engelbrektsson observes in her study village of Alihan:

"Like most people in Turkey, the Alihan inhabitants are Muslims of the Sunni branch. The mosque is situated in the very centre of their village. The ideology it represents is central for those living in the village. Most social rules are said to be divinely given, especially those connected with differences of social status between men and women and between members of different generations. To break the rules is to violate the eternal laws of the most high." (Engelbrektsson, U.-B., 1978: 122).

Karpat in his discussion of religion and community in the gecekondus (shanty-towns) of Istanbul also argues that:

"... to be a Muslim for the villager and the gecekondus dwellers means first of all to be part of a community. In other words, religious affiliation is part of a broader social identification with a community, with the acceptance of communal ethics and behavioral norms. Religion for the squatters

is a concrete set of rules and regulations connected with the realities of life rather than an abstract system of ethics. The concrete expression of all these is the community." (Karpat, K.H., 1976: 128).

Dubetsky, who has studied another gecekond district in Istanbul, writes along the same lines and demonstrates how some networks based on religious and community affiliations cut across those based on work and class:

"Class consciousness among these workers does not readily develop, then, because of the strength of traditional ties and categories of sect and community which cut across occupational lines. When patrons and workers are of the same sect or from the same region (or quite often both),... then the important social grouping for them is community..., which unites them, rather than class, which divides them." (Dubetsky, A., 1977: 367).

Writers like Stirling (1965), Lewis (1968) and Mardin (1977) stress the point that despite the secularization policies in Turkey, during the Republican era popular religion has persisted, especially in the rural areas, and constituted a powerful support for the whole social order. Kazamias notes that the salience of religion varies according to social class background. Urban educated elites are more likely to have a secular world outlook (Kazamias, A.M., 1966: 192-194).

I.3.5. Urban-Rural Differences

This brings us to another structural feature of Turkish society which has an important effect on the world views and the

behavioral patterns of the people, namely the existence of a cultural duality between the urban and rural areas. This duality which developed as a result of the uneven regional development of the the country and from Western capitalistic influences and Western orientation on the part of the urban elite in the metropolitan centres in Turkey, manifests itself in the cultural differences of degree rather than of kind. Urban dwellers, for example, are more educated, less religious, more materialistic and consumer-oriented, pro-Western, more likely to live in smaller nuclear families with less children and more likely to believe in the equality of the sexes than those in the rural category. Kazamias's comments support this view:

"Strong bifurcations still exist between the rural peasant group and the urban dwellers, and between an educated urban elite and an illiterate village population... Throughout the period of the Republic urban classes have been exposed to greater amounts of education and the positive secularistic campaign of the revolutionary government. Since education has been used to sustain the revolutionary ideology, a stronger attachment to secularism among the urban (more particularly the urban educated classes), a weaker hold of orthodox Islam on their lives, or a synthesis between Islam and modernism might be expected." (Kazamias, A.M., 1966: 192-193).

And he goes on to show, with evidence from various attitude surveys, that this actually is the situation.

However, this duality does not lead to a rigid break between the two categories as they are complementary and dependant on each other politically, economically and socially. It leads rather to a consolidation which is personified by the rural migrants

of gecekondu (squatter-town) dwellers and more recently by the international migrant labourers. They are the synthesis that reflect the newly emerging composite Turkish culture. While the big cities in Turkey are being "peasantized" (Karpat, K.H., 1976: 30) by squatter settlements and their recently arrived inhabitants of rural migrants, at the same time the former peasants who live there are being urbanized by the city. The symbolic importance of the city in modern Turkish culture cannot be overstressed. The majority of the squatters believe that their living conditions in the city have greatly improved compared with their lives in the villages (Karpat, K.H., 1976: 106-107; Saran, N., 1971: 399-404). Karpat underlines this when he reports his own research among gecekondu dwellers in Istanbul:

"Better opportunities for work, the possibility for economic enterprise and a greater choice of jobs were cited as the principal reasons for the improved living in the city... The style of life in the city, the hope of achieving a higher standard of living and social status.. and the opportunity for specialization in a profession were among other reasons cited by squatters as making their life in the city superior to the one in the village... The satisfaction of the gecekondu residents with their present conditions is most clearly shown in their optimism concerning the children's future... The overwhelming majority of parents believed that their children had an excellent chance in the city to do and achieve what we wanted to and could not' and thus lead a better life in the future... A few squatters said that they had moved to the city specifically with the purpose of providing their children with better career opportunities. They regarded high education in particular, if they could afford it, as the main condition for attaining social status and material success." (Karpat, K.H., 1976: 106-107).

These are elements of what Philpott has called migrant ideology (1970). These are the terms in which migrants make sense of their move to the city and later, as I shall show, of their decisions to migrate abroad. Migrants differ of course in terms of their social backgrounds which, in turn, colours their perceptions and beliefs. In this sense there is more than one ideology. It is important to understand the different orientations of migrants for these account for differences in their attitudes towards being in the FRG, and in their expectations of what they want to achieve during their stay there.

I.4. The Demand for Migrant Labour in the FRG

It is now an established fact that the causes of labour migration in Europe originate in the process of industrialization in 19th century Europe. Castles and Kosack note:

"The movement which has brought millions of workers from undeveloped areas to Western Europe since the Second World War has many new characteristics - not least its sheer magnitude - but it is not without historical antecedents. A basic precondition for industrialization in 19th century Europe was the existence of labour reserves, almost always in rural areas. Evicted peasants and destitute artisans, who had lost their livelihood through competition from the new capitalist methods of production, flooded into the new industrial towns and became part of the proletariat. Once local labour reserves were used up, labour migrants were induced to come from further afield. Often they crossed national frontiers in their search for employment. The social history of industrialization is that of mass movements from country to town; international migration is a special case within this general pattern." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 15).

German industrial developments started in the Ruhr area, in the western part of the country, because of the readily available and cheap energy sources, the coal mines, and workers were attracted from the eastern provinces. In 1907 there were already 600,000 migrant workers in Germany which comprised 4.1% of the total labour force (Rist, R.C., 1978: 58).

Polish workers were the largest group of early migrants in Germany. In 1913, for example, over 164,000 of the nearly 410,000 Ruhr miners were Poles (Ibid.: 58). It was noted that in the 1920s most of the seasonal agricultural migrants were Polish women. A study of the workers between 1924 and 1926 showed that 90% of all migrants working in agriculture were Poles and that 80% of them were women (Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 28). The prominence of Polish migrants in Germany continued until the end of the Second World War.

Among the other nationalities involved in the earlier migrations to Germany, Italians were the second largest group. Their numbers had gone up from 8,000 in 1880 to 62,000 by 1900. It was estimated that between 1969 and 1915 more than 1.2 million Italians had migrated to Germany. Although most of them were seasonal agricultural workers, some of them also worked in industry and construction (Ibid.: 29).

The similarities between the present and the early migrations into Germany are striking. Rhoades writes about the early migrants:

"The workers were generally recruited abroad through both government and private agents and often brought in on specially arranged trains. Like today's migrants, they came with the original purpose of earning money, saving and returning home after a short stay. Often work groups were arranged along ethnic lines and guided by bilingual overseers. In some regions, such as the coal mining Ruhr, foreign enclaves became so large and concentrated that local reaction developed." (Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 32).

Migrant flows were very much affected by political and economic events. The numbers of migrants taking up employment in Germany was reduced considerably between the First and Second World Wars, first because of the need to re-integrate servicemen into the economy and later because of the economic crisis of 1929 and resulting unemployment in the country (Rist, R.C., 1978: 59). However, this trend was reversed after 1933 with the coming to power of the Nazis. Their adoption of a centrally directed war economy soon increased demand for labour. Unemployed Germans were quickly absorbed and new labour recruitment agreements were signed with the neighbouring countries. The number of foreign workers exceeded the half a million mark in 1939 and reached 7.5 million in September 1944. Some of these had been recruited from the 'neutral and friendly' countries like Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Spain, but the majority had been recruited by force in the German occupied regions and 1.8 million were actually prisoners of war (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 23). Foreign workers were very important for Germany's war

effort. It was estimated that by 1944 "every fourth German tank, lorry, field gun, every fourth piece of ammunition was made by the hands of a foreign worker" (Pfahlmann, H., 1968: 232, quoted in Rist, R.C., 1978: 60).

After the war most people predicted that Germany would become a land of emigration. The country was in ruins: the industrial complexes and the transportation system had been demolished and the male work force decimated. There were 8-10 million refugees from the former German territories and nobody thought that Germany could provide for all these people in the near future. However, the resulting exodus from Germany in the first years after the war was much smaller in magnitude and shorter in duration than had been expected. The reconstruction of German industry was begun immediately after the war and with the help of the currency reforms of 1948 the economy recovered rapidly. The refugees were quickly absorbed into the labour force. Meanwhile another source of labour was provided by refugees from the German Democratic Republic throughout the 1950s. Until the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, more than 3 million people had come to the FRG from the East. This group was also integrated into the economy very quickly and by the late 1950s labour shortages started becoming very serious (Rist, R.C., 1978: 60-61).

Germany turned once more to the migrant labourers for the expansion of its economy. A number of labour agreements were signed with countries in Europe that were experiencing labour surpluses.

The first agreement was signed with Italy in 1955 for the recruitment of workers for the construction industry and agriculture. Other agreements followed: with Greece and Spain in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Portugal in 1964 and Yugoslavia in 1968. These agreements have governed the growth of the migrant labour force in the FRG. In 1960 there were 329,356 foreign workers constituting 1.5% of the total labour force. By 1973 it was 2,595,000 or 11.9% of the total labour force. In 1973 Turkish migrant workers had become the largest group of migrants, representing 23% of the migrant labour force (Rist, R.C., 1978: 62-66).

How these workers are recruited and fit into the West German economy and society is the principal theme of this study. The significance of this massive transfer of labour from Turkey to the FRG is something outside the scope of this thesis. It should not be forgotten, however, that the presence of large numbers of migrants has a considerable significance not just for Germany but for Turkey too. Migrants retain their links with Turkey and the remittances which they send back are an important source of foreign currency for Turkey. Migrant remittances constituted 56.7% of Turkish imports in 1973 and made an important contribution to reducing the deficit of Turkey's trading account (Hale, W.M., 1978: 67, 68). At the same time labour migration has reduced the supply of labour in Turkey itself with significant consequences for the level of unemployment there. However, the long term consequences are likely to be less benign for Turkey has increasingly exported skilled workers and there

is growing evidence that on their return the capital they have accumulated in the FRG is not used in a way which promotes real development. These issues raise complex questions of method and measurement which are beyond the scope of this study. I shall limit myself to looking at the patterns of migrants' expectations for their return home. It is the nature of these expectations which will shape the behaviour of Turkish migrants and ultimately determine how the structural linkage between the two economies actually operate.

I.5. The Approach of This Study

When this research was undertaken, in 1972 and 1973, there was almost a total absence of anthropological literature on the intra-European labour migrations. In fact the social scientific study of labour migration in Europe was a relatively undeveloped field of research. In spite of the current proliferation in intra-European migration studies in sociology and economics (e.g. Abadan-Unat, N., 1976; Abadan-Unat, N., et al., 1975; Aker, A., 1972; Berger, J. and Mohr, J., 1975; Böhning, W.R., 1970, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1976; Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973, 1974, 1980; Deakin, N., 1972; Gökdere, A.Y., 1978; Hale, W.M., 1978; Krane, R.E., 1975; Kudat, A., 1974A, 1974B, 1975; Livi-Bacci, M., 1971; Paine, S., 1974; Rist, R.C., 1978; Rose, A.M., 1969; Van Houte, H. and Melgert, W., 1972; Yasa, İ., 1979,

etc.) there are still very few anthropological studies of the area (e.g. Engelbrektsson, U.-B., 1978; Rhoades, R.E., 1976; Watson, J.L., 1977). The purpose of this study is to contribute towards filling the gap which exists in the anthropology of European migrations.

The study concentrates on Turkish migrant workers in the FRG. For a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and social implications of migration it will be treated as a dynamic social process which involves, as well as the migrants, two societies, the sending and the receiving one, connected by the migrants themselves but each with different expectations of the migrants and exerting different pressures on them. Migrants will be seen not as units of production linking a developed and a developing industrial economy, although this is important, but as people who have adopted migration as a normal problem-solving mechanism in their quest for a better future, and as people with names like Ahmet, Yusuf and Mehmet who make decisions and choices on how best to negotiate the two social systems of which they are a part, and as people who have norms and values and relationships with other people.

However, it is my contention that focusing only on individual migrants or very small groups, as ethnographers do, is unsuitable for the study of a migration process whose dimensions cover two countries, many years and hundreds of thousands of workers.

The ethnography which is invaluable in providing the "human dimension" (Alverson, H.S., 1970), needs to be supplemented with statistical data and survey results giving information on a large number of migrants so that the representativeness of the observations at the local level can be checked and also the general patterns in migration processes **are** detected.

The approach I have used follows on from this perspective; I have tried to combine participant observation in a small garment workshop with a survey of 267 Turkish migrants drawn from various industries in different parts of the FRG. (Details of the fieldwork methodology are given in Appendix 1). The survey was intended to exemplify and illustrate rather than to be statistically representative of all the Turks in Germany. During my field work period there were more than 650,000 Turkish migrants working in the FRG. It was physically impossible to cover a statistically meaningful sample. However, I have tried, wherever possible, to draw on other surveys and official statistics to overcome this deficiency and give a balanced and general picture of migration.

To bring a "human dimension" into the study I have used a small number of case histories to illustrate how individual migrants are affected by the migration process at various stages. I am aware of the problems of representativeness, bias and selective reporting, etc. that can overshadow the reporting of participant

observation. All I can claim in this respect is that I have tried to report faithfully on what I saw, heard and experienced.

The discussion is organized in the following way. In Chapter 1 the general characteristics of migrants are discussed including, for example, their background, age, skills, etc. This chapter seeks to establish who the migrants are and where they come from. In the second chapter the processes and mechanisms of labour recruitment are discussed. These must be understood in order to appreciate the difference between legally recruited workers and the group I shall call "spontaneous workers."

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the world of work, examining the types of work migrants do, their role in the German economy and their reaction to employment in the FRG. Particular attention is given to the social relations of work among the migrant workers.

Chapter 5 looks at the ways in which migrant workers are housed in the FRG and discusses what their accommodation implies for the character of their social relationships. Among other things, this chapter shows how the control of migrant labour is managed, not just in the employment field but also in the housing market.

Chapter 6 has as its theme the family and social life of migrant workers and discusses how their integration or lack of it

in the social life of the FRG has particular consequences for how long they intend to remain in Germany and for how they perceive themselves in the context of German society.

Finally I take up the theme of return migration in Chapter 7, and discuss the intentions of the migrants for their future in Turkey and its implications for the country.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter some of the principle demographic features of the migration of Turkish workers to Germany are examined. In addition, the data I collected on Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany are set alongside the reported results of other studies to give some general indication of the representativeness of the sample of workers interviewed in this study.

The aim of the chapter is to clarify the following points: Turkish labour migration has been predominantly male, although on a decreasing scale. Contrary to some popular misconceptions, migrant workers are from the more developed regions of Turkey rather than the least developed rural parts. They are young, better educated, economically active, and likely to be married with large families, and likely, therefore, to have strong family ties and commitments in Turkey. It is important to be clear about these characteristics because they become significant later in the analysis in understanding the experience and expectations of Turkish workers in Germany.

1.2. Distribution by Sex

Turkish labour migration to the FRG has always been dominated by men. Although the proportion of women has risen considerably in later years, it has never reached that of men. A glance at Table 1.1. shows that in 1960 women constituted only 8% of the Turkish migrant population in the FRG.

Table 1.1. Sex Ratios of the Turkish Migrant Workers in the FRG, 1960 - 1973.

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
1960	2,295	92.0	200	8.0	2,495
1964	62,280	90.0	6,931	10.0	69,211
1967	111,692	81.5	25,389	18.5	137,081
1970	255,949	78.0	72,036	22.0	327,985
1973	399,606	75.6	128,808	24.4	528,414

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, 1974:70-71.

As the migration stream matured (Böhning, R.G., 1972) the proportion of women increased to 19% in 1967, and finally to 24% in 1973. The Turkish case seems to reflect the general pattern of European labour migrations from the less developed Mediterranean countries to the developed countries of the continent. In the early stages of the migration, males dominated the scene for all the countries involved,

but the proportion of women rose steadily over the years, and in the case of Greece it reached 44% in 1973, the highest proportion among the labour-exporting countries of Europe. (See Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Percentage Distribution of Selected Migrant Workers in the FRG, by Sex, 1960 - 1973.

YEARS	GREEKS		SPANIARDS		YUGOSLAVS		ITALIANS		TURKS	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1960	88.3	11.7	82.6	17.4	81.2	18.8	93.6	6.4	92.0	8.0
1967	58.1	41.9	64.8	35.2	67.0	33.0	78.3	21.7	81.5	18.5
1973	56.4	43.6	69.2	30.8	67.8	32.2	74.8	25.2	75.6	24.4

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1974, Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, 1972-73: 70-71.

It is interesting to note that the Turks who were among the latest to join the migration to the FRG, have developed a very similar pattern to the Italians who, of course, were the pioneers in European labour migration.

The proportion of women in the survey I carried out in the FRG was 14%, which under-represents the women slightly and is due to the circumstances explained in Appendix I on the fieldwork.

1.3. Regional Origins

Geographically Turkey is divided into seven regions:

1. Thrace and Marmara Region (including Istanbul)
2. The Aegean Region (including İzmir)
3. The Black Sea Region
4. The Mediterranean Region
5. Central Anatolia (including Ankara)
6. Eastern Anatolia
7. South-eastern Anatolia.

These regions display different geographical characteristics which, in turn, are reflected in differences in agricultural and economic activities. Industry is the dominant economic activity in the Thrace and Marmara region. In all the other regions agriculture is the dominant economic activity. The citrus fruit, cotton and related industries dominate the Mediterranean region. Sugarbeet and cereals are the main products in the Central Anatolian region. In the eastern Black Sea region tobacco, tea and hazel nuts are the main agricultural products, while in the western Black Sea region coal mining and steel production are the main economic activities. The Aegean region is known for its Mediterranean crops such as grapes, figs, olives, cotton and tobacco. The main agricultural activity in Eastern Anatolia is livestock farming. The region is also rich in minerals and there are large mining areas. South-eastern Anatolia boasts some petrol eum deposits as well as agriculture of cereals, cotton, rice and viniculture. (Dewdney, J.C., 1971: 149-204; Akar, A., 1972: 25-32).

The division of the regions follow administrative divisions and group together the provinces which show geographical similarities.⁽¹⁾ Turkey is divided into sixty-seven provinces (iller) whose areas range from 3,920 square kms. for the smallest to 47,721 square kms. for the largest. Their populations varied from 126,000 (Hakkâri) to 3.9m (Istanbul) in 1975. The provinces are in turn divided into 572 districts (kazalar or ilçeler). The districts are sub-divided into more than 36,000 sub-districts (bucaklar or nahiyeler) or villages. (D.İ.E. 1975, Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Ankara).

There are marked developmental differences between the provinces and the regions. Generally, the western parts of the country are much more developed than the eastern parts. The triangle formed by the provinces of Istanbul, Kocaeli and Bursa is the most developed and industrialized part of the country. Izmir and the surrounding provinces in the Aegean region, Mersin-Adana-İskenderun in the eastern Mediterranean region and Zonguldak province in the western Black Sea region are the other developed and major industrial centres of the country. The least developed parts are the eastern and south-eastern Anatolia regions. (See the Introduction for the historical causes of this uneven development). Table 1.3. shows clearly the developmental levels of the provinces.

There is a positive correlation among the provinces concerning the degree of development and emigration. The more developed regions have always sent more migrant workers abroad. In the early 'sixties

Table 1.3. Developmental Index of the Provinces of Turkey, 1973.

<u>Province</u>	<u>Index No.</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Index No.</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Index No.</u>
Istanbul	288	Antalya	68	Nevşehir	46
Ankara	178	Amasya	66	Afyon	45
İzmir	164	Edirne	66	Niğde	45
Kocaeli	136	Çanakkale	66	Çorum	42
Eskişehir	128	Burdur	65	Van	41
Zonguldak	116	Malatya	64	Kırşehir	41
Adana	109	Samsun	64	Bitlis	41
Bursa	109	Rize	64	Giresun	41
<u>TURKEY</u>	<u>100</u>	Artvin	61	Urfa	40
Elazığ	93	Erzurum	58	Çankırı	39
İçel	93	Konya	58	Tunceli	37
Kayseri	85	Erzincan	57	Ordu	35
Aydın	84	Bilecik	57	Sinop	35
Isparta	83	Denizli	57	Maraş	30
Sakarya	83	Diyarbakır	56	Yozgat	29
Balıkesir	79	Bolu	55	Ağrı	29
Kırklareli	78	Trabzon	53	Mardin	29
Manisa	77	Tokat	52	Gümüşhane	28
Gaziantep	77	Kars	52	Muş	27
Hatay	76	Siirt	50	Hakkâri	26
Uşak	73	Muğla	49	Bingöl	25
Tekirdağ	72	Kastamonu	48	Adıyaman	19
Kütahya	70	Sivas	47		

Source: D.İ.E., 1973, Türkiye'de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişmenin 50 Yılı: 73-74.

this was much more pronounced. Abadan found that in 1964 over 70% of the Turkish workers in the FRG had come from the cities, and that 53% of those had come from the three most developed cities in Turkey (Abadan, N., 1964: 49-51). Although in later years as the migration stream matured, the difference among the provinces grew smaller, nevertheless the developed provinces maintained a lead in emigration rates. Table 1.4 shows the development stage and the emigration rates of the provinces of Turkey.

Table 1.4. Rate of Emigrant Workers According to the Development Stage of the Provinces (1965-1974, Average).

Degree of Socio-Economic Development of Provinces	Rate of Migrant Workers (%)	Degree of Emigration
1. Degree (most developed)	36.22	1
2. "	21.27	2
3. "	19.23	4
4. "	17.40	5
5. "	20.19	3
6. "	10.71	7
7. "	13.00	6
8. " (least developed)	8.29	8

Source: Gökdere, A., 1978: 81, Table II, 30.

Although there is a positive correlation between the development degree of the provinces and migration abroad, this does not mean that all migrants ~~from~~ the richer provinces had been born there. For instance, Abadan reports that of the 53% of the workers who had been residing in the three big cities (Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir) prior to migration, only 24% had been born there. The rest had at one time migrated to these cities from other provinces (Abadan, N., 1964: 49-51). Aker found that in 1971 22% of the would-be migrants in his sample had previously migrated to the towns and cities in Turkey (Aker, A., 1972: 26-29). In the survey I carried out in the FRG it was found that 31.1% of the workers had experienced internal migration before going abroad and that the majority of them had gone to the cities and towns (25.1% and 4.8% respectively) and that only 1.1% had migrated to other villages. (Table 1.5).

If we summarize the above mentioned table incorporating the distribution of the people who had been living in their birth-places into cities, towns and villages, we see that before migration 35.2% of the workers had been living in a city, 15.7% had been living in a town and 49.1% had been living in a village, whereas only 15.4% had been born in a city, 19.1% had been born in a town and 65.5% in a village (Table 1.6).

Although it is impossible to generalize from the findings of this survey about the internal migration in Turkey, the results

Table 1.5. Comparative Percentage of Turkish Migrant Workers by Birthplace and Pre-migration Residence.

Birth- place	PRE-MIGRATION PLACE OF RESIDENCE			PLACE OF RESIDENCE			TOTAL	
	At Place of Birth	Provincial Centre of Birthplace (City)	District Centre of Birthplace (Town)	Another Village of Birthplace (Village)	Provincial Centre in Another Province (City)	District Centre in Another Province (Town)		A Village in Another Province (Village)
CITY	65.9	-	-	-	29.3	4.9	-	15.4
TOWN	56.9	-	3.9	-	29.4	-	-	19.1
VILLAGE	73.1	5.1	2.3	1.1	14.9	2.9	0.6	65.5
TOTAL	68.9	5.2	2.2	0.7	19.9	2.6	0.4	100.0

Table 1.6. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Birthplace and Pre-migration Residence, by Sex.

	Birthplace			Pre-migration Residence		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
CITY	7.0	67.6	15.4	26.5	89.2	35.2
TOWN	17.8	27.0	19.1	16.5	10.6	15.7
VILLAGE	75.2	5.4	65.5	57.0	0	49.1

do confirm the conclusions of various other surveys (e.g. Aker, A., 1972, Gökdere, A., 1978, Tekeli, I. and Erder, L., 1978, Tümertekin, E., 1968) in that it shows the general trend of migration to be from the villages and towns to the cities. For example, 74.5% of the internal migrants from the villages and 90.9% of the migrants from the towns had gone to the cities. (See Table 1.7). It is clear from the same table that only a small proportion of the internal migrants (22.7% of the town and 19.2% of the village people) went to the nearest cities (the provincial centres). The majority of the migrants went to the cities in other provinces (68.2% of the town and 55.3% of the village migrants), which in most cases meant one of the biggest cities in Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir).

There are significant differences concerning both the internal and the international migration between the sexes as far as the sample suggests. It is evident from Table 1.6. that most of

Table 1.7. Pre-migration Residences of the Migrants who had Experienced Internal Migration Before Coming to the FRG (in Percentages).

Birthplace	Provincial Centre of Birthplace	A City in Another Province	CITY TOTAL	District Centre of Birthplace	A Town in Another Province	TOWN TOTAL	Another Village in Birthplace	A Village in Another Province	VILLAGE TOTAL
CITY	-	85.7	85.7	-	14.3	14.3	-	-	-
TOWN	22.7	68.2	90.9	9.1	-	9.1	-	-	-
VILLAGE	19.2	55.3	74.5	8.5	10.6	19.1	4.3	2.1	6.4

the women migrants were of urban as opposed to the heavily rural background of the men. If we look at the birthplaces, we find that 67.6% of the women had been born in a city, as opposed to only 7% of the men; only 5.4% of the women had been born in villages while more than 75% of the men had village origins.

When we examine the pattern of pre-migration residences of my sample, it becomes apparent that more than 89% of the women were living in a city, and 10.8% were living in a town. There were no women living in a village before migration, whereas most of the men (57%) were still living in villages. Although there was a substantial increase in the number of men living in cities before migration, the figure still stood at 26.5%. (Table 1.6).

The length of the pre-migration residence in a place other than the birthplace shows an even distribution, with 12% having stayed less than 3 years, 16.9% 3 to 6 years, 15.7% 6 to 9 years, 15.7% 9 to 12 years, 8.4% 12 to 15 years, 8.4% 15 to 18 years, 7.2% 18 to 21 years, 4.8% 21 to 24 years and 10.8% over 24 years. (Table 1.8).

It seems that the international labour migration has for many people been an extension of the internal migration in their search for an improved life style. The pioneers in this extension had been the big city dwellers, e.g. people from Istanbul, who had originally come from other provinces. Later on in the migration process as the migration stream matured, the less developed regions and provinces joined in the process, but have never contributed to

Table 1.8. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Sex, and by Length of Pre-migration Residence in a Place Outside the Birthplace.

	Length of Pre-migration Residence Outside Place of Birth								
	0-3 Years	3.1-6 Years	6.1-9 Years	9.1-12 Years	12.1-15 Years	15.1-18 Years	18.1-21 Years	21.1-24 Years	24+ Years
MALE	9.2	16.9	18.5	12.3	9.2	10.8	7.7	4.6	10.8
FEMALE	22.2	16.7	5.6	27.8	5.6	--	5.6	5.6	11.1
TOTAL	12.0	16.9	15.7	15.7	8.4	8.4	7.2	4.8	10.8

it as much as the developed provinces.

The social characteristics of the migrant women included in the sample seem to reflect the typical characteristics of the pioneer migrants in that they are mostly young, unmarried, better educated and from metropolitan centres in Turkey. Therefore, they can be said to represent a new phase in the migration stream maturation: that of single, independent (as far as marital status is concerned) women joining the process after a decade of migration which was predominantly a male affair, and which may have proved to the families of these women that the FRG is now a "safe" and desirable place for their daughters to go on their own. The fact that most of the women (78.4% - see Chapter 6) had relatives already working in the FRG may have played an important

part in their decision to migrate. If this was the case then in future we would expect the women from the less developed regions and towns and villages to join the migration process on their own, rather than as dependents, as was the case up to the present. But now we shall never know if this would have been so: since the 1973 energy crisis and the subsequent labour recruitment ban, no new, independent workers can now go to the FRG - or to any other European countries for that matter. Now the only women who can go to the FRG are dependents (wives, daughters, mothers and sisters if there is no one else to look after them in Turkey) of the officially recruited migrant men. The recruitment ban has dealt an abrupt blow to the pattern of development of the migration process. Alternatively, the women in the sample can be representative of a small group of mainly urban, well educated, unmarried women who have always been present in the FRG, living in women's hostels, and whose numbers have not increased dramatically over the years since the great majority of the Turkish women in the FRG are married (78%) and live with their husbands (85%) (IIBK, 1974D: 13; see also Chapter 6).

1.4. Age Structure

Migrant workers are by definition drawn from among the economically active population. The demands of the employers, rules and regulations governing the recruitment procedures, and the social and psychological conditions of the migrants both at home and abroad

all combine to create a young migrant work force in the labour-importing countries. This is especially so in the early phases of the migration process. We can see from Table 1.9 that in 1962 and 1963, 78.9% and 80% of the Turkish workers already working in the FRG were between the ages of 21 and 35, whereas in 1973 the proportion for the same group had dropped to 58.9%. The migrating age is still young, though in 1971 82.7% and in 1973 80.4% of the workers were in the 21-35 age group. The Turkish migrant women are concentrated in much lower age groups: in 1972 32% of them were under 25 years of age, as opposed to 9% of men. (Table 2.9). In 1973, I found that nearly 76% of the women in the sample were under 25 years old. Because most of the women were recent migrants, this figure can perhaps be taken to indicate that age at the time of migration rather than the average age for the Turkish migrant women in the FRG in 1973. In actual fact, at the time of migration 78.3% of the women were under 25, with only 2.7% more women in this group. (Table 1.9).

Among the reasons for the participation of women in the migration process at such an early age are the willingness of the fathers to let their unmarried daughters work; the willingness of the young husbands to bring their brides to the FRG and let them work there - in 1972, 78% of the Turkish women in the FRG were married and 95% of these were working (IIBK, 1974D: 13); and the ability of the younger women to work in industry before they have large families.

Table 1.9. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Age - Various Surveys and Years.

	YÜCEL			AKER ⁽¹⁾	ABADAN ⁽²⁾						B.f.A. ⁽³⁾			YÜCEL		
	Age at Migration			Age at Migration in 1971	Age in FRG 1962			Age in FRG 1963			Age in FRG 1972			Age in FRG 1973		
	M	F	T	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Under 20	5.7	40.5	10.5	4.1	3.6	30.8	6.4	3.2	15.0	4.5	9	32	-	4.3	35.1	8.6
21-25	22.2	37.8	24.3	20.3										4.3	40.5	9.4
26-30	28.7	18.9	27.3	31.4	81.8	53.9	78.9	81.6	67.6	80.0	21	24	-	27.0	18.9	25.8
31-35	33.0	2.7	28.8	31.0							33	20	-	26.5	5.4	23.6
36-40	8.3	-	7.1	11.5			12.3				22	12	-	27.4	-	23.6
41-45	2.2	-	1.9	-	12.4	11.5		13.5	13.9	13.5	10	7	-	7.0	-	6.0
46-50	-	-	-	-							4	5	-	3.0	-	2.6
Over 51	-	-	-	1.7	2.2	3.7	2.3	1.7	3.5	1.9						

Sources: (1) Aker, A., 1972:149, Tablo E.3; (2) Abadan, N., 1964: 27, Tablo 9; (3) IIBK, 1974D: 10.

Figures may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

1.5. Marital Status

Most of the Turkish migrant workers in the FRG are married. Even in the early days of migration Abedan found that 55.7% of the workers were married. The share of the married people has risen to 90.8% in 1968, to 92.7% in 1971 and, with a slight drop, to 89.4% in 1974. (Table 1.10).

In the survey I found that 82% of the respondents were married, 17% were bachelors and less than 1% were widowed or divorced. (Table 1. 10). The proportion of married men has been higher than the married women. In 1963, the proportion of married men was 57%, as opposed to 45% for women; in 1968 these proportions had risen to 82% for men and 71% for women, and in 1972, 86% of the men and 78% of the women were married. The proportion of married women in my survey as a percentage of all the women in the sample was unusually low at 38%. This was probably due to the fact that all the women workers interviewed were living in a hostel for single women workers, and most of them were young and new migrants from the urban areas in Turkey.

1.5.1. Marriage Period

There seems to be an even distribution among the married men concerning the length of time they have been married, with 78% of them having been married between 3 and 18 years. There were only

Table 1.10. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Marital Status, Various Surveys.

	ABADAN (1)			T.E.S. (2)			F.R.G. (3)				AKER (4)		YÜCEL		Turkish (5)
	1963			1968	1971	1974	1968		1972		1971		1973		Population over 15
	M	F	T	T	T	T	M	F	M	F	T	M	F	T	T
Married	57.4	44.8	55.7	90.8	92.7	89.4	82	71	86	78	84	89.6	37.8	82.4	73
Bachelor	41.2	37.3	40.7	7.5	6.2	9.4					14	10.0	59.5	16.9	18
Widowed, Divorced, Unknown	1.4	18.0	3.6	1.7	1.1	1.2	18	29	14	22	2	0.4	2.7	0.7	9

- Sources: (1) Abadan, N., 1964: 64, Tablo 41;
 (2) IIBK, 1974B: 12;
 (3) IIBK, 1974D: 12-13;
 (4) Aker, A., 1972: 34;
 (5) Paine, S., 1974: 190, Table A14.

3.9% who had been married for more than 18 years. (Table 1.11).

The picture changes drastically for the married women in the sample: all the women had been married for less than 18 years, with 35.7% less than 3 years, 35.7% between 3 and 6 years, 21.4% between 6 and 9 years, and only 7.1% between 9 and 12 years. (Table 1.11).

Table 1.11. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Years of Marriage.

	Marriage Period								
	-3 Years	3-6 Years	6-9 Years	9-12 Years	12-15 Years	15-18 Years	18-21 Years	21-24 Years	24+ Years
MALE	3.9	12.6	16.5	18.4	15.0	15.5	6.3	5.3	6.3
FEMALE	35.7	35.7	21.4	7.1	0	0	0	0	0

1.5.2. Number of Children

Turkish migrant workers, especially the males, come from relatively large families. (In 1973, 60.5% of the total sum of children's allowances in the FRG was paid to Turkish workers - Abaden-Unat, N., 1976: 34). I found that while 5.3% of the married men and 33.3% of the married women had no children, of the men 12.1% had one, 19.3% had two, 29% had three, 13.5% had four, 10.1% had five, 4.8% had six, 3.4% had seven and 2.4% had more than eight children. Of the women 46.7% had only one

Table 1.12. Percentage Distribution of Married Workers by Number of Children.

	None	1 Child	2 Children	3 Children	4 Children	5 Children	6 Children	7 Children	8+ Children
Male	5.3	12.1	19.3	29.0	13.5	10.11	4.8	3.4	2.4
Female	33.3	46.7	20.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	7.2	14.4	19.4	27.0	12.6	9.5	4.5	3.2	2.3

child and 20. had two children. No women in the sample had more than two children. (Table 1.12).

On the whole, the married migrant men in the sample display very similar characteristics to the Turkish population in general concerning the number of children. Their mean number of children per person is 3.1 which is similar to the Turkish mean in 1970 (Paine, S., 1974: 78). As the women in the sample were largely young, unmarried migrants the percentage concerning their children was much lower.

If we follow the married migrant workers' progress through the years we see that there has been a shift towards more children as the migration stream matured. (Table 1.13).

Table 1.13. Percentage Distribution of Married Migrant Workers by Children, Various Years.

	Abadan ⁽¹⁾		I.I.B.K. ⁽²⁾		Yücel
	1963	1968	1971	1974	1973
No children	13.0	9.3	8.6	9.7	7.2
1 Child	21.8	11.2	13.1	14.5	14.4
2 Children	20.5	16.8	18.3	23.4	19.4
3 Children	29.0	19.0	19.7	22.9	27.0
4 Children	9.6	15.6	16.7	15.1	12.6
5 Children	4.8				9.5
6 Children	1.4	20.2	17.5	13.6	4.5
7+ Children	0.7				5.5

Sources: (1) Abadan, N., 1964: 65; (2) IIBK, 1974B: 12.

While Abadan found that the percentage of the workers with three or more children was 45.5% in 1963, IIBK surveys found that it rose to 54.8% in 1968, to 53.9% in 1971 and with a further drop to 51.6% in 1974. I found that 59.1% of the workers in the survey had more than three children in 1973. (Table 1.13). Clearly as the migration stream matured, the social characteristics of the migrants started to resemble those of the home community.

1.6. Educational Attainment

The level of educational attainment of Turkish migrants in the FRG compares favourably with both the total Turkish population at home and the other migrant nationalities in the FRG (Paine, S., 1974: 79). In spite of the requirements of primary school diplomas for official recruitment, the proportion of illiterate workers in the FRG has gone up to about 10% in 1974 from about only 3% in 1963. (Table 1.14). This is probably due to the recruitment of spontaneous workers as well as perhaps to: 1) personal job offers by the employers to the relatives of some of their Turkish workers, and 2) to the fact that workers subsequently brought their wives and children to the FRG as dependents and they then took up employment. Finally, though by no means exhaustively, it may be another indication of the migrant population slowly coming to resemble the home population due to the maturation of the migration stream.

The bulk of the migrant population has been increasingly better educated: the proportion of those with a primary school diploma

Table 1.14. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Educational Attainment.

	ABADAN (1)			IIBK (2)*			GERMANY (3)			GERMANY (4)			YÜCEL	Total (5) Turkish Pop. Aged 6 and above 1975	
	1963			1968	1971	1974	1968			1972			1973		
	M	F	T	T	T	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	F		T
No Education	3.0	1.4	2.8	2.9	5.6	3.1	9	21	10	7	18	10.4		9.0	38.1
Literate (3 Years Educ.)	14.9	13.4	14.8	29.0	14.8	14.7	25	17	24	15	17	19.9		9.4	17.0
Primary School (5 Years)	57.4	32.7	49.0	59.2	72.5	69.1	62	49	61	64	51	65.2	24.3	59.6	34.9
Vocational School (3 Years)	14.0	23.8	15.4	1.9	2.6	3.0	1	3	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Middle School (8 Years)	12.1	16.3	12.8	3.0	3.4	6.5	2	8	3	5	7	7.4	37.8	11.6	4.9
Secondary School (11 Years)	3.2	10.4	4.3	0.7	0.8	1.9	0	2	1			5.7	32.4	9.4	
Higher Educ.	0.7	1.4	0.8	-	-	-	0	0	0		--	0.4	5.4	1.1	
Unknown	0.2	-	0.2	-	-	-	0	1	0	--	--	--	--	--	0.3

Sources: (1) Abadan, N., 1964: 61, Tablo 37; (2) IIBK, 1974B: 13, * excludes spontaneous workers;

(3) Paine, S., 1974: 192, Table A17; (4) IIBK, 1974D: 21; (5) Hale, G., 1980: 11, Table 7.

(5 years education) has gone up from 49% in 1963 to 69% in 1974; those with a middle school diploma (8 years education) went down from 13% in 1963 to 3% in 1968 but then started rising again and reached 6% in 1974; the proportion of those with a secondary school education (11 years) has shown a similar trend with first a fall from 4% in 1963 to 0.7% in 1968, followed by a rise to almost 2% in 1974. (Table 1.14).

1.7. Pre-Migration Occupation

Contrary to the common belief in the receiving country, most of the migrants were not unemployed before migration. This has now been well established by research (e.g. Paine, S., 1974: 82-84; Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 70, 85-86; Abadan, N., 1964: 67-68; Aker, A., 1972: 43-44). The highest pre-migration unemployment rate was during the early phases of Turkish migration to the FRG. But even then the figure stood at only 14% in 1963 (Abadan, N., 1964: 67-68). In later years, the number of unemployed among the new migrants fell even more. Only 4% of the migrants were unemployed before migration in 1971 (Paine, S., 1974: 195, Table A20a); Aker found only 0.3% unemployed in his sample survey in the same year. In 1973 only 0.7% were found to have been unemployed before migration among the workers I interviewed. In 1974 it was found in the TES survey that 5.5% of the workers included in the survey had been unemployed before migration (TES 1974b: Table 13).

A large proportion of the early migrants came from industry, most of whom were skilled workers. Abadan reported that only 10.8% of

the workers were unskilled in 1963 and that 8.9% of these came from agriculture. (Table 1.15). In later years as mass migration started, the share of the agricultural sector rose steadily in the migration stream: the 1971 TES survey found that 42% of the migrants had come from agriculture. (Table 1.15).

In the early 1970's there was a sharp increase in the demand for skilled workers by German employers. This resulted in long waiting lists for the unskilled men, mainly from the agricultural sector. For example, the demand for skilled workers rose from 38% in 1971 to 47% in 1973, 60% in 1974, 92% in 1975, dropping to 90% in 1976 (Gökdere, A.Y., 1978: 74, Tablo II, 26). As a result, the share of skilled workers in the migration stream rose sharply among the officially recruited workers, going up from 36% in 1971 to 42% in 1973, dropping to 36% in 1974 but rising again to 51% in 1975 and reaching 73% in 1976 (Gökdere, A.Y., 1978: 74, Tablo II, 26).

Table 1.15 shows the composition of the migrant stock in various years.

1. 8. Pre-Migration Trade Union Membership

Although the history of Trade Unions or workers' associations in Turkey goes back to the 1870's, real trade unionism started only after July 1963 when the unions were granted the right to bargain and

Table 1.15. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrants Workers' Pre-departure Occupations, Various Years & Surveys.

	1963(1) ABADAN		1969(2) TES			1971(3) TES			1974(4) TES			1973 YÜCEL		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
<u>UNSKILLED</u>														
Agriculture	7.4	39.9	1.7	37.3	48.8	1.1	42.9	35.3	6.7	30.8	35.6	----	30.7	
Construction		3.8	---	3.6	3.6	---	3.1	3.8	---	3.1	3.0	----	2.6	
Production	3.2	2.4	1.6	2.3	1.5	0.4	1.4	2.4	1.3	2.3	10.4	10.8	10.5	
Other	---	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.1	1.0	3.2	1.2	2.8	----	----	----	
TOTAL UNSKILLED	10.6	47.1	4.5	44.3	55.0	1.6	48.4	44.7	9.2	39.0	49.0	10.8	43.8	
<u>SKILLED & SEMI-SKILLED</u>														
Construction		20.8	---	19.3	13.0	0.1	11.4	6.0	---	5.2	2.6	----	2.2	
Production & Crafts	35.0	13.7	7.9	13.3	14.3	5.9	13.2	17.5	6.2	15.7	9.1	----	7.9	
Service	4.0	2.9	1.1	2.8	2.4	0.9	2.2	4.4	1.6	3.9	4.8	----	4.1	
Mining	2.2	4.4	---	4.1	5.6	---	4.6	2.9	---	2.5	12.6	----	10.9	
Transport	7.9	2.3	---	2.2	2.3	---	2.0	3.4	----	2.8	5.7	----	4.9	
Professional & Technical	10.2	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	2.2	10.8	3.4	
Self-employed	12.6	3.0	0.1	2.8	2.8	---	2.4	1.7	0.5	1.5	6.1	5.4	6.0	
Clerical	----	1.2	2.3	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.3	2.7	2.5	2.3	3.5	21.6	6.0	
Others	----	3.5	1.6	3.4	2.7	0.5	2.4	6.7	3.3	6.1	---	----	---	
TOTAL SKILLED	71.9	52.1	13.6	49.6	44.8	9.0	39.9	45.7	14.6	40.3	46.6	37.8	45.4	

Table 1.15 (cont.)

<u>NON-WORKING</u>													
Students		0.1	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.9	0.9	3.5	8.1	4.1
Housewives & unmarried women	2.0	---	80.3	5.6	---	88.1	10.9	---	74.4	17.4	---	43.2	6.0
Unemployed	14.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.3	0.5	5.3	0.9	---	0.7
TOTAL NON-WORKING	16.0	0.1	81.0	5.8	0.3	88.4	11.2	7.2	75.8	18.6	4.4	51.3	10.8
Unknown	1.0	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.3	1.1	0.4	3.5	0.9	2.9	---	---	---

Sources: (1) Abadan, N., 1964: Calculations adjusted by taking into account the Non-working population of 16% from p.67, Table 46; p.70, Table 48 and p. 71, Table 49.

(2) IIBK, 1969: from Tablo 8;

(3) IIBK, 1971: from Tablo 8;

(4) IIBK, 1974: from Tablo 11 and 13.

Note: Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

strike. In 1963 there were 296,000 trade union members out of a total of 2.7 million workers, i.e. nearly 11%. When the unions gained the right to strike, the numbers of their members started rising rapidly, reaching nearly 30% of total wage earners. (Table 1.16).

Table 1.16. Numbers of Wage-earners and Rate of Unionization in Turkey, 1963-1971.

Years	Number of Wage-Earners Eligible for T.U's	Number of T.U. Members	Rate of Unionization
1963	2,745,000	296,000	10.8
1967	3,310,000	613,000	18.5
1971	4,055,000	1,200,000	29.6

Source: T.C. Çalışma Bakanlığı, 1973: 117, Tablo 12.

I found similar results in the FRG in 1973: 30.3% of the workers interviewed had been union members before migration. The percentage of women union members was considerably lower than that of the men, with 21.6% as opposed to 31.7%. (Table 1.17).

Table 1.17. Pre-Migration Trade Union Membership of Turkish Migrant Workers in Survey, (in %).

	Pre-Migration Trade Union Membership		
	Unknown	Was a Member	Was Not a Member
Male	0.4	31.7	67.8
Female	-	21.6	78.4
TOTAL	0.4	30.3	69.3

The rate of unionization was highest among the miners (93.1%), professional and technical workers (55.6%) and the production workers and craftsmen (43.5%). The lowest rate of unionization was found, not surprisingly, in the agricultural sector (7.3%). (Table 1.18).

Table 1.18. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Pre-migration Occupations and Pre-migration Trade Union Membership.

	Pre-Migration Trade Union Membership		
	Unknown	Member	Non-Member
Non-working	--	6.9	93.1
Agricultural	--	7.3	92.7
Miners	--	93.1	6.9
Drivers	--	23.1	76.9
Production Workers and Craftsmen	1.6	43.5	54.8
Clerical	--	25.0	75.0
Service and Entertainment	--	36.4	63.6
Professional & Technical	--	55.6	44.4
Self-employed	--	18.8	81.3
TOTAL	0.4	30.3	69.3

1.9. Birthplaces of Migrants' Fathers

Most of the migrants' fathers had rural origins. Nearly 64% had been born in villages, 19% in towns and only 13% had been born in cities. A small percentage of the fathers (4.5%) had also been born outside Turkey. (Table 1.19).

Table 1.19. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant workers by Birthplaces of their Fathers.

	Respondents' Fathers' Birthplaces			
	CITY	TOWN	VILLAGE	ABROAD
Male	6.1	17.0	73.0	3.9
Female	54.1	32.4	5.4	8.1
TOTAL	12.7	19.1	63.7	4.5 = 100.0

There seems to be a significant difference between the sexes concerning their fathers' background. Most of the migrant women's fathers had been born in cities (54.1%), whereas most of the men's had been born in villages (73%). A very small proportion of the women's fathers had been born in villages (5.4%), and a large proportion had been born in towns (32.4%). In total contrast, a small number of the men's fathers had city origins (6.1%) and 17% had town origins.

There is a close resemblance between the respondents' and their fathers' backgrounds concerning their birthplaces, which is

hardly surprising when we note that nearly 85% of the respondents had been born in the same place as their fathers. (Table 1.20).

Table 1.20. Comparison of the Birthplaces of the Migrants and their Fathers. (in %).

Respondents	Fathers' Places of Birth	
	Same Place as Respondents	Another Place
Male	90.0	10.0
Female	51.4	48.6
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>84.6</u>	<u>15.4 = 100.0</u>

It is interesting to note that while an overwhelming majority of the male respondents (90%) had been born in their fathers' places of birth, nearly half the female respondents (48.6%) had been born in a place other than that of their fathers. This indicates that 49% of the migrant women in the sample had come from families with previous migration experience whereas only a small percentage of the migrant men (10%) had come from families with such experience.

1.9.1. Present Residences of the Migrants' Fathers

Most of the respondents' fathers who were alive at the time of the interview were still living at their birthplaces (45.3%). A considerably large group (10.9%) who were living outside their birthplaces were living in cities. (Table 1.21).

Table 1.21. Present Residences of Migrants' Fathers.

	Respondents' Fathers' Present Place of Residence					
	Deceased	At Place of Birth	In a City	In a Town	In a Village	In the FRG
Male	40.4	47.8	6.1	0.9	3.0	1.7
Female	21.6	29.7	40.5	8.1	---	---
TOTAL	37.8	45.3	10.9	1.9	2.6	1.5 = 100.0

1.9.2. Migrants' Fathers' Occupation

More than half the respondents' fathers were farmers (57.3%). The next largest group was the craftsmen and production workers (10.1%), followed by miners (8.2%), self-employed (7.9%), clerical staff (5.2%) and professional and technical (4.1%). Very few were in the service (0.4%) or the transport (0.7%) sectors. (Table 1.22).

There is again a significant difference between the male and female respondents concerning their fathers' background. Most of the women workers' fathers were either self-employed (21.6%) or were in the clerical (24.3%) and professional and technical (16.2%) sectors. A large majority of the men's fathers were farmers (62.6%) or craftsmen and production workers (10.4%) and miners (9.6%).

A large majority of the fathers who were alive were still working - 64.2% of the men's and 82.8% of the women's fathers were still economically active. (Table 1.23).

Table 1.22. Migrants' Fathers' Occupations.

Respondents' Fathers' Occupations

	Unknown	Peasants	Miners	Drivers	Craftsmen, Production Workers	Professional & Technical	Clerical	Service Enter- tainment	Self- Employed	
Male	6.5	62.6	9.6	0.4	10.4	2.2	2.2	0.4	5.7	
Female	2.7	24.3	---	2.7	8.1	16.2	24.3	---	21.6	
83 TOTAL	6.0	57.3	8.2	0.7	10.1	4.1	5.2	00.4	7.9	100.0

Table 1.23. Economically Active Fathers.

	Retired	Working
Male	35.8	64.2
Female	17.2	82.8
TOTAL	32.5	67.5

1.10. Head of the Family, Before the Migrants' Departure to the FRG

More than half the migrant men (51.3%) came from families where they were the family heads. Another big group (45.2%) came from families where the family head was still their father. A very small number of men came from families where the family head was an elder brother (3%), and only one man (0.4%) came from a family whose head was his mother. (Table 1.24).

Table 1.24. Pre-migration Family Head.

	Pre-migration Family Head					
	Father	Him/ Herself	Elder Brother	Mother	Husband	
Male	45.2	51.3	3.0	0.4	---	
Female	54.1	2.7	2.7	8.1	32.4	
TOTAL	46.4	44.6	3.0	1.5	4.5	100.0

Most of the migrant women came from families where the head of the family was either their father (54.1%) or their husband (32.4%). Only a small number came from families where the head of the family was

their mother (8.1%) or elder brother (2.7%). (Table 1.24).

1.10.1. Type of Family, Before Departure

Nearly half the migrants (47.9%) came from nuclear families which consisted of husband and wife and unmarried children. The other half came from large families (49.7%). 17.6% came from large families which consisted of husband and wife and one married son and grandchildren (Large Family Type 1); 19.5% came from large families with husband and wife plus more than one married son and their children (Large Family Type 2), and 12.7% came from large families which consisted of nuclear families with dependant relatives, usually an aged parent (Large Family Type 3).

Table 1.25. Pre-migration Family Type.

	Pre-migration Family Type					
	Lived Alone/ With Friends	Nuclear Family	Large Family 1	Large Family 2	Large Family 3	
Male	2.2	41.7	19.6	22.6	13.9	
Female	2.7	86.5	5.4	0.0	5.4	
TOTAL	2.2	47.9	17.6	19.5	12.7	100.0
TURKEY * AVERAGE	3.2	59.7	13.8	5.2	13.1	

* Source: Timur, S., 1972: 31, drawn from Çizelge 3. Because of the Typology differences, the percentage total does not add up to 100.

There seem to be significant differences concerning the pre-migration family type between the male and female migrants. The overwhelming majority of the migrant women (86.5%) came from nuclear families, while the overall picture drawn above holds true for the migrant men. (Table 1.25).

When we compare the migrants' family types with the Turkish average we see that extended families provide more of the migrant men, and that nuclear families send many more of the migrant women (86.5%).

1.10.2. Number of Family Members, Before Departure

Consistent with the above picture is the size of the families the migrants come from. Most of the migrant women (81%) come from families with up to seven members, whereas migrant men come from much larger families. (Table 1.26).

While the average size of the family in Turkey is 5.5 persons (4.1 in the big cities of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, 4.9 in the other cities, 5.6 in towns and 6.1 in villages - Timur, S., 1972:37), the migrant men in the sample came from families with an average of 7.8 persons - nearly 50% higher than the national average, and the migrant women came from families with an average of 5.2 persons, slightly lower than the national average. (Table 1.26).

Table 1.26. Pre-migration Number of Family Members (in %).

Pre-migration Number of Family Members

	Lived Alone	2-3 Persons	4-5 Persons	6-7 Persons	8-9 Persons	10-11 Persons	12-13 Persons	14-15 Persons	16+ Persons	Mean (X)
Male	2.2	6.1	22.6	28.7	13.9	7.4	6.1	5.7	7.4	7.8
Female	2.7	32.4	24.3	24.3	5.4	8.1	---	2.7	---	5.2
TOTAL	2.2	9.7	22.8	28.1	12.7	7.5	5.2	5.2	6.4	7.5

1.10.3. Number of Working Family Members, Before Departure

In a large number of cases (41.2%) only one person in the family was working before the respondents' migration. In 23.6% of the families only two people, and in 12% only three people worked, while the families with more than three members working constituted only 23% of the sample. (Table 1.27).

1.10.4. Reasons for Leaving Home First Time

Migration to the FRG seems to be the main reason for leaving home for the majority of the respondents. More than 55% of the men and nearly 65% of the women had first left home to go to the FRG. Marriage is the next important event which necessitates leaving home, with 27% of the women and almost 11% of the men having left home after marriage. Internal migration in Turkey for economic reasons is the third most important reason for leaving home for the men, while there were no women in this category. While the father's or mother's death had been the reason for 10.4% of the men to leave home, none of the women had left home for these reasons. More than 5% of the women and less than 1% of the men had left home to attend a school in another town. (Table 1.28).

1.11. Pre-migration Accommodation

Only a small number of the migrant men (12.6%) were living in rented accommodation at the time of their migration. The rest

Table 1.27. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Pre-migration Number of Working Family Members.

	Pre-migration Number of Working Family Members								
	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	5 Persons	6 Persons	7 Persons	8 Persons	9+ Persons
Male	40.4	21.3	11.7	6.5	6.5	3.5	4.3	1.3	4.3
Female	45.9	37.8	13.5	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	41.2	23.6	12.0	6.0	5.6	3.0	3.7	1.1	3.7 = 100.0

Table 1.28. Migrants' Reasons for Leaving Home for the First Time, (in %).

	Reasons for Leaving Father's Home								
	Marriage	To Work in Another Place	To go to FRG	Family got too Big	Father's Death	Mother's Death	To Migrate to Turkey	For Education in Another Town	Other Reasons
Male	10.9	11.3	55.2	4.3	9.1	1.3	0.9	0.9	6.1
Female	27.0	0.0	64.9	---	---	---	2.7	5.4	---
TOTAL	13.1	9.7	56.6	3.7	7.9	1.1	1.1	1.5	5.2 = 100.0

were living in houses owned either by their fathers (47%) or by themselves (40.4%). Although a considerably larger percentage of the women (35%) were living in rented accommodation, those who lived in houses owned by themselves (10.8%) or by their fathers (54.1%) still constituted the majority. (Table 1.29).

Table 1.29. Ownership of Pre-migration Accommodation (in %).

	Pre-migration		Accommodation	
	Own House	Father's/ Relative's House	Rented House	
Male	40.4	47.0	12.6	
Female	10.8	54.1	35.1	
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>36.3</u>	<u>47.9</u>	<u>15.7</u>	<u>100.0</u>

There was a sharp contrast between the houses lived in by the migrant men and the women. A very large group of the men lived in village (63%) and shanty town (gecekodu) (5.2%) houses.

Table 1.30. Pre-migration Accommodation Type, (in %).

	Pre-migration Accommodation Type			
	Village House	Shantytown House	Flat	Town House
Male	63.0	5.2	3.9	27.8
Female	0.0	0.0	29.7	70.3
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>54.3</u>	<u>4.5</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>33.7 = 100.0</u>

Although there are considerable differences in the construction of village houses from one region to another, they are generally one-

storey buildings (DPT 1970: 246, Tablo 219), with one (16.0%), two (32.5%), three (23.2%) or four (15.8%) rooms (DPT 1970: 243, Tablo 214), made with stone (49.5%), wood (21.8%) or sun-dried mud bricks (22.3%) (DPT 1970: 247, Tablo 220). They have roofs covered with earth (50%) or tiles (40.9%) (DPT 1970: 247, Tablo 221), without a separate kitchen (55%) or bathroom (36.8%) (DPT 1970: 248, Tablo 222), and usually an outside toilet (DPT 1970: 248, Tablo 223). 70.9% of the villages had drinking water shortages. 67.7% of the villages got their drinking water from the village fountain (çeşme), 17.3% from a well, and 9.1% got it from streams (DPT 1970: 220, Tablo 184-185).

Most of the migrant men (60%) and all the women stated that they had a separate bathroom in their houses. (Table 1.31). Again, all the women were living in accommodation with inside toilets, while 54% of the men lived in houses with outside toilets. (Table 1.31).

Table 1.31. Percentage of Pre-migration Accommodation Possessing Bathroom and Toilet.

	Bathroom			Toilet		
	No Answer	Yes	No	Inside	Outside	None
Male	0.9	60.0	39.1	44.3	53.9	1.7
Female	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	0.7	65.5	33.7	52.1	46.4	1.5

1.12. Use of Consumer Durables

Most of the migrant men (62.6%) had no carpet or modern household machines in their accommodation before migration. Nearly 29% had only carpets, and 8.7% had a carpet plus one or more of the household machines in their homes. (Table 1.32).

The migrant women came from much better furnished homes. Only 19% of them had none of the items listed in their homes, while 30% had all four, 8% had three, 16% had two and 27% had only a carpet in their accommodation. (Table 1.32).

Table 1.32. Percentage Distribution of Carpet, Fridge, Washing Machine and Electric Sweeper in Pre-migration Accommodation.

Washing Machine, Fridge, Electric Sweeper & Carpet in Pre-migration Accommodation					
	None	Carpet Only	2 Items	3 Items	All 4 Items
Male	62.6	28.7	6.1	0.9	1.7
Female	18.9	27.0	16.2	8.1	29.7
TOTAL	56.6	28.5	7.5	1.9	5.6 = 100.0

When we look at the things the migrants had item by item, we see that the carpet is the most widely possessed commodity. 37.4% of the men and 81% of the women had carpets in their homes. 56.8% of the women and 8.7% of the men had a fridge; 37.8% of the women and 2.6% of the men had washing machines and 29.7% of the women and 2.2% of the men had electric sweepers in their accommodation. (Table 1.33). None of the

migrants had a fridge, washing machine or electric sweeper without a carpet, which suggests that a carpet is the first thing that people buy. The next item on the list seems to be the fridge, followed by the washing machine, with the electric sweeper coming last.

Table 1.33. Percentage Distribution of Possession of Carpet, Fridge, Washing Machine & Electric Sweeper in Pre-migration Homes.

	None	Carpet	Fridge	Washing Machine	Electric Sweeper
Male	62.6	37.4	8.7	2.6	2.2
Female	18.9	81.1	56.8	37.8	29.7
TOTAL	56.6	43.4	15.4	7.5	6.0

A large majority of the migrant men (57.8%) had only a radio in their homes, while 13.5% had a radio and a tape recorder or record player and 3.9% had all these items. 24.8% of the men had none of these in their pre-migration accommodation. (Table 1.34).

All the migrant women came from houses with at least a radio (29.7%); those with a radio and a tape recorder or record player constituted 37.8%, while those who had all three items formed 32.4% of the sample. There were none without at least a radio. (Table 1.34).

If we take each of the items listed in turn, we see that the radio is the most common item at home. 75.2% of the migrant men and all the women had radios in their homes. Record players seem to take second place in the homes of the migrant women (59.5%), while tape recorders took second place in the men's homes (11.3%). As the third item, 43.2%

Table 1.34. Percentage Distribution of Radio, Record Player or Tape Recorder in Pre-migration Accommodation.

Radio, Tape Recorder, Record Player in Pre-migration Accommodation				
	None	Only Radio	Two Items	All Three Items
Male	24.8	57.8	13.5	3.9
Female	---	29.7	37.8	32.4
TOTAL	21.3	53.9	16.9	7.9

of the women had tape recorders and 10.4% of the men had record players in their pre-migration accommodation. (Table 1.35).

Table 1.35. Percentage Distribution of Radio, Record Player and Tape Recorders in Pre-migration Accommodation.

	None	Radio	Tape Recorder	Record Player
Male	24.8	75.2	11.3	10.4
Female	0.0	100.0	43.2	59.5
TOTAL	21.3	78.7	15.7	17.2

1.13. Reasons for Migration

The primary causes of labour migration are, by definition, economic. Differences of economic development between two regions, entailing differences of supply and demand of labour, job opportunities, wage differentials, access to educational and health facilities, etc., are the main factors that set in motion the process of labour migration (For a lengthier discussion of the causes of migration see the Introduction). This is very well illustrated in the answers the migrants gave to the question on the reasons for migration. 92.2% of the migrant

men and 70.3% of the women gave pure economic reasons for their migration. (Table 1.36). When we combine this group with the next, which stated that they had migrated for better wages and to see Europe (3.5% of the men and 21.6% of the women), we get 95% of the migrants declaring economic reasons for their migration. In fact, we can add to this category too 5.4% of the women who stated that their reason for migration was to bring their husbands to the FRG. They had migrated to the FRG first because it was much easier for the women to migrate and then bring their husbands. Otherwise their husbands could wait in the queue for years and perhaps never get the chance to migrate - especially if they were over 35 years old and unskilled. (See Chapter II).

Among the other reasons people gave to explain their migration were those connected with education (two men and a woman worker had originally come for university education but had later abandoned their studies), three men had come to join their families as dependants and had later started working, and five other men (2.1%) had come for various personal reasons like escaping from blood feuds, political harassment, etc. (Table 1.36).

Table 1.36. Main Reasons for Migration, (in %).

	Main Reasons for Migration					
	Economic	Better Wages & to See Europe	To Bring Husband	Education	Join Relatives	Various Personal
Male	92.2	3.5	---	0.9	1.3	2.1
Female	70.3	21.6	5.4	2.7	---	---
TOTAL	89.1	6.0	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.9 = 100.0

1.13.1. Migration Channel

A large majority of the migrants (all the women and 71.7% of the men) had chosen the official channels of migration and came to the FRG through the Turkish Employment Service (TES) and the German Liason Office (GLO). The next largest group (16.1% of the men) had chosen to migrate unofficially and came to the FRG as "tourists" - the common term for all spontaneous migrants. Only 6.1% of the men had received personal job offers, 4.3% had utilized the village producers' co-operatives (whose members were given some priorities) and 1.7% had come on the invitation of close relatives. (Table 1.37).

Table 1.37. Migration Channels Utilized, (in %).

	Migration Channel					
	Through TES	Invitation from Relatives	Invitation from Firms	As Tourist	Through a Village Co-op.	
Male	71.7	1.7	6.1	16.1	4.3	
Female	100.0	---	---	---	---	
TOTAL	75.7	1.5	5.2	13.9	3.7	= 100.0

1.13.2. Migration Companions on the First Journey

Most of the migrants (97.3% of the women and 76.1% of the men) had left Turkey in the company of other workers bound for the FRG, usually as a group of officially recruited migrants. Less than

6% of the men and 3% of the women had been accompanied by relatives, and 7% of the men and none of the women by hemsehris (fellow countrymen). 10.9% of the men had travelled alone. (Table 1.38).

Table 1.38. First Migration Companions, (in %).

	Other Workers	Alone	Relatives	Fellow Countrymen	
Male	76.1	10.9	5.7	7.4	
Female	97.3	---	2.7	---	
TOTAL	79.0	9.4	5.2	6.4	= 100.0

In conclusion the emerging picture is that the Turkish labour migration to the FRG is, in spite of the steady increase in the number of women workers, still dominated by the men. There was a sharp increase in the recruitment of Turkish women by the German electronics and textile industries in the early 1970's which, as far as the characteristics of the women included in the survey suggest was mainly composed of young, unmarried, urban dwellers with better than average education. This was probably the beginning of a new phase in the Turkish labour migration process which was stopped abruptly by the ban on labour recruitment by the FRG in 1974. Had this not happened the migration would probably continued in time to include rural women, with far reaching effects on Turkish social structure, especially in respect of the position of women.

I have shown that contrary to some misconceptions the migrants are from the more developed regions and provinces of Turkey and are

likely to have experienced internal migration. They are young; most of the men are married, the women are unmarried. Men come from much larger families than the women. Migrants are better educated with a high level of employment and trade union membership record. The social differences between men and women migrants are also reflected in their fathers' residential and occupational backgrounds.

Over half the migrant men seem to have been the family heads before migration, while the other half were still under their fathers' or another relative's authority. Almost all the women on the other hand were under their fathers' husbands' or another relative's authority before migration.

Most of the men came from large extended families, while an overwhelming majority of the women came from nuclear families. It seems that migration to the FRG was the main reason for leaving the father's home for the first time. Other reasons included marriage and internal migration in Turkey itself.

Consistent with their backgrounds, most of the men used to live in village or town houses owned by themselves or their fathers, while the women lived in town houses or city flats mostly owned by fathers or privately rented. The women's houses were much better equipped with consumer durables like carpets, fridges, washing machines, radios, record players, etc.

The primary causes of migration were as expected: economic. Most of the men and all the women had migrated using the official channels and came to the FRG in the company of other workers.

I have not attempted in this chapter to discuss the significance of these demographic characteristics for the migrants themselves. The subjective dimension to migration, the choices people make, the subtle shifts in attitude and perspective which migration requires will be discussed in appropriate places in subsequent chapters.

In the following chapter I discuss the recruitment process itself, examining how official recruitment procedures actually work and showing how migrants use these procedures. In addition I examine the mechanism of unofficial or spontaneous recruitment for it is through such arrangements - both official and unofficial - that the links between the developed economy and the underdeveloped economy are managed and maintained.

NOTES

(1) Provinces of the regions:

1. Thrace and Marmara Region: Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, İstanbul, Kocaeli, Çanakkale, Bursa, Bilecik, Sakarya.
2. Aegean Region: Muğla, Denizli, Aydın, İzmir, Manisa, Balıkesir, Kütahya, Afyon, Uşak.
3. Black Sea Region: Bolu, Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Sinop, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Rize, Artvin.

4. Mediterranean Region: Hatay, Adana, İçel, Antalya, Surdur.
5. Central Anatolia Region: Eskişehir, Konya, Niğde, Ankara, Çankırı, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırşehir, Maraş, Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, İsparta.
6. Eastern Anatolia Region: Kars, Ağrı, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Erzincan, Malatya, Tunceli, Bingöl, Muş, Bitlis, Hakkâri, Van.
7. South-eastern Region: Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Urfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Siirt.

CHAPTER 2

RECRUITMENT

2.1. OFFICIAL RECRUITMENT

Official labour migration from Turkey is regulated by bilateral labour and social security agreements between Turkey and the labour-importing countries. The first of the labour agreements was signed with the Federal Republic of Germany on 31.10.1961. This was followed by the agreements with Austria (1964), Belgium (1964), Holland (1964), France (1965), Sweden (1967) and Australia (1967). (1)

The labour agreement between Turkey and the FRG is similar to those between the FRG and the other labour-exporting countries like Spain, Italy and Greece. It covers the main principles of labour exchange procedures and states the rules and methods of co-operation between the countries. Stipulated clauses define the responsibilities of the authorized institutions, first selection, final selection, arrangement of travel to the importing country, equality of the migrants to the German workers, their rights and obligations while in the FRG, transfer of savings, measures for facilitating adjustment to the new environment, and the return of migrants (T.C. Dişişleri Bakanlığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal İşler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1973: 18 - 20).



The selection, transportation and placement of workers are carried out by the authorized institutions in Turkey and the FRG. For Turkey this institution is the Turkish Employment Service (TES). In Germany the German Federal Labour Bureau and the Unemployment Insurance Institution co-operate for this purpose and are represented in Turkey by the German Liason Office (GLO) in Istanbul.

A German employer who wants to hire foreign labour contacts the local Employment Bureau and asks for the necessary papers. He fills in the required information for each job: the required skills, the wage and working conditions offered for that job as stated within the last agreement between employers and trade unions. If there is no agreement, the average wage and working conditions of the region are written down. Employers have the right to choose the foreign workers they want to employ from among the Turkish, Greek, Spanish or Portuguese nationals. One precondition of labour import by an employer is that he should provide accommodation for all the workers he wants to import and that he should pay a fee for all the recruitment expenditures. In the early sixties this fee used to be only 165 DM per person. Later it was increased to 300 DM and on 1.9. 1973 to 1,000 DM per person in the hope of discouraging employers from recruitment of foreign labour, which had reached a disconcerting level.

When the foreign worker requests are received by the employment bureaux, the conditions of the contracts are checked and then sent to

the liason officers in the appropriate countries, either openly, for any worker of the required skills, or with the worker's name on it if it is a personal job offer.

In Turkey the job offers from the GLO are received by the Istanbul branch office of the TES. Istanbul transfers 50% of these to the Ankara branch for re-distribution among forty-six provinces in Central and Eastern Anatolia (including Ankara). The other 50% are distributed according to a quota by the Istanbul branch among twenty-one provinces in Western Anatolia and Thrace (including Istanbul).⁽²⁾ To be able to recruit suitable workers in each province from among the many thousands of applicants, the jobs and the working conditions offered are circulated on standard forms which include such information as the name and the place of the employer, the job offered, the number of positions to be filled, the contract period, the sex, marital status and age limits, the required skills, the working hours, the minimum and maximum wages, the social benefits and the accommodation offered.

The applications received from the prospective migrants by the TES branches throughout the country are also classified accordingly. When the job offers are received, these are matched with the applications and the suitable applicants are invited for the first selection. (Ahibaba, N., 1966: 105 - 124).

The first selection by the TES is based on required skills, priority conditions, date of application, age and health. Until April, 1972

priority was given to those who

- 1) were demanded by name by the foreign employer;
- 2) had some knowledge of the relevant language;
- 3) had applied jointly with their spouses;
- 4) were involuntarily unemployed;
- 5) were members of an agricultural producers' co-operative.

There was also a rotation system whereby different provinces in Turkey had priority each year. (Özşahin, S., 1970: 19 - 20).

In April 1972 the priority conditions were changed and a new rotation system was established. From that time on priority was given to:

- 1) members of producers' co-operatives;
- 2) applicants in areas of national catastrophes;
- 3) applicants who received personal job offers (only those who either have a parent, a spouse or a child in Germany, or are ex-employees of a German firm can receive a personal job offer);
- 4) applicants from less developed regions. (The country was classified into three regions as a) less developed, b) developing and c) developed. (See Figure 1). Provinces classified as "less developed" were to receive two year's and the "developing" provinces were to receive one year's priority. (Paine, S., 1974: 67).

The labour migration from the FRG is highly selective. The prospective migrants are required to fulfill certain conditions to be able to obtain jobs abroad. In addition to skill requirements, those who

Figure 1: Turkey: Developmental Stages of Provinces.



Source: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1975.

have criminal records, those who are denied passports for political reasons, those who are illiterate and those who have ill health or are above certain age limits cannot be selected. The age limits are 35 for unskilled and 40 for skilled workers.

After the first selection, the TES sends for the selected applicants to the German Liason Office. The final selection is conducted by the German Liason Office in Istanbul. The prospective migrants are medically examined by German doctors. Those who pass the medical tests are subjected to skill tests, either personally by the employers or by their representatives. The head of the GLO, von Harasovski, stated when interviewed in May, 1972 that they could handle six hundred workers a day and that 20% of these were being refused for medical reasons and a further 15% of them were failing for other reasons.

The successful candidates sign a contract with German firms. The contracts are counter-signed by the employers or their representatives and endorsed by the TES and the GLO. The conditions of the contracts are written in both Turkish and German and cover the wages, working and accommodation conditions, work locations, social benefits, etc. The duration of the contract is usually one year, after which the worker is free to change his job or renew his contract or return home. With the signing of the contract, the long waiting period - up to ten years for some unskilled workers - and the following "rites de passage" (all the enquiries, tests, bureaucratic formalities) are over. From now on the process speeds up - as if to prepare the migrant for the fast tempo of German industrial life. The Turkish authorities provide him with a valid passport and an

official statement about his marital status and number of children. The GLO issues an identity card, which also serves as work permit during the first year in Germany. Most of the migrants are transported to West Germany within two days. Abadan found that one third of the workers had been sent the next day, and one quarter within two days. Only 29.1% of the migrants had been delayed for one week or more. (Abadan, N., 1964: 58).

Transport to Germany is arranged by the GLO. The workers are usually sent by train. They are informed of the departure date and requested to be at the station in Istanbul at a certain time. There they are given their tickets and food packages to last them for three days (or the money to buy food for the same period). Then they are put on special labour trains and sent to Germany in special second class sleeper compartments. The journey lasts two days and three nights. The train is met in Munich by the representatives of the German firms. The workers are grouped according to their firms and taken to their work places. Those whose firms are in other parts of Germany are either taken there by the representatives or given "clear" instructions as to where to get off and put on a train and sent to the nearest town, where they are met by the firm. If there is a group of workers to be taken, they are usually met by someone and taken to the firm. If there are only one or two workers for a firm, they are usually sent from Munich to the nearest town by train, on their own.

The migrants are required to obtain stay permits within three days of their arrival at their workplaces. For the first year these permits are issued together as part of the recruitment procedure. For the

following years the work permits are issued by the Employment Agency, and the residence permits are issued by the Foreigners' Police, a special security agency dealing solely with foreigners. (de Haan, 1976: 351). During the first five years these permits are usually granted for one year, and restricted to a given area and a specific job. After five years of uninterrupted employment, if the economic and social conditions are favourable, the permits can be granted unconditionally, with no reference as to the job, firm or the residential area. (Franz, F., 1975: 51).

The bulk of labour migration from Turkey to Europe is through official channels. Table 11 shows the number of workers sent by the TES between 1961 and 1971. Table 12 shows the total number of registered workers in West Germany. 86.1% of my sample workers had also used the official channels. 13.9% had come to Germany as "tourists". Among those who had used the official channels, 75.7% had waited for their recruitment, and the other 10.4% had jumped the queue by either receiving personal job offers - through their relatives already in West Germany (6.7%) - or by enrolling in a village producers' co-operative (3.7%).

The considerations which affect the migration decisions are numerous. Obviously the driving force is economic. I will not repeat here the "push" and "pull" factors or the economic causes of migration as these are well documented in the literature on labour migration (e.g. Abadan, N., 1964, 1976; Börtüçene, İ., 1966; Tuna, O., and Ekin, N., 1966; Krane, R.E., 1975; Berger, J. and Mohr, J., 1975;

Table 2.1: Officially Recruited Turkish Migrant Workers by Years, Country and Sex.

Years	GERMANY			OTHERS			TOTAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	1,430	46	1,476	---	---	---	1,430	46	1,430
1962	10,493	532	11,025	160	---	160	10,653	532	11,185
1963	20,908	2,528	23,436	6,843	49	6,892	27,751	2,577	30,328
1964	50,818	4,084	54,902	11,182	92	11,274	62,000	4,176	66,176
1965	34,456	11,196	45,652	5,885	63	5,948	40,341	11,259	51,600
1966	22,865	9,715	32,580	1,782	54	1,836	24,647	9,769	34,416
1967	3,715	3,484	7,199	1,699	49	1,748	5,414	3,533	8,947
1968	30,099	11,310	41,409	1,770	31	1,801	31,869	11,341	43,210
1969	77,472	20,670	98,142	5,738	95	5,833	83,210	20,765	103,975
1970	76,556	20,380	96,936	32,243	396	32,639	108,799	20,776	129,575
1971	52,162	13,522	65,684	22,080	678	22,758	74,242	14,200	88,442
	380,974	97,467	478,441	89,382	1,507	90,889	470,356	98,974	569,330

Source: Erker, T., 1966: 92, TES Statistics, Various Years.

Table 2.2 : Total Number of Registered Turkish Workers in the FRG, 1960 - 1973.

<u>Years</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960 (July)	2,295	200	2,495
1962 (Sept.)	16,995	1,563	18,558
1963 (Sept.)	29,393	3,569	32,962
1964 (Sept.)	77,127	8,045	85,172
1965 (Sept.)	115,018	17,759	132,777
1966 (Sept.)	133,735	27,215	160,950
1967 (Sept.)	105,853	25,456	131,309
1968 (Sept.)	118,648	34,257	152,905
1969 (Sept.)	190,762	53,573	244,335
1970 (Sept.)	276,493	77,405	353,898
1971 (Sept.)	355,787	97,358	453,145
1972 (Sept.)	391,603	119,501	511,104
1973 (Jan.)	399,606	128,808	528,414

Source: Ausländische Arbeitnehmer, 1972/73: 70 - 71.

Aker, A., 1972; Braham, P., 1976; Castles, S., and Kosack, G., 1973; Böhning, W.R., 1972; Todaro, M.P., 1969, 1976; Harris, J. and Todaro, M.P., 1970). I will content myself by giving some empirical figures concerning the Turkish migrant workers. 88% of Aker's sample workers gave economic reasons for their migration, ranging from "finding it difficult to make ends meet" to "re-paying debts", "unemployment" and "to save money". (Aker, A., 1972: 94 - 97). 89% of the workers in my survey also said that their reasons for migration were economic (see Chapter I). But for the economic driving forces to be strong enough to commit someone to migrate, various other economic, social and psychological factors need to combine. The age, sex and marital status of the individual, the type of family he lives in, the number of dependants, the age composition of the family, the place of residence (whether it is a city or a village), the type of occupation or the skills he has, possessions like land, house and animals, the economic resources available, having any relatives or friends already working abroad are all important factors affecting the decision to migrate, or when to migrate and how and through which channels.

After the decision is taken, the alternative actions open to the individual are considered. The first and the most obvious is legal recruitment. The most important considerations for organized recruitment are official requirements like age, literacy, good health and occupational skills. These are imposed on the potential migrants either by the Turkish government or by the German employers through the GLO in Turkey.

The scope for manipulation within the official requirements is very

limited. However, there are still ways open to the individual to increase his or her chances of recruitment. If a woman is not inside the age limits of 18 - 40, or if a man has not yet completed his military service and is, therefore, younger than 21, or older than 40, he or she can attempt to change his or her legal age to be able to comply with the age requirements. In Turkey one can apply to a court and ask that one's date of birth should be altered. By producing two witnesses, one can claim that one's date of birth had originally been registered incorrectly because of the ignorance of one's parents or because of the delay in registering. As illiteracy is high and the delay in registering births and deaths are known facts in Turkey, these arguments are acceptable in a court of law. Therefore, one can successfully increase or decrease one's legal age to qualify for the official requirements. Obviously one cannot safely claim to be 30 years younger or older, and the changes are usually registered within ten years of the actual age.

Officially recruited migrants are required to submit a primary school diploma which is obtained after five years education between the ages of 7 and 12. Illiterate people and those with only a formal three-year village primary school education are not eligible as migrants. Therefore, these people either give up hope of official recruitment or try to get a primary school diploma. It is possible to sit for the diploma examinations externally and if successful the diploma is awarded. If they are unsuccessful, they can always try again the following year.

The health requirements are very strict. All prospective migrants are medically examined and X-rayed by German doctors at the GLO in Istanbul. Only the fittest can qualify to be "guestworkers" in Germany.

Nearly 20% of the applicants fail the medical tests and lose all hope of migration. Some of the applicants who know that they may not be up to the German standards of "good health" may try to dodge the German medical staff. Just before they go in for the medical tests, they have their blood pressure checked by the "health technicians" who wander around among the prospective migrants in front of the GLO in Istanbul. Those whose blood pressure is found to be too low or too high, can buy certain tablets from the same man that either increase or decrease the blood pressure. They can also buy "good" urine and substitute it for their own when asked to supply a specimen. Some migrants even go as far as to substitute a close relative or friend for themselves. Although the personal files of the prospective migrants contain recent photographs, they are, in some cases, so badly printed that one can substitute almost anybody for oneself and get away with it.

The skill requirements are another barrier for prospective migrants. The needs of German industry determine who goes there first. Applications from the workers are classified according to their skills in the TES files. When the job offers come from the German firms, these are matched with the applications. Most of the applicants are unskilled workers, e.g. at the end of June 1971 there were 1,066,038 applications in the TES files still waiting to be sent abroad. Of these, 827,337 were unskilled (77.5%) and 239,701 were skilled (22.5%). (TES, 10, Work and Manpower Bulletin, June 1971, Issue 126, T. 16). As the demand for skilled workers is higher, the number of unskilled workers on the waiting list is increasing every year. When compared with the other labour-exporting countries, Turkey is found to be increasingly exporting the largest numbers of skilled labour, e.g. in 1971, 46.3% of the migrant workers sent to West Germany were skilled,

constituting a 12% rise on the previous year. (IIBK, 1974A: 6). This is due either to the restrictions on the export of skilled labour or to the better economic conditions and employment opportunities at home in the case of the other labour-exporting countries. There are no restrictions on the emigration of skilled manpower from Turkey, and there has not been any substantial economic improvement to change the employment situation in the country.

Although the skilled workers have a better opportunity of migrating earlier, some skills are more sought after than others. For instance, in May 1966, all the glass cutters and decorators had been sent abroad, while some skilled workers like electricians, metal-press operators, car upholsterers, etc., had been waiting for job offers since 1963. (Ahibaba, N., 1966: 118 - 119). In June 1971, of the 7,761 job offers for men from West Germany, 4,526 were for unskilled workers (58.3%), 1,180 for miners (15.2%), 456 for bricklayers (5.8%), 428 for lathe operators (5.5%), 260 for welders (3.3%) and only 73 for textile workers (0.9%), 12 for founders (0.1%) and 8 for blacksmiths (0.1%). (IIBK, 1971C: T.20).

As the job offers and waiting lists are advertised at each TES regional office according to the occupations and dates of placements, the prospective migrants have a good knowledge of their chances of migration and the length of the waiting period. Those who are unfortunate enough to be unskilled workers or those whose skills are not in demand, sometimes register themselves as skilled workers who are in demand and hope to pass the skills test at the GLO.

Failing to meet any one of these requirements means an end to the hopes of official recruitment. Therefore, individuals may also resort to bribery at any stage of the recruitment procedure. Indeed they are sometimes forced into it by the officials dealing with them, who openly demand certain amounts of money to process their applications. A prospective migrant can meet such a demand or resort to bribery himself from the moment he submits his application for the first time until the final stage of signing his work contract. Bribes are usually collected by some middle man, such as a minor official or employee of the establishment or an entrepreneur working independently, and then distributed according to the job in hand and the rank of the officials in charge. Near every major TES office, the GLO and the other official buildings connected with the migration process - like the Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul, where the transit visas are obtained, the Police H.Q. where the passports are issued, etc. - there are offices maintained by entrepreneurs. They provide "guaranteed" services, ranging from filling in an application form to following the procedures on an applicant's behalf and speeding them up, measuring blood pressure, supplying regulatory medicine and "clear" specimens for the tests, finding a taxi (or passengers as the case may be) to Germany for a certain fee which includes, where appropriate, the necessary bribes. H. von Harasovski, the head of the GLO in Istanbul, had disclosed in 1973 that he had been fighting against these people since 1970, when he first came to Istanbul, and that once he had to sack all the laboratory technicians because they were taking bribes. "The swindlers were issuing forged passports, bribing the GLO staff, and even breaking into the GLO unnoticed and were forging the documents." (P. Prager's article in Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13.3. 1973).

2.2. UNOFFICIAL RECRUITMENT

The prospective migrants who are rejected on the grounds of failing to satisfy official requirements, or those who have no hope of recruitment within a short time, may resort to the alternative of spontaneous recruitment.

In 1973, during my fieldwork, an estimated 50,000 Turkish workers were working in the FRG "illegally." People who come from other than EEC countries, usually with a tourist's passport, and work in the FRG without a work and stay permit are called illegal workers by the German officials. I shall use the term "spontaneous migrants" rather than "illegal" in referring to this group of migrants, as adopted by the Netherlands United Nations Association. (van Houte, H., and Melgert, W., 1972). The term "illegal" sounds too harsh and biased, as some of these people live in Germany with legal stay permits as the relatives of "legal" migrants, but may have no work permits yet because of the official restrictions.

The term "spontaneous migrants" will be employed to include various categories of people who come to the FRG in the hope of obtaining employment. These categories are:

- 1) Migrants with valid passports but without any stay or work permits.
- 2) People who come to West Germany with valid passports and stay permits to live with their close relatives who undertake to support them during their stay in the country as they have no work permits.
- 3) Workers who use other individuals' passports, usually a friend's or a relative's, with full stay and work permits.

4) Workers who enter Germany with forged passports and/or stay and work permits. Some of these migrants who use forged documents may not even know that they are forged. There are many agents on the migration path, starting from Turkey and stretching to various European countries and ending in the FRG, who offer the prospective migrants their services for getting passports and permits for certain fees. The fee for a passport with full stay and work permits was between TL 7,000 and 15,000 (£200 - 400) in Turkey (Özcan, M., 1973: 1 - 6); between 1,500 and 3,000 DM in West Germany (Tercüman, 27.12.1972); between 1,500 and 2,000 francs in France (Tercüman, 5.4. 1973) and between 3,000 and 5,000 schillings in Austria (Milliyet, 5.2. 1973). Official stamps on some of these were skillfully forged while some others were genuine, obtained by bribing the officials. The bargaining skill of the migrants and the market conditions affect the fees. The economic and political fluctuations concerning the migrant workers both in Turkey and the FRG, availability of the forged documents and the demand for them constitute the variables in the market conditions. Any change in one of the variables affects the market and causes a change in the fees and spontaneous migrant flow. These lines from a spontaneous migrant's diary is a dramatic example:

"October 10th. The fee goes up **100%**: For the past ten days we have been spending our days in our 'friend's' office (the migrant dealer's) in vain. Every evening we are returning to our hotel empty-handed and downcast. Our friend and his partner have changed unrecognizably. To-day he asked for double the amount we had paid for our friends' passports a month earlier. He said: 'Since we gave you the last passports for your friends, things have changed for the worse in Germany. Many factories have stopped production. They are sending the Turkish workers back home, and you know how the employment situation is in Turkey now. The queues of prospective migrants have gone up to millions. These developments have affected our business too. Now it is much more difficult to send people to Germany. Our expenses have tripled.' We protested and left the office for consultation between ourselves." (Özcan, M., 1973: 5).

After several days spent bargaining, threatening and counter threatening, Özcan and his four friends agree to pay half their foreign currencies (£50.00 each) to the migrant dealer as extra payment. Three days after the settlement, they receive their tourist passports and four days later they set out in a minibus for the FRG. (Özcan, M., 1973: 5 - 6).

Those who use others' passports usually get them from relatives and friends who have spent some years in West Germany and now want to return home. The price of such a passport depends on many factors: the original owner's number of children; the number of years he has spent in West Germany; the number of years he wants to stay in Turkey and whether permanently or not; whether he wants to make use of his permanent return privileges or not, and the identity of the prospective migrant - whether he is a relative, friend or a stranger. Someone with six or seven children (which is not uncommon) would be quite happy to lend his passport to a relative or friend for some years in return for the children's allowances being sent to him in Turkey every month. This amounts to a considerable sum by Turkish standards, as seen from Table 1.3.

Table 2.3: Monthly Children's Allowances in DM, Paid According to Nationality, Prior to and After 1975.

No. of children	Allowance for German and Foreign Children Irrespective of Residence, 1964-74	Allowance for Turkish Children Residing Outside FRG, from 1975 onwards	Allowance for German and Foreign Children Residing Inside FRG from 1975 onwards
1	-	10	50
2	25	25	70
3	50	60	120
4	60	60	120
5	70	70	120

Source: Metal Haberler, Frankfurt, December 1974, No. 12, p. 3, quoted in Abadan-Unat, 1976: 35, Table 5.

Obviously the temptation was greater before 1975 when the German authorities introduced a discriminatory law against the children who were residing outside West Germany.

However, if a person has only one or two children, has spent many years in the FRG and now wants to return home permanently taking a car and household goods with him, he would be very reluctant to give his passport away cheaply, if at all. Turkish nationals who stay abroad for more than two years can import all the household goods like electrical appliances and furniture (one of each item) free of customs duty. They are also entitled to import cars and occupational tools and machines by paying the duties. This is a privilege granted only to workers and government employees who have spent at least two years abroad. Each extra year spent abroad entitles a person to import more expensive cars and machines. Even if a worker does not wish to use all these privileges for himself, he can always sell at a handsome profit. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain an average value for these passports. For instance, one of my informants who was from Erzurum in Eastern Turkey, and a stock-farmer before migration, was considering returning home after five years in the FRG and giving his passport to one of his cousins in exchange for the children's allowances and some sheep from his flock. He had seven children! Another case was reported in the press: the police in Izmit, Turkey, acting on information, had arrested one, Ahmet Karali and obtained a confession that he had given his passport to his friend, Ahmet Çikar, in exchange for the children's allowances and the overtime bonuses, and that Ahmet Çikar was now working in Ahmet Karalı's previous job. (Tercüman, 10.1. 1973). In 1973 there were an estimated 20,000 Turkish workers in West Germany who possessed forged or others' passports. (Hürriyet, 12.2. 1973).

Whatever means they employ to get into the FRG and obtain jobs there the spontaneous migrants were the subject of heated arguments in the press, on radio and television, between the trade unions, employers and the federal and local government agencies. Many people and organizations were concerned with the problem of spontaneous workers and they all had their own reason for this concern. But the reasons were not always compatible. For some employers they were a cheap source of manpower. By employing spontaneous migrants they were avoiding both the social security contributions and the recruitment fees they had to pay to the government agencies which were, by 1973, 1,000 DM per person. These employers also did not have to bother with the legal requirements of accommodation. As a result, most of the spontaneous workers occupied the worst accommodation in West Germany. They also received the lowest wages.

There were many agencies (Arbeiter-Verleifirmen) in the FRG whose main business was to recruit and employ foreign workers for the purpose of leasing them to other firms for short periods. Most of these firms were run by a small staff from a tiny office. They had on their books on average 500, and sometimes as many as 1,500 workers, consisting mainly of spontaneous workers. They were charging the client firms between 8.00 and 14.00 DM per hour for a worker and paying the workers on average only 6.00 DM per hour. The agency collected the money from their clients and later paid the workers. The difference between the amounts collected and paid out was the agency's net profit. As most of the workers had no residence or work permits they usually lived in dormitories provided by the agencies, and paid very high rents for substandard, overcrowded rooms thus increasing the agencies' profits (Power, J., and Hardman, A., 1976: 26). It was apparent that for these agents who were hiring out

the foreign workers to various firms, spontaneous workers were a source of tax-free wealth. Those who were dealing only in spontaneous workers were operating under various names, such as 'Export-Import', 'Structural Steel', 'Building Materials', etc. The workers were getting from the agent only a percentage of the wage they had been hired for. Although in most cases their wages were subject to tax and social security deductions, these were never paid to the authorities. After all the 'deductions' a spontaneous worker would probably earn between 500 - 1,000 DM per month, whereas a legal worker doing the same job under similar working conditions could earn three or four times as much. For example, in October 1972, the Stuttgart correspondent of WDR reported that in Kunzelsau a 39 year old German businessman had been prosecuted for embezzling 1 million DM. It had been discovered that he had been hiring out tourist workers to other firms, and although he was charging the firms 13 DM per hour for each worker he had been paying the workers only 8 DM, and not paying any tax or social security premiums to the authorities. (WDR, Cologne Radio, Turkish Service, 12.10.1972).

Mr. O. Tataroğlu, the Frankfurt correspondent of the same network, reported on the same programme that in Frankfurt alone there were about one hundred firms whose only assets were a single office, and whose only business was to hire out migrant workers to other firms. On October 12th 1972, the federal government introduced a new law to regularize and control this branch of business. When interviewed by Tataroğlu about the purpose of this new law, Herr M. Kretchmer of the Hessen Labour Office stated that in recent years some irregularities had come to light. For example, agent firms were not paying wages properly, were not sending tax and social security contributions to the authorities, and were employing spontaneous workers for very low wages. The law had been introduced to stop these

practices. From then on the agencies would have to obtain licences which would be issued only by the Federal Labour Office. The maximum period of hiring a worker to another establishment would be three months and the workers would get their wages continuously, whether they were kept busy by the employers or not. Those firms which evaded these laws would be heavily fined. The agencies would be required to give their workers leaflets, written in their own language, explaining their rights. The minimum fines for not giving out these leaflets would start at 1,000 DM.

The spontaneous workers were a headache for the German trade unions. The legal foreign workers with their tendency to keep wage levels low were bad enough but the spontaneous workers were intolerable. They were ready to accept any job on the employer's own terms, at the lowest rates. They did not, and could not, become members of trade unions. They were thus regarded as a threat to the organized workers and their unions.

The local and federal government agencies were concerned about the growing number of foreigners in the country but they were especially concerned about the spontaneous workers who could not be kept under control and manipulated according to the changes in policies regarding the foreign workers. They were also concerned on humanitarian grounds about the way in which these people were being exploited by both employers and landlords. Those who employed spontaneous workers were also avoiding tax and social insurance contributions amounting to millions of DMs every month. This in itself was an important cause for the officials' concern. As the economic boom slowed down and the public grew more and more critical of the large foreign population in the FRG, governments introduced new and more drastic measures to control the foreign workers. The spontaneous workers were among the first to be affected. The police raids became more

frequent and efficient. The fines were increased for both the workers and their employers. The introduction of imprisonment was being considered for employers in the extreme cases of employing spontaneous workers. (IIBK, 1974D: 3). By 1972, workers were already being imprisoned when caught by the police.

The most interesting aspect of spontaneous migration for the anthropologist is that it provides a dynamic example of how the social networks are manipulated in achieving certain ends. It is true that officially recruited migrants are also engaged in network manipulations, but unless the employers of their relatives put through a personal job offer and bring them near their relatives, they go through a period of transition of up to a year from the moment they step on the special labour train to the FRG. During this period most of these workers are sharply removed from their social networks and placed in a strange environment. They start to rebuild their social relationships there and if they are unlucky enough to be the first Turks in that region, they may find it extremely difficult to establish any contacts and may end up in total cultural isolation. Whereas for the spontaneously recruited migrants there is, in most cases, no such severance of social relations as all the stages of migration, from taking the decision to migrate to finding a job abroad, is performed within the actor's social network extending from home to the country of immigration.

The decision to migrate is taken after careful consideration of the information that is received through a worker's social network extensions in Europe, which supplements and often helps in evaluating the general facts about migration that the worker learns from the official sources,

newspapers and the radio or television. Communication between migrants in the FRG and their relatives or friends in Turkey is very effective. Letters are exchanged regularly, presents are sent on bayrams and birthdays, and most of the migrants come home regularly at least once a year during the holidays. Migrants write about their work, accommodation, recreation and the new environment. In turn they receive news about their families, friends, political and economic situation at home. When the migrants come home for holidays they are the centre of attention. They bring suitable presents of western goods for all the relatives and friends, and relate their experiences at length in endless chats.

The information and encouragement received from migrant friends and relatives is the primary factor in deciding to be a migrant. The importance of the social networks in the migration process becomes obvious here. In 1971, Aker found that 63% of his sample of new migrants got the idea of migrating from their relatives and friends already in the FRG, and that about two thirds of his sample workers had a relative or friend living there. (Aker, A., 1972: 99). My findings were similar: over 77% of my sample workers had one to seven relatives already working in the FRG (see Chapter 6). Even as early as 1963, when there were only 27,500 Turkish migrant workers in the FRG, Abadan found that 51% of her sample workers stated that the relatives, friends and fellow countrymen already in West Germany had been the primary source for their decision to migrate. (Abadan, N., 1964: 55, Table 32).

When a determined prospective migrant, probably after doing all he can within the official framework, comes to the conclusion that there is no hope for official recruitment in the near future, he will look for alternatives. And the alternatives are the various forms of spontaneous

recruitment. In the 1960's, during the early phases of the migration process, the easiest and the most widely used type of spontaneous recruitment was to go to the FRG as a tourist and obtain work there either through one's relatives or friends or through certain agents and migrant worker dealers.

The main disadvantages of the spontaneous migration are its high economic cost, the economic and legal insecurity and the uncertainties it involves. The economic cost of migration to officially recruited workers is minimal: they pay TL 150 (about £6 at the 1972 rate) for a special worker's passport. Spontaneous workers can only get tourist passports which cost TL 1,000 (£28) and is valid for one year. Officially recruited migrants do not pay for their travel. Depending on the modes of transport, spontaneous migrants pay between TL 900 (£25) for a bus seat and TL 3,000 (£150) for an air ticket. Furthermore, if they cannot get into West Germany at their first try, the travel expenses may double or treble. Official migrants are met in West Germany by the representatives of their employers and taken to their final destinations where they are provided with accommodation. Spontaneous migrants are met in Germany by the police and the customs officers, who are extremely suspicious of Turkish tourists, and are searched and scrutinized thoroughly. The slightest suspicion that they are not 'real' tourists is enough to deny them entry. If they succeed in getting through the customs, they scatter and head for their respective destinations: relatives and friends working in various parts of the country. The fares, food and temporary accommodation may become very expensive if they are unable to locate their contacts very soon.

Those who fail to persuade the customs officers and the foreigners' police that they are 'real' tourists are returned immediately. If they have come by aeroplane they are put on the next flight back. Those who travel by train or by bus or car meet more difficulties and earlier on in their journey. The first confrontation with the foreigners' police and the customs officials comes at the Austrian border. As a labour-importing country, Austria has the same migrant labour related problems as the FRG, although on a smaller scale. Turkey and Austria have a labour agreement similar to that between Turkey and the FRG, and the organized labour recruitment in Turkey for Austria follows the same lines as that for the FRG. Therefore, the Austrian officials try to stop the spontaneous migration as efficiently as possible. The dreams of the spontaneous migrants start turning sour at the Yugoslav-Austrian border. Many suspected 'tourists' are returned to Yugoslavia, where most of them try to get to the FRG via another route and some fall victims to the spontaneous migrant dealers and are robbed mercilessly.

Those who are not allowed into Austria while travelling by train or bus usually gather in large stations like Ljubljana or Zagreb before they make their next move. Here they meet other Turks and try to find some fellowcountrymen (hemşehri) whom they can trust. They exchange information and evaluate the facts. Contacts are made with 'guides' who are Turkish, Yugoslav or Austrian nationals who, for a large sum of money (between 200 to 500 DM - Atsız, Y. in Cumhuriyet, 29.11.1974) undertake to lead groups into Austria and the FRG along tracks through uninhabited areas in the Alps.

Those travelling by cars and minibuses, usually parties of relatives, fellow countrymen or friends but sometimes a group of unrelated individuals who are brought together by the migrant dealers, try to get into the FRG first via Austria, by trying various border points. Failing that, they then try other routes: Italy-Austria-Germany; Italy-Switzerland-Germany; Italy-France-Germany; Italy-France-Luxembourg-Germany; Italy-France-Belgium-Germany or Italy-France-Belgium-Netherlands-Germany. These routes are also used by some of those who are returned at the Austrian border while travelling by train or bus. In some cases the journey may take several months to complete, with temporary employment in Austria, France, Belgium or Holland. If satisfactory, long-term employment is found in one of these countries, the journey is broken and the stay becomes semi-permanent until sufficient money is saved to go back home or until the police catch up with them. In each country en route the social networks are manipulated. Relatives or fellow countrymen are found, employment opportunities and/or the best ways of getting to the FRG or the next country are discussed. Relatives and friends provide accommodation for the newcomers for as long as necessary. Meanwhile they try to find jobs and accommodation for them. If they are unable to find jobs for their friends in their region, they give the addresses of other friends or relatives in other parts of the country and send them there. They also lend the newcomers money if they need it, for their use in the search for jobs and entry to the FRG. The experiences of Yusuf, one of my fellow-workers in Frankfurt, was typical in this respect. Yusuf was a men's tailor in a large central Anatolian town when he decided to go abroad and make some money to enlarge his tailor's shop and possibly move to a large city. As there was little demand for men with his qualifications, he decided to go as a tourist. As a cousin of his wanted to go abroad too, they decided to go together. They obtained tourist pass-

ports and left Turkey by train. Their destination was Belgium where they had an uncle. Two days later, they were duly stopped at the Austrian border and returned to Yugoslavia. They went back to Ljubljana where they learned from other Turks that it was possible to go to Belgium via Italy and France. They bought two tickets to Paris and got on the next train. Some hours later the train arrived at the Italian border; this time they were stopped by the Italian officials on the grounds that they did not have visas for France. They returned to Yugoslavia to try to get French visas. Two days later they learned from the French Consulate that Turkish nationals, as member citizens of the Council of Europe, did not need visas for stays of up to three months. Equipped with this knowledge, they boarded the train once more. In the train, they met a Turk who was returning to his work in France after a holiday at home. With his help and knowledge of French they succeeded in persuading the Italian and French customs officials that they were genuine tourists, and got into France. They headed straight to the north, to a village near the Belgian border that they had learned of from their friend in the train. There, they waited until dark and crossed the border during the night by walking 27 kms. through a wooded area. The next morning they took a train to Brussels where their uncle worked and lived. They stayed for forty days with their uncle. He succeeded in finding a job for Yusuf's cousin on a building site, but could not find a suitable job for Yusuf. Finally, his uncle decided that Yusuf should try his luck in the FRG. They contacted a fellow countryman who was known to be a spontaneous migrant dealer, and talked with him about the chances of getting into the FRG and finding a job there. They were assured that he could take Yusuf into Germany and find a job for him there. He would charge 300 DM for his services and the risks involved. If Yusuf wanted to become a legal worker in the FRG, that too was possible but would cost 1,500 DM. As he could not afford

1,500 DM, Yusuf decided to go in as a 'tourist'. On the arranged day, the man came to take Yusuf into the FRG in his car. They drove to the German border, and saying that they were only passing through on their way to Turkey, they got into Germany without much difficulty. Once in the FRG, he took Yusuf to the nearest town, bought a train ticket to Frankfurt and gave Yusuf a fellow countryman's address in a village near Frankfurt where he had a small dressmaking business. He put Yusuf on the train and said that he was expected there. The next day Yusuf was working in his first job in the FRG. He worked there for eight months until the place was closed down because^{of} financial difficulties.

Another frequently used route by the spontaneous migrants involved three stages:

1) In the first stage, migrants travelled either by bus or train to Sofia or Belgrade.

2) In these cities they obtained East German visas, and flew to East Berlin.

3) From there they passed to West Berlin either by taking an underground train, which system had been built before the partition of the city and now zigzagged between the eastern and western parts, or they were met at the airport by their friends who worked in West Berlin and made the crossing in their cars. As the West Berlin police did not always check the passports, this route was regarded as one of the safest and shortest ways of getting into the FRG. In 1972, it was estimated that about 10,000 Turks had entered West Berlin via the East. (Günersel, N., in Son Havadis, 10. 12. 1972).

Apart from these well established and frequently used routes, individual migrants always find some novel ways of getting into the FRG and in time one or other of these may develop into a safe and well-tried route as more and more new migrants start to use it. All the surrounding European countries provide many possible entry points. Some fly to Denmark or England and try to enter the FRG by train or bus, claiming they are returning home after a holiday in Denmark or England. Some buy train tickets from Istanbul to London, tell the customs and immigration officials that they are going to visit their brother or sister working in England, and if they succeed in entering the FRG, leave the train in Munich. My wife and I, having been stopped and returned to the French officials while travelling in a bus the previous day, crossed the German border near Saarbrücken by mixing with the French border workers going to their jobs in Germany early in the morning.

Spontaneous migrants are now a well established part of the European labour market. In spite of all the controls, checks and stringent measures, the spontaneous migrant population in the FRG has steadily increased over the years. The increase was particularly marked after the economic recession of 1973 and the resulting stoppages on the officially recruited migrants at the end of that year. In November 1974 it was estimated that there were over 300,000 spontaneous workers in the FRG (Atsız, Y. in Cumhuriyet, 29.11.1974), whereas this number was estimated to have been around 60,000 only two years previously (Tercüman, 27.12.1972). The Turkish spontaneous migrants have always been the largest group in this category. It is thought that the spontaneous workers constitute 20 - 25% of all the Turks who have left their country since

1961 to work abroad. (Krane, R.E., 1975: 164). Their numbers in the FRG had increased to 100,000 by 1975 (Keşişoğlu, G. in Hürriyet, 28.4.1975). This increase has been realized despite the fact that around 10,000 spontaneous migrants are caught by the foreigners' police and expelled from the country each year (Atsız, Y. in Cumhuriyet, 29.11.1974).

NOTES

- (1) A. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Fransa İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 72, Ankara.
- B. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Avusturya İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 73, Ankara.
- C. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Avustralya İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 74, Ankara.
- D. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Hollanda İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 75, Ankara.
- E. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Belçika İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 76, Ankara.
- F. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-İsveç İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 77, Ankara.
- G. IIBK Genel Müdürlüğü 1970, Türkiye-Federal Almanya İşçücü Anlaşması, IIBK Yayın No. 78, Ankara.
- (2) Provinces which receive job offers from Istanbul branch of TES are: Afyon, Antalya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Edirne, Eskişehir, Isparta, İstanbul, İzmir, Kırklareli, Kocaeli, Kütahya, Manisa, Muğla, Sakarya, Tekirdağ, Uşak and Zonguldak. The rest of the sixty-seven provinces receive their job offers from the Ankara branch.

CHAPTER 3

THE ADAPTATION OF TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS TO THE LABOUR MARKET

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter I examine the work experience of migrants in the FRG. This is an aspect of their life abroad which is frequently neglected in anthropological studies. As I have already discussed in the Introduction, the migrants are brought into the FRG to fill specific gaps in the labour market, to fill low-rank manual occupations that have been left open by Germans. Therefore, the migrants tend to concentrate in certain occupations, industries and regions of the country. A great majority of the migrants work in the manufacturing and construction industries. The work migrants do in these industries is strictly regulated, routine, monotonous and tiring. It is carried out in noisy, dirty, often smelly surroundings in large, impersonal firms. For the majority this is an experience that they had not been subject to before. For those who come from the rural areas and from farming backgrounds or from a non-working life, like that of students and housewives, this is an experience that transforms them and incorporates them into the lowest stratum of the working class where everybody else in the society is above and beyond them. (For a discussion of the immigrant workers and the class structure in the labour receiving countries see Castles, S., and Kosack, G., 1973: 461-482). For them this is a totally new experience requiring important changes in their attitudes towards time, the locality in which they live, the production process and the people

involved in this process. For the migrants with previous industrial experience and skill, the migration experience usually means working in more impersonal surroundings and in more automated, less skilled, or sometimes in completely different occupations.

In response to these conditions, Turkish migrants have developed behaviour patterns which include a strong economic rationality, a dual value system (see below), "uniplex relationships" with the members and institutions of the host society, and "multiplex", intense relationships with other Turks which are based on social networks formed around kin and ethnic relationships in which "individuals are prepared to honour obligations, or feel free to exercise the rights implied in their link to some other person" (Mitchell, J.C., 1969B: 27).

Through a well-developed economic rationality they try to get the most out of their employment situation. This is reflected, for example, in their attitude to work itself. The frequency with which they change jobs, for example, indicates their readiness to change employment purely for financial gain. To achieve this they are prepared to move hundreds of miles, provided that they are within social distance of their social networks.

The existence of a dual value system, one governing their lives in the FRG and one controlling their relationships in and connected with Turkey, serves to save their dignity under basically alien and hostile conditions and justifies their inconsistent actions.

No self-respecting, married Turkish man, for example, would dream of going into the kitchen and cooking and washing up for himself in Turkey. In the FRG all the men who live in the workers' hostels do this, yet still do not lose prestige. They make a joke out of this, and say to each other that they have turned into wives in this country. Such a joke in Turkey would be considered to be in very bad taste, if not taken as a serious insult and acted upon, probably with knives or pistols! Similarly, to give another example, for a Turkish rural man to send his wife out to work in a factory where there are hundreds of un-related, strange men working, would be unthinkable. However, many do precisely that in Germany.

Naturally the two value systems overlap on certain issues. Sending wives to work is one of these, while some men regard it positively and think that it is only rational for the wives to work and thus help to save more quickly the required amount of money which they feel they must earn to realize their plans on their eventual return to Turkey. In this way they can start to live their future sooner. On the other hand, some migrants still regard the treatment of women in this way as unacceptable.

Migrants see their work experience in the FRG as a necessary, but temporary, phase in their lives. They think it will soon pass and they will be able to reap its benefits, hopefully in the form of property, self-employment, respectability and a secure future in Turkey. Since it is temporary they can suffer it with dignity.

One mechanism that allows them to uphold their dignity is their restricted, uniplex relationship with the host society. They may be doing the least desirable, manual jobs in Germany, and therefore regarded as "lumpen-proletariat" and looked down upon by members of the host society, but since they do not regard these jobs as careers or occupations but merely as temporary undertakings that they have to do to achieve their aims, in their eyes these jobs do not confer upon them any low status. Rather their status is determined by their social roles that are defined by non-work criteria within their social networks. Since they are the source of status and satisfaction, the social networks which are based on kin, ethnic and friendship relationships are very important for the migrants. This is exhibited by their frequent use in finding new jobs and accommodation as well as providing the main framework for leisure activities. One consequence of the importance of home-based social networks has been the colonization of certain factories and localities in Germany by related Turks from certain areas in Turkey. While this development was invaluable in making life bearable for the migrants by bringing kin and friends together, it has at the same time created ghetto conditions in big cities where there were thousands of Turks and hindered the possibilities of assimilation into German society even further.

However, this takes the account too far ahead. For the moment my point is this: Turkish workers in the FRG must be seen as participating in two social structures simultaneously; those of Germany and Turkey. I shall show in Chapter 6 how the social organization of Turks themselves function to allocate status and self-respect apart from the status a man occupies at work. In this chapter, however, I examine various aspects of

the work situation of migrants and focus in particular on the strategies they develop to negotiate the labour market of the Federal Republic of Germany.

3.2. Sector of Employment in the FRG

Most of the Turkish workers in the FRG are employed in manufacturing industries (66% in 1971). Construction and mining are the sectors employing large numbers of Turks (16% and 7% respectively in 1971 - see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers in the FRG by Sector of Employment, by Year.

	1963		1966			1969			1971	
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Agriculture, fishing, forestry	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Mining, energy, public utilities	13	12	0	10	8	0	6	9	0	7
Iron & metal industries	43	41	31	40	44	41	43	43	35	41
Manufacturing (exc. metal indus.)	16	18	52	24	20	45	26	19	45	25
Construction	18	21	0	18	20	2	16	23	0	16
Financial services	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	3
Performance of services	1	1	6	2	1	5	2	1	8	2
Transport & Communs.	2	3	0	3	3	1	2	3	1	2
Other services	5	2	8	3	2	5	3	2	7	3

Totals may not add up to 100 because of rounding..

Source: Paine, S., 1974: 202, Table A26.

Most of the workers included in my survey were also from the manufacturing and mining sectors (85.3% and 13.9% respectively - see Table 3.2).

A significant feature of the migrant workforce is its concentration in a particular sector of the economy, manufacturing. This is to be expected given the nature of the German economy during the last two decades. There has been a dramatic expansion in manufacturing, construction, energy production and mining. The increases in these sectors were 340.3% in energy, 324.6% in manufacturing, 318.4% in construction and 142.9% in mining between 1950 and 1964 (Tuna, O. and Ekin, N., 1966A: 17, Tablo XII). This expansion resulted in full employment in the German economy by the late 1950s. As Rhoades observes, there were parallel developments in the German workforce:

"... the working population found itself with increased salaries in the midst of unparalleled material affluence and expanding opportunities for advancement into higher wage and status position. German parents encouraged their children to extend their formal education or vocational training to prepare themselves for higher paying, more prestigious employment, a pattern which served to remove large numbers of youths from the labour force for longer periods. Simultaneously there emerged an aversion to socially undesirable, manual work, e.g. garbage-hauling, assembly line work, construction and an increased unwillingness to accept such employment even though the wages may in some cases equal those of more prestigious jobs. Thus, between 1961 and 1970 the number of Germans in the manual sector receded by nearly one million (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1972: 8), while 600,000 male Germans and 500,000 females entered white collar jobs (Bohning, W.R., 1972: 61)". (Rhoades, R.E., 1976: 52).

The resulting vacuum in manual occupations had to be filled by migrant workers. Thus they were brought in to fill the gaps mainly

Table 3.2. Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Sectors of Employment in the FRG.

	Car Manufacture (Opel)	Rubber Manufacture (Dunlop)	Mining	Metal Manufacture	Textile Manufacture	Other Industries	Electronics (A.E.G.)	Unemploy- ed
Male	53.5	22.6	16.1	0.9	1.3	4.8	----	0.9
Female	----	----	----	---	---	---	100.0	---
TOTAL	46.1	19.5	13.9	0.7	1.1	4.1	13.9	0.7

in manufacturing, construction, mining and the energy industries which had been left open by the Germans.

3.3. Change of Workplace

Another feature of the migrant workforce which is vital to our understanding of the migrants' work experience is the amount of labour mobility which takes place. Mobility between jobs and workplaces and occupations seems to be quite high among the Turkish migrants. The TES survey found that in 1974 while 35.5% of the Turkish workers were still working in their first jobs, 28.7% had changed their jobs once, 18.6% twice, 11.2% three times, 3.3% four times, 1.5% five times and 1.1% had changed their jobs six or more times. (See Table 3.3).

My survey produced very similar results (Table 3.3) with the exception of women workers who were included in the survey. As they were very recent migrants still under the yearly contract they had signed before migration, they had not yet had the chance to change job. There does not seem to be any significant difference between the sexes regarding job changes, as evidenced by the TES survey of 1974 for the Turkish migrants (Table 3.3), and the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit survey of 1972 for the whole migrant population in the FRG. This survey found that 40% of the males and 44% of the females had not changed jobs at all; 24% of the males and 26% of the females had changed their jobs once; 14% of both the males and females had changed jobs twice; 8% of the males and females

Table 3.3. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Number of Jobs Held in the FRG, Yücel, 1973 and TES, 1974 Surveys.

	YÜCEL, 1973			TES, 1974 (1)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
One job	25.7	97.3	35.6	35.8	33.7	35.5
Two jobs	35.7	2.7	31.1	28.4	30.9	28.7
Three jobs	20.9	0.0	18.0	18.4	19.9	18.6
Four jobs	7.0	0.0	6.0	11.2	10.8	11.2
Five jobs	6.1	0.0	5.2	3.5	2.3	3.3
Six jobs	2.2	0.0	1.9	1.6	1.3	1.5
Seven jobs	1.7	0.0	1.5	1.2	0.7	1.1
Eight or more jobs	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0
significance	0.0000					

(1) Source: TES, 1974,2: Tablo 14.

had changed their jobs three times; 5% of the males and 3% of the females had changed their jobs four times; 3% of the males and 2% of the females had changed their jobs five times and 6% of the males and 3% of the females had changed their jobs six times or more (IIEK, 1974D: 57).

Migrants had little choice in determining their first jobs abroad, especially in the later years when it became more and more difficult to secure jobs in Europe. Therefore, they accepted whatever jobs were offered to them. They believed that it would be much easier to better their conditions once they were there. For example, Yusuf's choice of going to the FRG from Belgium as a tourist rather than a

legal worker by paying only 300 DM instead of 1,500 DM was based on this assumption. He thought that once he got there he could very easily and less expensively alter his status. He was certainly doing all he could to this purpose when we were working together. Like the officially recruited migrants, spontaneous migrants too could not afford to be choosy about their first jobs in the FRG. They gratefully accepted any job that was offered or found for them. Once the migrants started working or felt secure in the new environment, they quickly reminded themselves that they were 'target workers' (Böhning, W.R., 1972: 62) and needed better jobs in order to earn as much money as possible, as quickly as possible, so that they could return home as early as they possibly could.

One of the ingredients of a "good job" for the migrant is the availability of overtime and bonus opportunities. Migrants often complained about jobs or firms which did not offer overtime but which in other respects were satisfactory. Kocak, for example, reported from Cologne in the Turkish daily newspaper Hürriyet under the heading "A Firm Where Only Turks are Employed" that because of the industriousness of the Turks, the firm Jurgen Crampe K.G., processing construction steel, was employing only Turkish migrants. The firm had first employed 18 Turks in 1970. In the following two years it sacked workers of other nationalities (including the Germans) and increased the number of Turks to 30. The last remaining German workers were transferred to white collar jobs in the offices. The only complaints the firm's Turkish workers had was that while they could do overtime and work 12 hours previously, now they were only working for 8 hours a day. They

stated that they wished to work 12 hours a day but there was no longer any overtime. The employer was reported to have stated that due to the recent economic situation in Germany, their stocks had piled up and that there was no need for overtime at that point (Kocak, S., Hürriyet, January 2nd, 1973).

In the factory where we were working the average working day was 12 hours. Some of the workers, especially the "tourists", very often worked up to 15 hours. Amongst the workers one of the subjects most discussed was the necessity of working hard and for long hours so that they could save "enough" as soon as possible. Even the officially recruited migrants believed that their employment in the FRG was not guaranteed. They would say, "Only Allah knows when the Germans will send us back home. For all we know it could be tomorrow. What if they have an economic crisis and do not need us any more? We Turks will be the first to be sacked and sent home." These sentiments turned out to be almost prophetically true before long: later that year the energy crisis hit the West. The FRG stopped recruitment of foreign labour in November 1973. The Federal Government asked local government departments and employment agencies to give priority to Germans and E.E.C. nationals in finding employment and not to extend the stay and work permits of those foreigners who became redundant. In January 1974, the German Ministry of Labour considered offering foreign workers a departure gratuity of between £165 and £230 a head to encourage their return home (Paine, S., 1974: 23 & 70). However, the worst fears of the migrants were not realized: there were no mass sackings and no mass return home. Their unemployment figures stood only slightly

above those of Germans in 1975 (5.4% against the national average of 4.5% - Rist, R.C., 1978: 33). Nevertheless, the recruitment ban did nothing to alleviate the fears of the Turkish migrants that their fate in the FRG was very precarious. If anything it strengthened their anxiety and consolidated their attitude to Germany in general and savings in particular.

Some authors have argued that the economic crisis in the West was only a pretext for the real political reasons behind the ban on immigration of foreign workers. Rist notes:

"There is some debate among scholars as to the actual impact of the economic crisis upon the decision of a number of countries of the North to impose bans on further immigration of foreign workers. Hoffmann-Nowotny (1976), OECD (1975a) and Nikolinakos (1975b) all make mention of their belief that the bans were going to be imposed in any event and that the oil crisis simply became a convenient pretext for doing so. Further, Nikolinakos in particular argues that the reasons were not even economic but political. He suggests that the conditions in the host countries, the gathering resentment against foreign workers, and the concerns about political stability all pushed governments of the North to pursue immigration bans. In the official pronouncements of the governments, however, only economic reasons for the ban have been offered." (Rist, R.C., 1978: 31).

The indications of resentment against foreigners were certainly abundant at the time. In Holland there were violent riots against the Turks in Rotterdam in August 1972 (Verkoren-Hemelaar, G.M. and M., 1976: 271). In Switzerland there was a referendum, initiated by the "Action Committee Against the Foreign Domination of People and Homeland" led by an M.P. named Schwarzenbach, on the

question of limiting the number of foreigners in each canton to 10% of the population (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 440). In the FRG there was an intense debate in the media and among the people at local level on the question of whether or not such a large "guest-worker" population was either necessary or desirable. The appearance in the press of provocative articles was a daily affair throughout 1973. For example, on July 30th 1973 the influential Der Spiegel published a lead article entitled "The Turks are Coming - Save Yourselves if You Can", devoting to it eleven pages and the cover, which depicted a large Turkish family of eight, hanging out of the window of a dilapidated house over the headlines of "Ghettos in Germany - One Million Turks" in big, bold letters. Even as early as in 1966, attitude surveys in the FRG showed that the Germans were not ready to tolerate the employment of foreign workers, and about two thirds of the population wanted to get rid of them. (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 433).

Therefore, being a target worker in the FRG is a very rational and real existence for the Turkish migrants. They constantly keep reminding themselves of these facts. With this constant reminder, they started comparing their jobs, working conditions and wages with their friends' or relatives' jobs. If they came to the conclusion, which most of them did, that they were not doing as well as they might be, they changed their jobs (over 64% did - see Table 3.3). It did not take them long to evaluate their position vis-à-vis others in similar circumstances and to take appropriate action. Of the migrants who have held more than one job in the FRG, nearly 83% had changed their first

jobs within two years, 39.6 within a year and 44.7 within 1-2 years (Table 3.4). It is interesting to note that even some of the officially recruited migrants who had gone to the FRG by signing annual contracts, had managed to change their jobs in under a year before their contracts had expired. Although the job changing rate was much higher among the spontaneous migrants during their first year in the FRG (59.4% of the spontaneous migrants who have held more than one job), more than one third (34.3%) of the officially recruited migrants in the category had also changed their jobs within one year. (Table 3.4).

They achieved this usually in one of two ways. They either convinced their employer to terminate their contract and let them go by offering to pay back the money the employers had spent on recruiting them plus some "interest", which in some cases amounted to extortionate sums like 3,000 DM, or nearly three or four months salary. Alternatively they forced their employers to sack them by making themselves a nuisance at the place of work, by doing things incorrectly, pretending not to understand orders, being very clumsy or incompetent, etc. One of my informants, for example, Zeki, a men's tailor from Ankara, had managed to migrate to the FRG as a joiner through official channels. However, after a few weeks in his new job he realized that it was too arduous, noisy, dangerous and dirty for his taste. He asked his employer to let him go saying that he was really a tailor and that he would pay back his expenses for recruitment. His employer refused this request, stating that he desperately needed workers and that Zeki's job did not require any special skills since all he had to do was feed the wood into certain machines and cut it. After several refusals, Zeki

realized the only way to get out of this place before his contract expired was to force his employer to sack him. He started to make a nuisance of himself by incorrectly cutting the wood or incurring minor accidents which bruised his hands and prevented him working efficiently, or by jamming the machines, etc. His employer accused him of doing these things deliberately and threatened that if he continued he would be sent back to Turkey. Zeki reminded him, however, that if he sent him back he would lose his recruitment expenses; on the other hand, if he allowed him to change jobs, he would pay these back. In the end the employer came to realize it would be impossible to keep Zeki there and agreed to let him go in return for his expenses, which he calculated to be one month of Zeki's wages. At the end of his fifth month in the firm, Zeki left and went to work in a hemşehri's Änderung (dress repairs and alterations) shop.

Table 3.4. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers who Held more than one Job in the FRG, by Migration Channel and by Length of Stay in First Job.

Recruitment	Length of Stay in First Job					
	Under 1 Year	1.1-2 Years	2.1-3 Years	3.1-4 Years	4.1-5 Years	
Official	34.3	47.9	8.6	5.0	4.3	100.0
Spontaneous	59.4	25.0	12.5	3.1	---	100.0
TOTAL	39.0	43.6	9.3	4.7	3.5	100.0

It is clear therefore that migrant workers were quick to develop an understanding of precisely where they stood in the labour

market. Their comparative reference groups emerge rather quickly and they are able to judge how successful they are against the criteria they value. Because of their circumstances and in keeping with their reasons for migration they display very high economic rationality during their stay abroad.

3.4. Reasons for Changing Jobs

Recent studies of labour turnover seem to have abandoned the classical views of labour market behaviour of seeing the turnover as a function of the external labour market in favour of seeing it as a function of the factory itself as an industrial institution. Current writers no longer regard turnover as labour supply adjusting itself to labour demand by merely economic and non-economic incentives but closely relate it to the workers' attitudes to their working life and to their overall job satisfaction (El Jehaimi, T., et al, 1980: 33-40).

Within this framework most of the literature is devoted to elucidating the factors that affect labour turnover. One model which accommodates most of the variables used is by March and Simon, who group the variables into two categories:

- 1) the perceived desirability or undesirability of leaving the employer
- 2) the perceived ease or difficulty of movement from the employer (March, J.G. and Simon, H.A., 1958: 93-106).

There is no need here to go into the variables that are included in these categories. The major variables that are considered within the first category are satisfaction with the job, and the perceived possibility of intra-organizational transfer. The second category, which is closely linked to the first, contains variables like personal history, industrial structure of the labour market, locality, level of business activity, sex of workers, age and length of service, skill level, social status, interests, intelligence and aptitude, personality, health of employee and technology (El Jehaini, T. et al, 1980: 26-33).

To these psychological, social and economical factors we must add the political factors which restrict the movement of workers, especially the migrants, within the economic and geographical spheres like the regulations which bind the migrant workers to specific jobs, firms and localities at least during their initial years abroad - which period could extend up to five years. Franz, for example, notes concerning the regulations in the FRG:

"The subordination of the foreigners to the discretionary powers of the authorities prevails also at the workplace. According to the regulation on work permits...the required permit will be granted 'depending on the situation in the labour market' for a maximum of two years and subsequently for a maximum of three. It can be tied to a specific occupation, in a specific firm. After five years of uninterrupted employment the work permit is granted independently of the occupation, form and developments in the labour market..." (Franz, F., 1975: 51).

The arguments outlined above concerning labour turnover would seem academic to the migrants. Most of the variables thought

to affect turnover do not apply to the migrants. Migrants who change their jobs are primarily motivated by financial reasons. A Bundesanstalt für Arbeit survey in 1972 found that 80% of the migrants who had changed jobs in the FRG had done so voluntarily. (For a discussion of the voluntary and involuntary, or similarly avoidable - unavoidable and controllable - uncontrollable causes of labour turnover, see Wild, R., 1972; Porter, L.W., and Steers, R., 1973; Van der Merwe, R., and Miller, S., 1971). The survey also found that 56% of the men and 45% of the women had changed their jobs for better incomes. 18% of the men and 17% of the women had changed their jobs for better work conditions (IIBK, 1974D: 57-58).

My results confirm these findings. I also found that most of the job changes were voluntary (a mean of 72.9%), and that the most important reason for changing jobs - consistently over various job changes - was for better economic conditions. A search for better work conditions or getting sacked were the other important factors in job changes. (See Table 3.5). It seems that the search for new jobs continues until the migrants are satisfied with their wages and work conditions.

There do not seem to be significant variations in the relative importance of the reasons for job changes for the successive changes of job, except for the sackings. A search for better economic conditions like higher wages and overtime opportunities is almost always the most important reason (from 27% to 50% had changed their various jobs for this reason, Table 3.5). While the search for better working conditions like less dangerous, cleaner jobs in better environments, caused 32% of

Table 3.5. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Reasons for Changing Jobs.

	1 Job	2 Jobs	3 Jobs	4 Jobs	5 Jobs	6 Jobs	Mean x
For better economic conditions	36.0	39.3	29.3	36.0	27.3	50.0	36.3
For better work conditions	32.0	19.1	26.8	20.0	27.3	16.7	23.7
Sacking for returning late from holiday in Turkey	2.9	11.2	14.6	8.0	18.2	16.7	11.9
Sacking for other reasons	6.4	5.6	9.0	12.0	18.2	16.7	11.5
Redundancy	5.2	5.6	2.4	----	9.1	----	3.7
Professional reasons	2.3	1.1	----	4.0	----	----	1.2
To join relatives <u>hemşehris</u>	7.0	5.6	4.9	4.0	----	----	3.6
Disliked the firm or the superiors	4.1	5.6	----	4.0	----	----	2.3
Other reasons	4.1	6.7	12.2	12.0	----	----	5.8

Figures may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

the workers to change their first jobs in the FRG, less than 15% had changed their first jobs because of redundancy or sacking. (Table 3.5). But this trend seems to be reversed after the first job: over 22% changed their second jobs because of sackings and redundancy, and 19.1% for better work conditions. The same percentage changed their third (26.8) and fourth (20) jobs after sackings and redundancy as had changed for better work conditions; 45.5% changed their fifth job after sacking and redundancy and only 27.3% for better work conditions,

and over 33% changed their sixth jobs after sacking or redundancy with only 16.7% for better work conditions.

3.5. Duration of Stay in Jobs

Examination of the duration of stay in previous jobs indicates that indeed the migrants do not take long to evaluate their positions and, when they are not satisfied, change their jobs. Of the migrants who have held more than one job in the FRG, 39% had changed their first jobs within a year and 43.6% within 1-2 years (82.6% within two years); 67.4% had changed their second jobs within a year, and 20.2% within 1-2 years (87.6% within two years); 63.4% had changed their third jobs within a year, and 24.4% within 1-2 years (87.8% within two years); 72% had changed their fourth jobs within a year and 20% within 1-2 years (92% within two years); 54.5% had changed their fifth jobs within a year and 36.4% within 1-2 years (90.0% within two years), and finally 50% had changed their sixth jobs within a year. (Table 3.6).

It seems that on average nearly 58% of the migrants had stayed in a previous job for less than a year, 24% between 1-2 years, 6% between 2-3 years, 2% between 3-4 years, nearly 10% between 4-5 years and less than 1% between 6-7 years. (See Table 3.6).

When we look at the duration of stay in present jobs and compare them with the previous jobs, it becomes apparent that the turnover rate in the FRG for the Turkish workers is quite high. Although

Table 3.6. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Length of Stay in Previous Jobs.

Length of Stay in Jobs	Previous Jobs						Mean x
	1st Job	2nd Job	3rd Job	4th Job	5th Job	6th Job	
Less than 1 year	39.0	67.4	63.4	72.0	54.5	50.0	57.8
1.1 - 2 years	43.6	20.2	24.4	20.0	36.4	----	24.1
2.1 - 3 years	9.3	6.7	2.4	----	----	16.7	5.9
3.1 - 4 years	4.7	3.4	----	4.0	----	----	2.0
4.1 - 5 years	3.5	1.1	9.8	----	9.1	33.3	9.5
5.1 - 6 years	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.0
6.1 - 7 years	----	-1.1	----	4.0	----	----	0.9
Average Stay x	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.2	2.2	

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

the length of stay in present jobs is, on average, slightly longer than the time spent in previous jobs, it is still quite short. (See Table 3.7).

On average 61% have been working in their present jobs for less than a year, nearly 16% for 1-2 years, 7% for 2-3 years, 6% for 3-4 years, 6% for 4-5 years, 2% for 5-6 years, 0.2% for 6-7 years, 0.8% for 7-8 years and 2% for over 8 years. (See Table 3.7).

The evidence presented here, together with the comments of some of my respondents, suggest that migrant workers display a high level of economic rationality. They are very prepared to move jobs

Table 3.7. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Length of Stay in Present Jobs.

Length of Stay in Jobs	Present		Jobs					Mean x
	1st Job FRG	2nd Job FRG	3rd Job FRG	4th Job FRG	5th Job FRG	6th Job FRG	7th Job FRG	
Less than 1 year	47.9	53.0	62.5	56.3	57.1	100.0	50.0	61.0
1.1 - 2 years	7.4	25.3	16.7	12.5	21.4	----	25.0	15.5
2.1 - 3 years	3.2	6.0	4.2	----	7.1	----	25.0	6.7
3.1 - 4 years	20.2	2.4	12.5	6.3	----	----	----	5.9
4.1 - 5 years	8.5	6.0	----	18.8	7.1	----	----	5.8
5.1 - 6 years	7.4	1.2	----	----	7.1	----	----	2.2
6.1 - 7 years	----	1.2	----	----	----	----	----	0.2
7.1 - 8 years	1.1	2.4	2.1	----	----	----	----	0.8
Over 8 years	4.3	2.4	----	6.3	----	----	----	1.9

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

and in this respect might be said to possess a strong instrumental orientation to work (c.f. Goldthorpe, J.H., Lockwood, D. et al, 1968).

3.6. Occupations in the FRG

It is, however, a qualified rationality for when the pattern of job change is inspected more closely it becomes clear that migrants seek qualitatively better jobs and for greater autonomy, with self-employment being the ultimate goal.

The tendency in changing jobs seems to be towards less arduous, less dangerous, higher paying and relatively more secure factory jobs. While the number of people working in factories increased from 56.9% in the first job to 100% in the seventh job, the numbers working in construction went down from 21.3% in the first job to 9.1% in the sixth job, and the numbers working in mining similarly went down, from 16.9% in the first job to 8% in the fifth job. Over 2% in their fourth jobs, and 4% in their fifth jobs had realized what is regarded by most migrants, if not all, as the ultimate in achievement and become self-employed. (Table 3.8).

Most migrants regard their working life abroad as a temporary phase in their life that has to be spent in undesirable manual occupations in order to be able to save enough capital so that their sufferings can be transferred to prestigious and desirable positions of self-employment in Turkey. Abadan-Unat observes:

"Almost all surveys carried out among migrant workers employed abroad and/or returned definitely to Turkey, indicate clearly that there is a strong dominant opinion to move over into another sector, namely the tertiary, and to establish there self-employment enterprises such as coffee-houses, barber shops, gasoline stations, restaurants, etc.

This trend has to be underlined and defined as an outspoken dislike and animosity toward industrial work, the industrial setting and the industrial work discipline." (Abadan-Unat, N., 1976B: 198).

Most of my respondents expressed similar sentiments. I shall examine these in some detail in Chapter 7 when I discuss the question of return migration.

Table 3.8. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Occupations in Various Jobs.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1st Job</u>	<u>2nd Job</u>	<u>3rd Job</u>	<u>4th Job</u>	<u>5th Job</u>	<u>6th Job</u>	<u>7th Job</u>
Factory worker	56.9	77.9	80.7	80.9	76.0	90.9	100.0
Construction	21.3	12.8	9.1	9.8	8.0	9.1	----
Miner	16.9	5.8	9.1	4.9	8.0	---	----
Porter, loading worker	0.7	---	---	2.4	4.0	---	----
Farmer	1.1	---	---	---	---	---	----
Driver, fork-lift operator	1.1	0.6	---	---	---	---	----
Service worker	1.1	2.3	1.1	---	---	---	----
Clerical	0.4	0.6	---	---	---	---	----
Self-employed	---	---	---	2.4	4.0	---	----
Unemployed	0.4	---	---	---	---	---	----

3.7. Channels Utilized in Finding Jobs

In this context it is important to consider how job changes are effected. When this is done it becomes clear that the economic rationality of the migrant worker is possible only because of the networks of kinship and friendship of which he is a member.

These kinship and home-based social networks play an important role in finding new jobs in the FRG. 77.2% of the migrants in the sample had found their first jobs through TES, and 18% through their

relatives, hemşehris (fellow countrymen) and friends who were either instrumental in having them invited by a firm personally from Turkey (9.4%) or finding them jobs once they were in the FRG as "tourists" (5.2%). (Table 3.9). The importance of the social networks becomes even more apparent in finding the second and subsequent jobs. Over 62% of the Turkish migrants in the sample reported that their relatives, hemşehris and friends had found them their second jobs; 60.3% found their third jobs, 51.2% their fourth jobs, 60% their fifth jobs, 27.3% their sixth jobs and 33.3% their seventh jobs in this way. (Table 3.9). There seems to be a gradual decrease in the importance of the ethnic relationships in job finding. The percentage of those who stated that they had found their jobs through their own efforts increased from 30.2% in the second job to 35.2% in the third job, 41.5% in the fourth job, 40% in the fifth, 72.7% in the sixth, with a drop to 66.7% in the seventh job. (Table 3.9). What this clearly reflects is the growth of a social and economic competence to negotiate the labour market in German society which develops quickly and improves the longer a worker stays in the FRG. Again this aspect of labour market socialization is reflected in the comments of some of my respondents. For instance, one man who had been in the FRG for nine years and changed jobs five times, in response to my question on whether or not he had had any help from relatives or friends in finding his last job, replied: "I didn't need any help. I had heard from friends that there were vacancies in this factory. I went to the Arbeitsamt (Employment Bureau) in the town and asked about the available jobs. I told them that I didn't get on well with my Vorarbeiter (Foreman) in my previous work and that I wanted to change my job. The Arbeitsamt gave me the address of my

Table 3.9. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Channels Utilized in Finding Various Jobs.

<u>Finding Jobs</u>	<u>1st Job</u>	<u>2nd Job</u>	<u>3rd Job</u>	<u>4th Job</u>	<u>5th Job</u>	<u>6th Job</u>	<u>7th Job</u>
Through TES	77.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
" invitation by a firm	9.4	---	---	---	---	---	---
" relatives	3.4	20.9	11.4	4.9	8.0	18.2	----
" <u>Hemşehri</u> & friends	5.2	41.3	48.9	46.3	52.0	9.1	33.3
" German friends	0.4	0.6	1.1	---	---	---	---
" interpreters/agents	2.6	1.2	1.1	2.4	---	---	---
" own efforts	1.5	30.2	35.2	41.5	40.0	72.7	66.7
" German Employment Service	---	5.8	2.3	4.9	---	---	---

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

firm and told me to go and see the Personnel Manager. That's how I got this job."

The gradual increase in a worker's effective independence from kin and friendship networks for finding work does not diminish his or her obligations to people in those networks. On the contrary, they increase. The more competent and knowledgeable a worker becomes the more intense becomes the obligation to help others negotiate the labour market. Therefore, it is important to note that while socialization in the labour market reduces dependence on kin and friends, it increases the obligations to other kin and friends. In other words,

those who have socialized well in the labour market are promoted from the status of social "dependents" to that of "supporters."

Finding a job for a hemsehri or friend entails a very active and direct involvement in the process. If the new job is in a workplace other than one's own, it usually means finding out all the relevant information about the job and the workplace either from other relatives or friends who work there or directly from the employer or his representative; relating this information and one's own evaluations to the job-seeking relative or friend; making an appointment for him with the employer; taking him there personally for the interview; putting in a good word for him; filling in the necessary forms for him if he cannot cope and sometimes offering bribes for him - usually in the case of spontaneous workers but sometimes for the legal ones as well who want to get jobs in a high paying factory with a good reputation for job security, labour relations, social benefits, etc.

Finding a job by one's own efforts does not usually mean non-involvement by relatives or friends but rather a less active role on their part and more initiative by the job-seeking migrant. The implications of changing jobs are thoroughly discussed among relatives and friends; necessary information about the new job is gathered and evaluated by them. However, the final decision and the actual process of application is left to the job-seeking migrant. If he proceeds and finally secures the job, his experience is again discussed and evaluated by relatives and friends.

Relatives and friends are expected to give help and support when needed. That this is realized in practice is well illustrated by the channels utilized in finding the first job in the FRG. Usually migrants prefer the security and ease of official recruitment and go to the FRG through the TES. The percentage of those who utilized this channel in normal years fluctuated between 62.5% and 92.6%, but dropped dramatically to 33.3% during the recession of 1966-67. (Table 3.10). In contrast the percentage of those who utilized informal channels to find their first jobs in the FRG had always been very low, but during the recession it suddenly increased. The percentage of those who sought their hemşehris' or friends' help went up dramatically to 33.3% in 1966-67 and then gradually decreased again. (Table 3.10).

An important outcome of utilizing the social networks that are largely based on kinship and ethnic ties in finding jobs and accommodation (this aspect will be discussed in Chapter 6) has been the colonization of certain factories, towns and villages in Germany by groups of Turks who are related by kinship (including marriage) or common geographical origin in Turkey. Most of the 14,000 Turkish workers in Ford at Cologne, for example, are from the north-eastern parts of Turkey, especially from the Black Sea coast. I observed that most of the 4,000 workers in Opel were from the central Anatolian provinces of Konya, Ankara, Tunceli, Kirsehir and Kayseri. There was, for instance, a large presence of Kurds from the eastern provinces of Erzurum and Kars in the town of Hanau and the surrounding villages. I frequently met families of brothers, sisters or in-laws living in

Table 3.10. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Channels Utilized in Finding the First Job in the FRG, by Migration Years.

Migration Years	Through U.S.S.	Through Personal Job Offers	Through Relatives	Through Hemsehris & Friends	Through Own Efforts	Through German Friends	Through Interpreters, Etc.	Still Unemployed
July 1972-June 1973	92.6	5.6	----	----	----	----	----	1.9
July 1971-June 1972	88.5	----	7.7	----	----	----	3.8	----
July 1970-June 1971	72.7	11.4	4.5	6.8	4.5	----	----	----
July 1969-June 1970	63.0	14.8	7.4	9.3	----	1.9	3.7	----
July 1968-June 1969	77.8	7.4	3.7	3.7	3.7	----	3.7	----
July 1967-June 1968	70.0	10.0	----	15.0	----	----	5.0	----
July 1966-June 1967	33.3	16.7	----	33.3	----	----	16.7	----
July 1965-June 1966	62.5	25.0	----	----	----	----	12.5	----
Earlier than June 1965	89.3	7.1	----	----	3.6	----	----	----

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

small villages around industrial towns. An example was reported in

Tercuman:

"Turks have established a village of 300.

Three hundred Turks, most of whom are from Nevşehir (a central Anatolian town) have almost established a village in Stuttgen. They live in three comfortable hostels. There are also a mosque and two Turkish grocers where they can get all their requirements. Their only complaint is the lack of an interpreter in the firm. One of the workers complained that when they became ill they could not communicate with the doctor, or in the factory when there was a meeting they did not understand what was going on. He asked if the Turkish authorities could not send an interpreter for the 300 Turks there..." (Tercuman, 6.12.1972).

3.8. Distance between Jobs

Another aspect of the role of kinship and social networks in job mobility concerns the question of place and distance of employment from current residence. It seems clear from my data that the attractiveness or otherwise of particular geographical locations is not an important consideration in itself. What matters in changing jobs is whether there is help available in the new situation, i.e. whether the social networks extend to the new area. In this respect migrant workers may be very different from indigenous German workers who may have a much greater attachment to place and who, for that reason, are less likely to be geographically mobile. There is evidence, for example, that geographical mobility among Germans decreased from the mid 1960s onwards (Ballerstedt, E. and Glatzer, W., 1979: 39). The existence of a relatively mobile labour reserve of foreign workers must

have played a role in this. Therefore, distance itself between jobs is of no importance to the Turkish migrants. On average, 39.5% of the workers travelled under 25kms for a new job; 18.6% between 25 and 49kms; 9.7% between 50 and 99kms; 9.3% between 100 and 199kms; 17.6% between 200 and 399kms and over 6.4% had travelled 400kms or more. (See Table 3.11). There seems to be a gradual decrease in the distance between the successive jobs. On average people had travelled 166kms for their second jobs, 155kms for their third jobs, 108kms for their fourth jobs, 150kms for their fifth, 91kms for their sixth and 73kms for their seventh jobs. (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Distance between Various Jobs.

	2nd Job's Distance from the 1st Job	3rd from 2nd	4th from 3rd	5th from 4th	6th from 5th	7th from 6th	x
Under 25kms	29.1	27.3	43.9	52.0	45.5	33.3	39.5
25 - 49kms	9.9	14.8	19.5	8.0	9.1	50.1	18.6
50 - 99kms	12.8	13.6	9.8	4.0	18.2	----	9.7
100 - 199kms	18.0	6.8	9.8	12.0	9.1	----	9.3
200 - 399kms	19.8	33.0	9.8	8.0	18.2	16.7	17.6
400kms and over	10.5	4.5	7.3	16.0	----	----	6.4
Average distance in kms	166	155	108	150	91	73	

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Travelling such long distances for new jobs means moving to a new town, city or state at every job change, and when considered

with the frequency of the job changes (Tables 3.6 and 3.7) it produces a picture of quite rapid turnover for the Turkish migrants, not only in the economic sphere as between the work places and industrial sectors, but also in the geographical and social spheres, with grim prospects of social integration into German society which must be realized at the local level.

Geographical mobility involves changes in social networks. Unless the mobility is voluntary and to a location where there are many relatives and friends it could involve considerable modifications and uprooting in social relationships. Some of the difficulties involved in such changes were exhibited in the experiences of Kemal, one of my respondents. Kemal had been working in the Mercedes-Benz factory in Stuttgart for the previous six years when he came with his wife, Ayla, and three year old son to open a dressmaking factory in Hausen, near Offenbach. Hausen was over 200kms from Stuttgart, where he had many relatives, in-laws (he had met his wife in Stuttgart, through his father-in-law who was a workmate in the Mercedes works) together with German and Turkish friends. Kemal and Ahmet, who was the owner of the factory we worked in, were friends from Turkey. They had both been first çirak (apprentice) and then kalfa (assistant master) under the same tailor in Istanbul. On one of Kemal's visits to Offenbach to see Ahmet he had learned from his friend that a dressmaking business in Hausen was up for sale at 15,000 DM. Since he had been looking for such an opportunity for some time, he decided to buy the business and move to Hausen.

As Kemal did not know anyone in Offenbach or Hausen he was counting on Ahmet's help in establishing himself there. At the beginning Ahmet was very helpful: he introduced Kemal to the owner of the business, a German, and helped in the negotiations of the terms. However, soon after Kemal bought the business their relationship started to deteriorate. While Ahmet was an ambitious, hard-working man with a strong capitalistic outlook with little time, or patience, for the people not connected with his business ambitions, Kemal was a rather passive, timid man with a traditional outlook, relying heavily on his wife (whose character resembled Ahmet's) for the running of the business. As they were both in the same line of business, taking orders from big factories in the region and employing the same type of workers, they were potential business rivals. Ahmet became less and less forthcoming with his help. He regarded Kemal as an incompetent businessman, expecting everything to be done for him by others. Kemal regarded Ahmet as over-ambitious, selfish and jealous with no respect for ethnic and friendship ties. Finally they stopped visiting each other. The result for terrible isolation for Kemal and his family. They had no relatives or friends in the vicinity of their work or accommodation (which was in another village about 10kms away). The nearest people they could turn to for financial or moral support were over 200kms away in Stuttgart. Since Kemal and his wife were both working in the factory for very long hours (from very early in the morning until very late in the evening) they had neither the time nor the opportunity or strength to make friends and socialize in their new setting. The only people they were in touch with for any length of time were their 10 workers, two of whom were Mehmet and Yusuf, two

spontaneous Turkish workers who used to work for Ahmet until they were sacked by him and who in fact were in a more precarious position than their new employer. The rest of the workers were German women with whom conversation was strictly limited to work matters. Kemal and Ayla's effective networks (Epstein, A.L., 1969: 111) which were made up of kin and friends, both Turkish and German, and who were linked by multi-stranded (or multiplex) relationships (Mitchell, J.C., 1969B: 22) in Stuttgart had shrunk and was reduced to a single, common network which contained their employees and which was made up of single-stranded (or uniplex) relationships (Mitchell, J.C., 1969B: 22) based on work. On more than one occasion, Kemal complained that had he known Ahmet would behave like this and abandon him when he most needed his help and advice, he would probably never have gone there and ventured into business. On another occasion he stated: "But wait until I go to Turkey next summer. I'll show him! I'll tell our master (the tailor who taught both Kemal and Ahmet their trade) in Istanbul about what he did to me. He won't be able to show his face again in Istanbul for shame!"

Another indication of the anxieties geographical location can cause was highlighted for me one day while I was visiting the rooms in the Opel hostels in Russelsheim for interviewing the workers. In one of the rooms I found a man in a clearly distressed condition. When I asked what the trouble was he explained that the firm was transferring 200 workers - almost all Turks - from Russelsheim to another plant in Bochum, which was over 250kms away, and that he was

one of the workers chosen. The factory had informed him that if he did not go he would get the sack. He explained that he was very happy in Russelsheim where he had a brother working in another factory and many hemşehris working in Opel and living in the same hostel. He said that he knew nobody in Bochum and did not wish to go there. He had decided to leave the factory and try to find another job in or around Russelsheim. However, since Opel was the major employer in the area, he knew that it would be very difficult for him to find another job and accommodation there.

3.9. Wages in the FRG

As we have established earlier (see Introduction and Chapter 1) the main reasons for migration are economic. The workers expect to earn much higher wages in the FRG than they do in Turkey. These expectations are well founded. Research has shown that depending on their occupations before and after migration, the Turkish workers can earn two to six times more in the FRG than they do in Turkey (Aker, A., 1972: 70-80; Miller, D.R. and Çetin, I., 1975: 132-137; Gökdere, A., 1978: 130-138; Paine, S., 1974: 99-100).

In a sample survey, Aker (1972) has compared the incomes of the new migrants according to their occupations. (See Table 3.12). He calculated the individual incomes in the families by taking into account the wages of the workers, their wives' wages and any other incomes, and then divided these totals by the number of family members.

Table 3.12. Income Differentials for Selected Occupations between Turkey and the FRG (April 1970).

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Monthly Income in Turkey (TL)</u>	<u>Monthly Income in FRG (TL)</u>	<u>Income Ratio</u>
1. Small Agricultural Producers	576	3,222	5.6
2. Small Industrial Producers			
Metal	919	3,390	3.6
Wood	769	3,595	4.6
Tailoring	1,317	2,773	2.1
3. Workers			
Miner	873	3,694	4.2
Construction worker	834	3,810	4.5
Unqualified worker	687	3,262	4.7
Metal worker	1,064	3,521	3.3
Electrical wiring	972	3,350	3.4
4. Civil Servants	672	3,136	4.6

Source: Gökdere, A., 1978: 131, Tablo III.17.

He found that the small agricultural producers had the largest income ratio (5.6) because agricultural incomes in Turkey are very low. Unqualified workers had the second largest income ratio because of their abundance (hence low wages) in Turkey and the relative scarcity (hence high wages) in the FRG. Miners and construction workers also enjoy high ratios because of the hard working conditions and their scarcity in the FRG (Aker, A., 1972: 60-86).

The ratios were calculated between the last wages in Turkey and the starting wages in the FRG. As the average wages are higher

then the starting wages, the migrant workers in fact enjoy higher income ratios in the FRG. Various factors like the sex, occupational qualifications, knowledge of German, period of stay abroad, training received abroad, number of job changes, etc. affect earnings in the FRG.

There are important wage disparities among the sexes in German industry. Equal wages for equal work is still to be realized (Ballerstedt, E. and Glatzer, W., 1979: 333). For example, skilled German women in industry were earning 28% less gross wages per hour in 1966; 29% less in 1970 and 26% less in 1977 than men in similar positions. Semi-skilled women were earning 26% less in 1966, 27% less in 1970 and 23% less in 1977. Unskilled women were earning 22% less in 1966 and 1970 and 18% less than the men in 1977 (Ballerstedt, E. and Glatzer, W., 1979: 343). These differences are reflected with the migrant workers as well. B.f.A. sample survey found that in March 1972 64% of the total migrant women and 66% of the Turkish migrant women in the FRG were earning less than 800 DM per month as opposed to 13% of the total migrant men and 15% of the Turkish migrant men. Only 13% of the total migrant women and 13% of the Turkish migrant women were earning more than 900 DM per month as opposed to 65% of the total migrant men and 63% of the Turkish migrant men. (Table 3.13).

Wage differentials between the Turkish men and women were much more pronounced in my survey, as almost all the migrant women interviewed were recent migrants, working in the electronics industry

Table 3.13. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers in the FRG, by Sex & Monthly Net Income
(March, 1972).

		Less than 500 DM	500 - 600 DM	600 - 700 DM	700 - 800 DM	800 - 900 DM	900 - 1,000 DM	1,000 - 1,200 DM	1,200 - 1,500 DM	More than 1,500 DM	Unknown
FEMALE	Total Migrants	10	14	20	20	13		15			10
	Turkish Migrants	10	15	20	21	13		10			11
MALE	Total Migrants		13			12	14	28	18	5	10
	Turkish Migrants		15			11	14	28	17	4	11

Source: IIBK, 1974D: 84. 35.

Table 3.14. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers in the Survey, by Sex & Monthly Net Wages.

	Unemployed or Unknown	500 - 750 DM	751 - 1,000 DM	1,001 - 1,250 DM	1,251 - 1,500 DM	1,501 - 1,750 DM	1,751 - 2,000 DM	2,001 - 2,250 DM	2,251 - 2,500 DM	Over 2,501 DM	Mean wages x
Female	---	94.6	5.4	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	639 DM
Male	1.3	1.7	14.8	55.7	20.4	3.9	1.3	----	0.4	0.4	1,172 DM
TOTAL	1.1	14.6	13.5	47.9	17.6	3.4	1.1	----	0.4	0.4	1,098 DM

which is known for its high percentage of women workers and low wages. I found that while the men earned on average 1,172 DM per month, the women earned only 639 DM. (Table 3.14).

Another factor that affects wages is skill levels. Generally, skilled workers earn more than semi-skilled and they in turn earn more than unskilled workers within the same economic sphere. Of course some intervening elements like danger, bad working conditions (dirty, noisy, wet, hot or cold environment, etc.) scarcity of workers, etc. can affect this structure and cause an unskilled worker to earn more than a semi-skilled or even a skilled worker.

In general, the wage differences between the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled are not very pronounced in the FRG. (Table 3.15). This is thought to reflect the scarcity of less skilled labour in the country (Aker, A., 1972: 80).

Apart from these basic elements like sex and skill levels which affect the wages and which are intrinsic to German industry (in fact to industry in most countries), there are certain factors that influence the wages of the migrant in particular. Knowledge of the German language is one of the most important of these. Those who can speak the language, generally earn better wages than those who cannot, probably because they are more likely to be employed in higher grade positions (Paine, S., 1974: 100). I found that their proficiency in German could make quite a difference to their wages. A Turkish migrant who spoke "perfect" German could earn up to 50,1

Table 3.15. Gross Wages in the FRG (DM per hour), by Sex, Skill Level, Economic Sphere (March, 1972).

Economic Sphere	MIGRANT & INDIGENOUS WORKERS TOGETHER					
	Qualified	MEN			WOMEN	
		Semi - Qualified	Un - Qualified	Qualified	Semi - Qualified	Un - Qualified
Raw Material & Production Materials	8.40	7.79	7.05	6.52	5.97	5.62
Electronics	8.02	6.97	6.65	5.98	5.70	5.55
Consumption Materials	8.04	6.90	6.16	5.75	5.23	4.90
Foodstuffs, Tobacco	7.60	6.81	6.32	4.86	5.11	4.83

Source: IIBK, 1974D: 82, 83.

Table 3.16. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Men by Monthly Net Wages & by Knowledge of German.

Present Wages	KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN				
	None	(1) Elementary	(2) Intermediate	(3) Advanced	(4) Perfect
Unknown or Unemployed	4.8	----	----	1.9	16.7
500 - 750 DM	4.8	1.0	----	3.7	----
751 - 1,000 DM	42.9	10.8	12.8	14.8	----
1,001 - 1,250 DM	38.1	63.7	61.7	48.1	----
1,251 - 1,500 DM	9.5	20.6	19.1	24.1	33.3
1,501 - 1,750 DM	----	1.0	4.3	8.6	59.0
1,751 - 2,000 DM	----	2.9	----	----	----
2,251 - 2,500 DM	----	----	2.1	----	----
Over 2,500 DM	----	----	----	1.9	----
MEAN WAGES: x =	1,013DM	1,1172 DM	1,189 DM	1,186 DM	1,525 DM
Index =	100.0	115.7	117.4	117.1	150.5

(1) Enough for shopping purposes.

(2) Enough to get along.

(3) Enough to carry on a conversation with Germans.

(4) Able to read and write without serious mistakes.

Figures may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

more than someone who could not speak any German. (See Table 3.16).

Language proficiency is, therefore, an important, indeed fundamental aspect of a migrant's ability to "make out" in the labour market. The question is raised, therefore, of how migrant workers

acquire German and of how competent they become in the language. Both issues illustrate the degree of social integration of migrant workers into German society. Some features of this will be examined in Chapter 6 . It is sufficient to note here that language is not just an educational matter; it involves, too, cultural questions and social attitudes. Some migrants feel ambivalent about learning German because of a fear that they will lose something of their own culture.

Length of stay abroad is another factor that affects the wages of the migrants. (Table 3.17). Normally the earnings increase with longer stays. In addition to the usual wage increases in time due to inflation, industrial bargaining, increased productivity and the like, factors like industrial training, new skills acquired, increased command of the language, change of workplace for a better job, etc., which are also time related and also help to increase the wages.

Table 3.17 does indicate a gradual increase in wages over the years. For instance, migrant men (since most of the women were recent migrants, they have been omitted from these tables) who have been working in the FRG for less than a year earn, on average, 1,016 DM per month; those who have been working there for 4-5 years earn 1,227 DM (nearly 21% more) and those who have been working abroad for more than eight years earn 1,338 DM - an increase of nearly 32% over the wages of recent migrants. Even when the migrants'

Table 3.17. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Men by Monthly Net Wages & by Length of Stay Abroad.

Present Wages	Under 1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	5-6 years	6-7 years	7-8 years	Over 8 years
Unknown or unemployed	3.0	----	2.3	----	----	----	----	----	----
500 - 750 DM	4.0	4.8	----	3.7	----	----	----	----	----
751 - 1,000 DM	36.0	9.5	14.0	16.7	14.8	5.3	----	12.5	7.4
1,001 - 1,250 DM	48.0	57.1	62.8	57.4	37.0	73.7	66.7	62.5	48.1
1,251 - 1,500 DM	4.0	14.3	18.6	20.4	40.7	21.1	16.7	12.5	25.9
1,501 - 1,750 DM	----	9.5	----	1.9	7.4	----	13.7	12.5	7.4
1,751 - 2,000 DM	----	4.8	2.3	----	----	----	----	----	3.7
2,001 - 2,500 DM	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	3.7
Over 2,500 DM	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	3.7
Mean Wages	1,016DM	1,196DM	1,155DM	1,125DM	1,127DM	1,164DM	1,250DM	1,188DM	1,338DM
Index	100.0	117.7	113.7	110.7	120.8	114.6	123.0	116.9	131.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

knowledge of German is taken into consideration, and held constant, the increase in wages according to the length of stay abroad is obvious. (Table 3.18).

It is interesting to note that the increase in wages according to the degree of knowledge of German is also evident when the "Duration of Stay Abroad" category is held constant. (Table 3.18).

Changing jobs in the FRG is one of the ways of improving wages by conscious effort by the migrants. For instance, among the first year migrant men from Turkey, those who had changed jobs were earning over 17% more (1,125 DM) than those who had not changed jobs at all (958 DM). (See Table 3.19). Among those who had been in the FRG between one and two years, those who had changed jobs were earning a substantial 38.6% more (1,213 DM) than those who were still in their first jobs (875 DM). Although the wage increases in later years due to job changes were smaller than the ones obtained during the early years of migration, they were still present. (Table 3.19).

Pre-migration educational attainment does not seem to have much influence on the wages earned in the FRG by the Turkish men. This is probably due to the nature of the Turkish educational system which is geared not to industrial needs but to higher education and knowledge. The differences among the wages earned by men of different educational backgrounds were minimal: while those with no

Table 3.10. Mean Monthly Wages (in DM) of Turkish Migrant Men, by Duration of Stay Abroad and by Knowledge of German.

Duration of Stay Abroad	KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN				Mean Wages for Duration of Stay	
	None	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced		Perfect
Less than 1 year	900	1,094	1,063	-----	1,375	1,016
1-2 years	1,000	1,214	1,000	1,250	1,625	1,196
2-3 years	1,175	1,167	1,188	1,097	-----	1,155
3-4 years	1,125	1,135	1,164	1,067	-----	1,125
4-5 years	-----	1,188	1,232	1,232	1,625	1,227
5-6 years	-----	1,208	1,125	1,075	1,375	1,164
6-7 years	-----	1,125	1,292	1,375	-----	1,250
7-8 years	-----	1,125	1,125	1,292	-----	1,188
More than 8 years	1,125	1,458	1,292	1,635	1,625	1,338
Mean Wages for Knowledge of German	1,013	1,172	1,189	1,186	1,525	

Table 3.19. Mean Monthly Wages (in D¹) of Turkish Migrant Men by Duration of Stay Abroad & by Job Changes.

	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	5-6 years	6-7 years	7-8 years	Over 8 years
Workers who have not changed jobs at all	958	875	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,175	1,208	1,125	1,188
Workers who have changed jobs	1,125	1,213	1,128	1,125	1,270	1,161	1,292	1,196	1,364

formal education earned 1,156 DM, those with eight years education were earning 1,184 DM (2.4% more) and those with eleven years education were earning 1,240 DM, only 7.3% more than the non-educated. (See Table 3.20).

Table 3.20. Mean Monthly Wages (in DM) of Turkish Migrant Men by Educational Attainment.

	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
	None	3 years	5 years	8 years	11 years
Wages	1,156	1,185	1,166	1,184	1,240
Index	100.0	102.5	100.9	102.4	107.3

The effects of the Turkish migrants' geographical background on the wages earned in the FRG were also minimal. The difference between the wages of migrants of rural or urban origin was not more than 6.8% according to their places of birth, and 2.5% according to their last pre-migration residences. (Table 3.21).

Table 3.21. Mean Monthly Wages (in DM) of Turkish Migrant Men by Pre-migration Geographical Backgrounds.

		City	Town	Village
Place of Birth	Wages	1,234	1,217	1,156
	Index	106.8	105.2	100.0
Last Pre-migration Residence	Wages	1,183	1,191	1,162
	Index	101.8	102.5	100.0

It becomes clear, therefore, that socialization into the labour market and into German society by staying long periods in the country and learning the language are the most crucial factors leading to improvements in the work and incomes of migrants, rather than any pre-migration characteristics like residential area, educational attainment, etc.

3.10. Trade Union Membership

An important aspect of the migrants' adaptation to the host society's economic structures is reflected in their attitudes towards German trade unions. Most of the workers I interviewed had an ambivalent attitude towards the unions. Although most of them were union members (see Table 3.22) they did not, in the last analysis, believe that they were getting their money's worth from them. They thought that in dealing with their complaints most of the time the unions sided with the employers and they also believed that in a crisis situation they would not get the protection they needed. This point was borne out dramatically by the illegal strikes of the migrants at Hella in Lippstadt in September 1969 and July 1973 concerning wage discrimination, and at Ford in Cologne in August 1973 concerning the unbearable production-line speed and the sacking of 300 Turkish workers because they returned late from their holidays. In both instances the migrants did not get any help from the unions of their German colleagues. Castles and Kosack noted

concerning the Ford strike that:

"Ford is an extreme example of how German trade unionists in some cases have become tools of the management against the immigrants, who now have to fight not only against the bosses and against the police but also against their own 'representatives'." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1974: 510). (For a detailed discussion of these strikes and the German unions' attitude towards the migrants, see the same work).

In spite of these shortcomings on the part of the unions, a large proportion of the migrant workers (especially the Turks) are union members. While the unionization rate among the German workers varies between 16 and 20%, the migrant workers had an average membership rate of 22.4%. The Turks and Spaniards had the highest rate with 27% (Rist, R.C., 1978: 128; Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1974: 505). Unionization rates differ considerably between the regions and industries. Kudat and Özkan, for example, report that union membership rate of Turkish migrants in Berlin is much higher than their national figures (Kudat, A. and Özkan, Y., 1976: 65). Castles and Kosack note that

"The (union) membership rate varies considerably from industry to industry. The Chemical Workers Union (I.G. Chemie) has organized 43% of all immigrants working in its sector. Nearly one third of all immigrant workers in the metal industry are members of the Metal Workers' Union (I.G. Metall)." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1974: 505).

I found in the survey that 83.5% of the men and 10.3% of the women were union members. Some of the men (3.5%) and women (16.2%) did not know whether or not they were members of the union. (See Table 3.2^o).

This was partly due to the fact that some of the factories, like Opel, enrolled their workers in the unions automatically when they employed them and deducted the union fees from the wages on behalf of the unions. However, it was also partly due to the ineffectiveness of the unions in communicating with the migrants who also displayed an attitude of disinterestedness.

The unusually high ratio of unionization among the men in the sample was also due to the companies' policy of enrolling their workers in the unions automatically. Unusually low unionization among the women in the sample, on the other hand, was probably due to the fact that most women were recent migrants to the FRG and that their company did nothing to encourage them to join the unions.

Table 3.22. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Union Membership & by Sex.

	Member	Non-member	Not known
Male	80.4	16.1	3.5
Female	18.9	64.9	16.2

There would seem to be close correlation between the level of knowledge of German and trade union membership. For example, while the percentage of union members among those who could speak no German was 51.7%, it went up to 69.6% among those with elementary German, to 76.9% among those with intermediate, to 81.8% among those with advanced and finally to 100.0% among those whose knowledge of German was perfect. (Table 3.23).

Table 3.23. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Trade Union Membership & by Knowledge of German.

<u>Knowledge of German</u>	<u>TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>		
	<u>Member</u>	<u>Non-member</u>	<u>Not known</u>
None	51.7	37.9	10.3
Elementary	69.6	24.8	5.6
Intermediate	76.9	17.3	5.8
Advanced	81.8	16.4	1.8
Perfect	100.0	----	---

I did not find any meaningful correlation between trade union membership and pre-migration educational attainment. There seemed to be significant improvement in the numbers of the migrants who were union members during their first two years abroad. The percentage of union members went up rapidly from 35.2% among the recent migrants to 61.5% among migrants who had been abroad between one and two years, and again to an average of 84.4% among those who had been abroad for more than two years. However, it did not show a significant variation after two years stay abroad.

Another variation that seemed to have a connection with union membership was residential status. Those workers who were in the FRG with their families seemed to have a much higher membership ratio than those who were alone or with only one relative. (See Table 3.24).

Table 3.24. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Trade Union Membership & by Residential Status.

	Member	Non-member	Not known
Alone	68.8	25.7	5.5
With family	91.3	4.3	4.3
With one relative	33.3	66.7	---

Trade union membership also seems to be higher among the highly paid workers. While the membership rate was only 17.9% among the lowest paid workers (with a salary of 500 - 750 DM) who were mostly women, the rate went up to 100% among the workers who were earning over 1,750 DM per month. (Table 3.25).

Table 3.25. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Trade Union Membership & by Monthly Wages.

Wages	Member	Non-member	Not known
500 - 750 DM	17.5	66.7	15.4
751 - 1,000 DM	69.4	25.0	5.6
1,001 - 1,250 DM	82.0	13.3	4.7
1,251 - 1,500 DM	89.9	10.6	---
1,501 - 1,750 DM	88.9	11.1	---
1,751 - 2,000 DM	100.0	----	---
Over 2,000 DM	100.0	----	---

The evidence here suggests a willingness on the part of the migrants to join trade unions and it is a willingness that increases the longer a worker stays in Germany. Nevertheless, my impression is that their attitude towards trade unions remains ambivalent. They join them for reasons of security but many retain the belief that the trade unions are not really for them. They frequently stated that trade unions protect the German workers much more than the Turks, and that they take their money but do very little for them.

3.11. Savings in the FRG

Most Turkish workers take the decision to migrate for the sole purpose of accumulating enough wealth abroad to better their lives in Turkey on their return. Survey results show that most of them can and do in fact save large amounts to achieve this aim. The SPD estimated that the Turkish migrant workers earn on average 1,200 DM per month and save about 550 DM, 47% of their income. (S.P.O., 1980: 24, 25). I found that the migrants in the sample saved an average 631 DM per month, nearly 58% of their wages, and that the men saved considerably more than the women, nearly 60% as opposed to 45%, which was hardly surprising considering the wage differentials between sexes in the FRG. (See Tables 3.26 & 3.27).

Detailed comparisons of the wages and savings show that as the wages increase so does the percentage of savings. For example, while the men who earned between 500 - 750 DM could save 55% of their

Table 3.26. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Sex & by Net Savings⁽¹⁾ per Month (in DM).

	Unknown	Under 250	251-500	501-750	751-1,000	1,001-1,250	1,251-1,500	Over 1,500	None	Mean Savings
Male	1.3	0.4	14.8	45.7	30.8	4.8	0.4	0.9	0.9	698
Female	---	54.1	40.5	---	---	---	---	---	5.4	287
TOTAL	1.1	7.9	18.4	39.3	26.6	4.1	0.4	0.7	1.5	631

(1) Including the remittances.

Table 3.27. Comparative Data on Mean Monthly Wages & Savings (in DM) of Turkish Migrant Workers, by Sex.

	Wages	Savings	Savings as % of Wages
Male	1,172	698	59.6
Female	639	287	44.9
TOTAL	1,098	631	57.5

wages, those who earned between 1,251 - 1,500 DM could save 61% and those who earned more than 2,500 DM per month were saving 67% of their wages. (See Table 3.28).

As the families unite in the FRG and the number of people working increases in the family, so does the level of savings. While the average savings were 687 DM per month when there was only one person working, this amount went up to 813 DM when there were two persons working in the family.

Table 3.28. Detailed Comparison of the Monthly Net Wages and Monthly Mean Savings of Turkish Migrant Workers.

		500- 750	751- 1,000	1,001- 1,250	1,251- 1,500	1,501- 1,750	1,751- 2,000	2,000- 2,500	Over 2,501
MALE	Savings in DM	344	482	659	832	1,069	1,125	1,500	1,759
	Savings as % of Wages	55	55	59	61	66	60	63	67
FEMALE	Savings in DM	221	188	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Savings as % of Wages	35	21	---	---	---	---	---	---

The significance of **saving** has to be seen against the migrant's longer term plans to return to Turkey. I shall discuss this in a subsequent chapter.

What has been established in this chapter, however, is that migrant workers have been brought into the FRG to overcome critical labour shortages in particular sections of the economy. Furthermore, while ostensibly free labourers, the employment conditions of migrants are strictly regulated. The migrant labour force in fact is used as a reserve of mobile labour. In defence of their standard of living, Turkish workers are clearly prepared to join German trade unions despite the fact they are frequent targets of abuse and discrimination. Nevertheless migrant workers retain and cherish the prospect of eventually being able to save enough money to break into self-employment. It is ironic that the requirements of the German economy for a labour force of mobile, hard-working and compliant workers co-incides with the migrants' willingness to change jobs in search of higher wages.

It seems, therefore, that the labour market behaviour of Turkish workers has to be understood against the background of their experience in Turkey and their plans for the future. In this sense they are ~~esse~~ essentially different from German workers of similar status with whom they share the realities of working life in the FRG. The question then arises as to the character of the migrants' integration into and commitment to the social structures of German society as a whole.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PLACE OF WORK

4.1. Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed the work situation of migrants in very broad terms, paying attention to the structural aspect of the employment of Turks. In this chapter I want to report a fieldwork experience of two factories and a small shop, all owned and operated by Turks. Although my experience is not representative of most of the Turks' experience in the FRG, it is, nevertheless revealing and illustrative of the circumstances of spontaneous workers who are mostly employed in the marginal sectors of the labour market. One of these sectors which is dominated by migrants, especially Turks, Jugoslavs and Greeks, is the dress alterations and repairs shops and small workshops producing garments for larger German firms on contract basis.

The importance of social networks in finding jobs (which were discussed in broad terms in the last chapter) and accommodation and in leisure activities (which will be discussed in general terms in the next chapter) and the intensity and multiplexity of the relationships in these networks will be elaborated in this chapter by looking in detail at the process of migration as it affects the lives of a small group of Turks in the FRG, including my wife and myself.

What I aim to do is describe something of the interpersonal world of Turkish migrants and their experience of work itself. The methods of anthropological research which rely heavily on participant observation and on case studies of particular people are, as explained in the Introduction, very well suited to achieve such an aim. They make it possible for the researcher to gain access to the subjective realities of a social group and to appreciate what it feels like to be a member of a particular group. The subtle nuances of social interaction and social perception which define the social relations of Turkish communities in the FRG in fact can only be grasped, as it were, from the inside using these techniques.

4.2. Choice of Locality

For my fieldwork in the FRG I had decided to experience migration at first hand and go to Germany as a migrant worker using the "normal" recruitment channels and procedures. (See Appendix I, The Fieldwork). As I had neither any technical skills which were in demand in the FRG nor the time to wait in the queue for unskilled workers, the only channel open to me in the end was the unofficial one. My wife, Oya, was also coming with me so the decision was made to go as "tourists." The next step was to draw on the resources of our own social networks to establish a bridgehead in the FRG. We thought about the people we knew in the FRG and chose Gül, a close school friend of my wife's who was also known to me. About a year previously she had

married Erkan, a lithographer, and both had gone to the FRG. Erkan was working in Frankfurt and they were living in a flat in Offenbach, about 8kms away from his work. They were ideally situated in the heartland of Hessen, which had one of the highest foreign worker concentrations in the FRG. In 1972 12.2% of all foreign workers in Germany were living in this state (Şenel, S., 1975: 20) and over 10% of the Turkish workers were also living there (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1974: 21). We wrote a letter to our friends explaining our intention to go to the FRG and to stay there for about 18 months as spontaneous workers to gather research material concerning Turkish workers. Within a fortnight we received a reply inviting us to their place, urging us to stay in Offenbach and close to them where there were many Turkish workers.

We travelled in our right-hand drive car with British licence plates and got into Germany without any problems, saying at the border that we were returning to England. We arrived in Offenbach one Friday evening and met with a warm reception from our friends. Erkan thought that there were at least 1,500 Turkish workers in Offenbach and some thousands in and around Frankfurt. (The real figures were 2,596 in Offenbach, 3,865 in Hanau and 15,611 in Frankfurt (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1974: 102). He said that he could introduce me to his friends in the area, and that he could help us find accommodation and jobs if we decided to stay in Offenbach. When I said that Offenbach seemed an ideal place for us, Erkan replied that he would get to work the following day to look for accommodation.

The next day we went to see two of Erkan's friends, Rıza and Hüseyin. Rıza was an interpreter in one of the banks in Offenbach; Hüseyin was a skilled electrician working in Frankfurt. They had both been in the FRG for more than nine years and had their families with them. We told them that we were looking for accommodation and jobs and asked for their help. Two days later Hüseyin turned up with an address he had got from a friend. We went to see the place but it had been taken. Rıza went to see some estate agents for us but all the available flats were beyond our means. Meanwhile, Erkan and I were following up the advertisements in the local papers and visiting the local estate agents. Some of the advertisements had notices saying "No Foreigners" but although most of them had no such advertised restrictions, when we went to see them the landlords refused to show us the flats, some saying bluntly that they did not want any foreigners and others offering various excuses.

Within four days of our arrival in Offenbach, five of Erkan's friends were looking for accommodation for us. The information kept coming in. At the end of the week we found a pleasant flat in Muhlheim, about 5kms from Erkan's flat. Two days after that Rıza came to say he had found us temporary jobs: cleaning offices for three hours each evening in a nearby electronics firm. The next day he took us to the factory to introduce us to the person in charge. Rıza promised that he would continue to look for more suitable jobs for us; we were to work there in the meantime. The implications of these patterns of helping one another are very important. They are the basis of complex patterns of reciprocity and social obligation which, over

time, hold the Turkish community together. (Cf. Leach, E.R., 1954). I shall elaborate on these points later on in the chapter after my account of the work **situation** of the group I studied.

Two weeks later, Gül introduced my wife to a Turkish woman, Nermin, who had a small dress repairs and alterations shop in the main street of our village. Nermin offered my wife a part-time job in the shop. She started working there the next day. I met Nermin and her husband, Nuri, the same evening. Nuri was working in a shoe factory near Frankfurt. They were both from Istanbul and had been in the FRG since the early 1960s and had worked in various jobs until Nermin opened this shop. They lived in the same village, in a flat about 50 yards from the shop. The shop seemed to be the centre of social activities for the Turks living in the village. A Turkish lady who lived in the next house spent most of her time in the shop, bringing tea, coffee and cakes from time to time. Some other Turks living in or near the village also visited the shop during the day. The men usually called in after work when Nermin's husband would be present, whereas the ladies usually called in during the morning when they went out shopping. Subjects of conversation ranged from gossip about other Turks to fashion, shop prices, news about Turkey and the situation of the "tourist" workers, employment opportunities and work conditions in the region.

Both Nermin and Nuri could speak German. Apart from the customers who were all Germans, there were three German neighbours, two ladies and a man, all of whom were in their sixties, retired and

widowed, who visited the shop almost daily to sit and chat.

As the Turkish residents who had lived longest in the village and as owners of a business, Nermin and Nuri were the focus of interest and respect among the other Turks who lived there. People sought their advice and help from time to time. One of the frequent visitors to the shop, Muzaffer, who was a tailor in Turkey and working as an electric welder in a nearby factory, for example, brought a hemşehri of his one day, explaining that he had recently arrived in the region and as he wanted to bring his wife soon they were looking for accommodation for him. They had heard that there was an empty flat in the village and had come to ask Nermin to go with them to speak to the landlord on their behalf. They all went to see the landlord, but came back disappointed: the man had refused to let his flat to a Turk. Muzaffer's friend later found a flat through an estate agent.

When Nermin and Nuri went home on their annual holidays they left the shop to my wife, Oya. She would get fifty per cent of the earnings she realized. Now she was in direct contact with the customers who were almost all Germans. She started to feel the insecurity of being a spontaneous worker. She was constantly asking herself questions like "What if the next German who comes in is a policeman?"; "What if he asks for my work permit?"; "What can I tell him?" and "What if I am arrested?" She felt very nervous and uncertain while she was working in the shop by herself. Every German customer was a potential threat to her stay in the FRG. She could only relax

in the company of other Turks when they visited the shop. Although Nermin's three German friends continued to visit the shop frequently and were friendly towards Oya, she could not be sure that they were not on very friendly terms with the local police chief as well and would tell him about this new Turkish lady who worked in Nermin's shop! The fact that one of these ladies often greeted her jokingly when she came in the shop with "Heil Hitler!" did not make Oya feel very comfortable or welcome either.

These feelings point to a more fundamental theme, that of insecurity and of how migrant workers, particularly spontaneous workers, cope with it. That they do is clear; they develop an outlook which is simultaneously fatalistic and hopeful. They do not worry too much about the risk of being caught and believe that their luck may hold out to avoid this. But such attitudes need the support of the community and I shall discuss this in the following chapter.

Soon after Oya took over the shop some new Turkish men started visiting it. They were living in rooms in a converted barn and stable across the street from the shop. They had noticed that I was present at the shop most of the time and started visiting. There were eleven Turks living in three rooms. One of the rooms was occupied by Ali, his two sons, Osman (16) and Ömer (18) and two "tourist" relatives. Since the room had only four beds, Ali was trying to find some accommodation for one of them. Ali was a man of 50, of Kurdish origin and from the villages of Ankara province. He had an air of quiet respectability, authority and

congeniality about him. When we met him he was working in a slaughterhouse, but a couple of months later he changed his job and became a street sweeper in Frankfurt, working for the municipality.

One of the other rooms was occupied by three men from Konya who worked in a metal factory nearby. They all had temporary stay and work permits (dÜldung) (1) and were preparing to go to Turkey to legalize their position. They worked very long hours and kept to themselves, therefore I could not get to know them better.

In the third room stayed two men, Selim and Selim Hoca, of Kurdish origin from the villages of Erzurum province in eastern Turkey, and one man from Konya who was working in the same factory as his hemşehris who lived in the next room - indeed he spent all his time in their company. Both Selim Hoca and Selim were working in a tyre company outside the village. Selim Hoca was 39 years old. He had been a visiting village imam in Turkey, hence his title Hoca. He had come to the FRG about ten months previously as a "tourist" through a migrant dealer in Turkey. He had arrived in West Berlin, where he had a brother, via Jugoslavia-East Berlin, and found a job in a construction firm using his brother's passport. After a couple of months he had heard from friends in Hanau that the authorities in Hessen were granting stay permits to the "tourists" and had come to Offenbach where hemşehris had

found him a job in this tyre factory and accommodation in this house.

Selim was 53 years old. He was a stock farmer in Turkey. He had also come as a "tourist" with the help of his cousin who was a migrant dealer in Hanau. He had been unable to find a job in Hanau for nine months and had been looked after by his cousin during this period. About two months previously he had managed to get a job in the tyre factory and, with the help of Selim Hoca, accommodation in the village, so had moved there. Both Selims had managed to get temporary stay permits with the help of their employer and were planning to go to Turkey that August to regularize their positions.

Our conversations usually revolved around the problems of spontaneous workers, economic conditions in Turkey and life in Germany. Both Selims were strict Muslims: they did not drink alcohol and would not touch anything containing pork. They found the Germans highly immoral and their women too scantily dressed. However, they appreciated the Germans' industriousness and thought they were clever, hard-working people. Both Selims were also aware that there were some unscrupulous employers among them, ready to exploit the vulnerable spontaneous workers. They thought their employer was one of them. They were working in very bad conditions, among plastic and rubber fumes, in close contact with high temperatures, but they were being paid only 5.50 DM per hour. They were planning

to leave the factory as soon as possible once their status was regularized. Selim Hoca wanted to go to West Berlin to join his brother and where he thought the earnings were much higher. Selim was hoping to find another job in the region where he had relatives.

4.3. Ahmet's Workshop: A Marginal Business

One day Selim stated that he was going to find us permanent jobs. They knew that Oya was working in Normin's shop part-time and not earning much. One of their neighbours, Osman, who was Ali's younger son, was working in a small dress-making workshop in a nearby industrial village. Selim had asked Osman to talk to his boss, who was also a Turk, about us and see if he could employ us. In a couple of days Selim came with the news that Osman's employer, Ahmet, wanted to see us. The next morning Selim and Osman took us to Ahmet's workshop. They were making jeans for a large factory in the region. Ahmet explained what the work involved. He was getting the already cut material from the factory and making it into jeans. Each worker was doing a particular job, such as sewing the side seams, putting on the pockets, zips or belts, etc. He asked Oya if she had experience on industrial machines and this type of work, which she had for she had studied dressmaking at college in Turkey and had worked as a supervisor in a garments factory in England. Ahmet then

asked her to do some sample work on one of his machines and after seeing this asked her to start work immediately. He explained that if she worked fast she could earn good money and that some of the workers were earning up to 1,800 DM per month.

I explained that I was a student in England and was doing research in the FRG on the Turkish migrant workers. I started to spend most of my time in the workshop helping out with the manual jobs like sorting the jeans into different sizes, helping Ahmet to load or unload them from his van, etc. A couple of days later I learned to use a simple machine that made loops for the belts so started helping with those. Ahmet noticed that I was being helpful in the workshop and offered me a part-time job on 4 DM per hour.

From an anthropological point of view Ahmet's workshop was of considerable interest. In the first place it exemplified several features of Turkish entrepreneurship in the FRG like that of their marginality, their reliance on ethnic relationships for their operation and success, and their position as cultural brokers operating within both the German and Turkish migrant systems and providing bridges for the exchange of goods and services and money, and information between these systems. Ahmet's problems of labour recruitment illustrate, too, the extent to which spontaneous migrants fill a real gap in the labour market. The logic of the labour market was such that without spontaneous workers Ahmet could not have exploited the opportunity he was given in that section of the garments industry.

They gave him sufficient flexibility to establish his business on a more certain footing. And, as I shall show, at the point when a shortage of spontaneous workers and the increased penalties of using these workers forced him into official recruitment channels they were the first to be dispensed with. In a real sense they bear the burden of business uncertainties.

The workshop was situated in the middle of a growing industrial village about 8kms north of Offenbach. It was housed in a converted barn in a small yard. There were eighteen sewing and special purpose machines (like overlocking, button hole and loop machines) in a space of approximately 5 by 10 metres, arranged in three rows of six machines. The place was lit by fluorescent lights placed on the walls and ceiling. There was one window at the back. The only ventilation was through the front door or back window, which were kept open on warm days. There was always an overwhelming smell of starch and dust from cloth fibres in the workshop. During our first weeks there we suffered severe irritation of the eyes, nose and throat, but eventually got used to it.

When we started there were nine Turks (seven men, one woman and a young girl) including Ahmet, the owner, and his wife, Isik and three Yugoslav, one Greek and one Italian woman working in the place. The Italian woman and the young Turkish girl, Semra, who was fourteen, were part-timers. Semra was working two to three hours a day examining, cleaning and folding the

finished jeans according to size. She often brought her four year old sister with her and worked while her sister played in the yard. Their father was said to be an alcoholic, working only intermittently and spending all his money on drink. Their mother was working two shifts in a factory and leaving Semra in charge of her sister when she was at work.

Ahmet, a man of 36, had been in the FRG for twelve years. After working in various jobs for five years he had opened a dress-alterations and repairs shop in this village. About eight years previously he had married Isik in his home town of Urfa in Turkey and brought her over to Germany. Soon after her arrival she started working in a dress-making factory and remained there until they opened the workshop. Ahmet worked in his shop for seven years, saving money and waiting for an opportunity to enlarge his business. He knew some Turks in the nearby villages who owned dress-making workshops producing for the large factories around Offenbach and making simple garments like jeans and overalls. He was hoping to open a similar workshop himself one day.

The opportunity came when the German owner of the present workshop wanted to sell the place. He had apparently been unable to find enough workers at low enough wages for him to make a profit so had closed the place. Ahmet bought the machines and took over the business. He was introduced to a factory where he could get work making jeans. Rather than close his old shop, Ahmet put a trusted

Turkish tailor friend there, and started recruiting workers for the workshop. The previous owner had recommended three of his hard-working employees: a Greek, a Yugoslav and an Italian woman living in the village. He contacted them and they agreed to work. His wife also left her work for the workshop. Ahmet had been promised as much work as he could cope with providing his quality was satisfactory. He was getting denim material already cut in various sizes, together with zips, buttons, cotton, etc., and being paid a certain price (he would not divulge how much) for each pair of jeans delivered. The factory also suggested how much to pay his workers on a piece-work basis.

Since he could not guarantee the productivity of the workers, Ahmet decided to recruit on only a piece-work basis with no guaranteed minimum wage. He soon realized that the only workers he could find without paying a basic wage would be spontaneous workers. He started visiting and phoning Turkish friends in and around Offenbach, Frankfurt and Hanau who either owned dress-making workshops, dress alteration shops or worked in them. He told them that he was starting a business and that he needed good hard-working and fast workers. He told them that he was prepared to employ "tourists" and that they should send any person considered suitable.

Within a month he had found two Yugoslav women, both friends of Ahmet's first Yugoslav worker, and five Turks: Semra, the fourteen year old girl; Osman, the sixteen year old boy who

introduced us to Ahmet, Sami usta, a tailor in his fifties with a temporary residence permit (duldung); Rasim usta, a "tourist" tailor in his late 30s, and Nezih, a tailor of 29 who also had a temporary residence permit. Sami usta had been working in a dress alterations shop, while Nezih and Rasim usta were employed in a garments workshop in the region and had come to our workshop in the hope of higher earnings. Their previous employers were also Turks. For Semra and Osman this was their first experience of employment. Sami and Rasim ustas had had their own tailor shops in Turkey, hence their title usta (master). They were both from western Turkey, Sami from Denizli and Rasim from Sakarya. Sami had left his shop to his kalfa (assistant master) and çıraks (apprentices) and had come to the FRG to try his luck about a year previously. He had found a job in a hemşehri's dress alterations shop and had worked there until he came to Ahmet's workshop. Rasim, on the other hand, had applied to the Turkish Employment Service together with his wife to go to the FRG and when his wife's turn came up a year previously he had sold his shop and accompanied her to the FRG as a "tourist". His wife had been recruited by a food-processing firm near Offenbach. Her firm had helped to find them a small basement flat in a modern block not far from the factory. They had made friends quickly and through them he had found a job in a garments factory.

Ahmet was pleased with his workers for they were fast and efficient. His suppliers were also pleased with the quality and quantity of the work he delivered each week. They kept

reminding him that he could get more work if he found new workers. In his second month two more Turkish tailors, Mehmet and Yusuf, joined the workshop. They were both spontaneous workers in their early twenties. Mehmet was also from Denizli and had learned his craft in the workshop belonging to Sami usta, who was a distant relative. Mehmet had been in the FRG for eighteen months. He had come by 'plane and had managed to get into the country without any difficulty, it was believed on account of his looks. He was a well dressed young man with long, light brown hair who could easily have passed as a German. From Frankfurt he had headed straight for Essen where he had two uncles working in the metal industry. In a few days one of his uncle's friends had found him a job on a construction site, where he had worked for one month, while his uncles were trying to find him a better job. At the end of the month he was placed in a hemşehri's dress alterations shop in Dusseldorf. Although the work conditions were much better, the wages at 4 DM per hour were very low. He knew that Sami usta was working somewhere near Offenbach so wrote and asked him if he could find him a better job there. One week later he received a reply from Sami usta stating that he had found him a job as a machinist in a dress workshop. After only one month in Dusseldorf Mehmet moved to Offenbach and started work in a jeans workshop owned by a Turk. He also moved into a flat rented by his employer for his workers where he shared a room with three other Turks.

Mehmet worked there for about nine months until his employer declared himself bankrupt and closed the workshop. Although the legal workers received their wages in full, the ten spontaneous workers, among them Mehmet, were not paid their last month's wages (about 1,000 DM each). While they felt very bitter about this and thought that their employer's bankruptcy was fraudulent, they could do nothing about it but look for new jobs. He knew that Ahmet had opened a new jeans workshop in the same village. Two of his friends, Rasim usta and Nezih, had started working there a couple of weeks previously. He went to see Ahmet for a job and started work there the same day. The next day he moved into the flat rented by Ahmet for his workers, where he again shared a room with three other Turks.

Mehmet's arrival in Offenbach illustrates well the theme of the importance of social networks in finding work. It illustrates, too, the determination and the high economic rationality on the part of migrants to move readily to better conditions. The kind of work he had to do was less important to Mehmet than the wages he earned. Although his second job in the dress alterations shop was more creative and less monotonous he did not hesitate to change this job for a monotonous, much more tiring but much more lucrative one as a machinist in a workshop.

Yusuf had arrived in Offenbach after an adventurous journey (see Chapter 2, Recruitment) and started working in a hemşehri's workshop where Mehmet was also working. He worked alongside Mehmet for about eight months until his employer declared himself bankrupt. During this time he had been living in a flat supplied by his employer, sharing a room with Mehmet and two other Turks. When the workshop closed he went to see another hemşehri who owned a similar workshop in the village and was immediately accepted. Since his new employer had no special accommodation for his workers, he asked Yusuf to stay in the basement of the workshop until he found a room for him locally. Yusuf agreed and joined five other "tourist" Turkish workers living in the basement. This was a dark, damp and dirty place which Yusuf had to endure for forty days. When he realized that his employer had no intention of finding them a decent place to live in, he left the workshop and went to work for Ahmet, who also offered him a bed in the flat he had recently rented for his workers.

There are many points of similarity in the experiences of Mehmet and Yusuf. However, Yusuf's experience prior to his arrival in Ahmet's workshop highlights an additional feature of the spontaneous migrant experience, namely very poor accommodation. (I shall discuss the conditions of accommodation more fully in the next chapter). In addition to the awful living conditions there is the powerlessness of such men in being able to do anything about

it. Being spontaneous workers gives their employers a great deal of power over them. They cannot protest for fear of **d**etection. Their only option is to move on.

When Oya and I started working there, Ahmet had more or less organized himself. He had appointed Rasim usta as "meister" (foreman) and when Ahmet was out Rasim usta was in charge of the workshop. He was the fastest and most able man in it. Apart from helping Ahmet to organize the work and spending most of his time sewing, he also distributed work to the other workers and repaired the machines. He was the general troubleshooter. Other than Rasim usta's position there was no formal organization or hierarchy in the workshop. Except for Semra, everybody was working at a machine, doing a particular job such as sewing the side seams, putting in zips, etc. Ahmet and his wife, Işık, were also working at machines when they were in the workshop. Ahmet had to be away frequently to take or deliver orders, material, etc. After our arrival, Isik started spending more and more time away from the workshop at home. They were looking for a new flat to rent for they had been living in an old one with no bathroom and wished to change. Soon they found a modern flat and moved in. After this, Işık only came to work if we were pressed for delivery and needed an extra machinist - once or twice a week.

Ahmet was constantly searching for new workers. When he realized that he could not find any more workers locally, he

decided to recruit officially from Turkey and applied to the local employment bureau in Offenbach for four Turkish workers. Since he had to pay 5.50 DM per hour minimum basic wage to each officially recruited migrant on top of the recruitment fee of 300 DM per worker (see Chapter 2, Recruitment), he was rather apprehensive about the efficiency of the workers he might get without seeing the quality of their work, and he did not want to commit himself to more than four workers at once. He also had to provide accommodation for the officially recruited workers and there was not room for more than four in the flat.

4.4. Social Relations Among Workers

Until the officially recruited workers came there were no regulations governing work routine in the workshop. People started and finished work or had lunch breaks at different times. Since everybody except myself was working on a piece-work basis this did not matter. Ahmet usually picked up the Turkish workers from the flat, which was about a mile away, and brought them to the workshop in his car just before eight o'clock in the morning. The other workers arrived between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m. Around twelve or one o'clock we had our lunch break. Workers usually brought their lunch from home and heated it in the workshop, or bought fish and chips (usually on Fridays) or sandwiches from the local shops. The Turks usually had their lunch break at the same

time and ate together. The food each person brought was put on a table and shared. If some of the Turks did not stop working while others were eating or drinking tea or coffee, they were always invited to share the food and beverages. This invitation did not usually extend to other nationalities, symbolizing the limitation of intimate relationships to their own group thereby heightening the consciousness of solidarity within the group.

The relationship among the Turks in the workshop was close and multiplex. They had a shared culture that they had carried over to Germany. All the men had learned their craft under similar circumstances in Turkey. They had all started as apprentices (çirak) in tailor shops and, over the years, had become assistant masters (kalfa) and finally master tailors (terzi ustasi). The important structural elements in Turkish society like sex, age and hemşehrilik that guide social behaviour had been strengthened and supplemented in their case by additional similar rules through their occupational socialization from an early age. This was much in evidence during their daily communication both at the workshop and outside it. Although the workshop organization contained no formal hierarchy, for example, all the Turks there, including the employer Ahmet, addressed Sami as Sami usta, indicating respect. This was partly due to his age - he was the eldest man in the place - and partly to his position in Turkey where he had been a master tailor with his own shop and where he had trained many tailors, including

Mehmet. Sami usta on the other hand addressed everyone by their first names, except Oya and Isik, the wives of Turkish colleagues whom he addressed as either yenge (sister-in-law) or hanım (madam, Mrs., Miss, lady, indicating formality, distance and respect). All the other men addressed Oya and Isik similarly - except of course their husbands.

Ahmet was addressed by all the Turks, except Sami and Rasim ustas who addressed him by his name only, as Ahmet usta or Ahmet Abi (from Ağabey, elder brother, indicating respect but also familiarity with connotations of protection - see Introduction). Ahmet addressed all the men by their first names and Sami as usta. Ahmet and Sami addressed Rasim usta by his name, but all the other Turks called him either Meister (German for foreman or master) or Resim usta.

The younger Turks Mehmet, Yusuf and Nezih called each other by first names indicating friendship and similarity of status, while the youngest Turks, Səmra and Osman called them Abi (elder brother) and Işık and Oya abla (elder sister), indicating respect.

I was addressed by the Turks, including Ahmet, as Eran Bey (Mr., Sir - a title reserved for urban, educated men or officials, indicating social distance, formality and respect). They all knew that I was a post graduate student in England and was doing research on Turkish migrants. They appreciated the fact that to be able to learn about them I was prepared to

work in similar conditions and they were keen to talk to me and regard me as one of them. However, deep-rooted cultural values prevented them calling me just by my first name and they automatically supplemented it by the title bey.

The workers of other nationalities, the three Jugoslavs, one Greek and one Italian woman, were addressed by their first names. While the relationships between the Turks and other workers were uniplex, pertaining to workshop only, the social relations among the Turks were multiplex, covering their whole life in the FRG. They not only shared a common Turkish culture and work experience in Turkey but also a common presence in Germany. They had similar problems, worries and expectations.

4.5. Authority and Reward in Work

Ahmet's relationship with his Turkish workers was not simply an employer-employee relationship, restricted to the workshop. Frequently their relationship continued after working hours as well. He was also landlord to most of them. They paid their rent to him, and he transferred it to the owners of the block. He often visited them in the flat to see if they needed anything and to talk to them. Sometimes he ate and drank with them. He also invited them to his house from time to time. Workers saw him as one of them, a friend who had made it good and achieved what they all hoped to achieve one day: self-

employment and, ultimately, industrial production. To achieve this he had worked hard for many years and proved himself to be a competent and clever man by taking right decisions at the right times and not missing the opportunities he came across. This brought him respect and admiration from his workers. For most of them he was a model migrant and a model too of success, therefore a natural leader. His preferential recruitment of Turkish workers, and especially of spontaneous Turkish migrants whereby he was taking a risk of having to pay several thousand DMs fine if found out, and his sharing in their intimate social relationships like eating and drinking, joking, playing cards, visiting bars and brothels together, created bonds of mutual trust and solidarity between Ahmet and his Turkish workers which guaranteed him a loyal and productive workforce.

Since Ahmet had an abundant source of work, he was always keen to produce as much as possible. We always had more work than we could handle during a normal working day of eight hours. Although the other workers left the workshop after eight or nine hours, the Turks considered it ayıp (shameful, indecent, unmannerly) to leave the shop before Ahmet did. Therefore, our working day usually stretched to eleven or twelve hours and occasionally to fifteen hours. This was made bearable by the informal system of prestige connected with work that existed in the workshop group. Working hard and fast and producing more work than the others brought prestige and satisfaction. Therefore, workers were keen to work hard and long hours to produce more work.

To be known as the fastest and the one who produces most work was to be known as the best worker in the workshop. At the centre of this system was, of course, Ahmet as the ultimate source of acknowledgement. His comments like, "Well, friends, Yusuf has beaten you all this week. He's produced the most...." created an atmosphere of competition and kept the system, and the workshop, functioning effectively.

The successful working of the system was probably due to the fact that it served both Ahmet's and the workers' ends. As they were all working on a piece-work basis, the more they produced the better they were paid. Since most of the workers were spontaneous and in constant fear and expectation of being caught and deported by the police, they liked nothing better than to work as fast and as long hours as humanly possible so that either they could save as much as possible before they were caught or they could accumulate their target savings as quickly as possible and leave the country before they were caught.

4.6. The Structure of Marginality

Towards the end of 1972, public attitude against foreign workers in the FRG was intensifying every day, creating political pressure on the Federal and local governments, employers and other institutions connected with the migrants. Since most of the migrants were officially recruited workers with guaranteed

economic and residential rights and, more importantly, were filling positions that were essential for the operation of large firms and the German economy, one way of reducing public pressure was to do something about the spontaneous workers who were generally in marginal jobs and firms.

The authorities started tightening their control and taking stringent measures against spontaneous migrants. They introduced laws increasing penalties for these workers and their employers. On 12.10.1972, for example, the fines for employing spontaneous workers were increased to 10,000 DM and it was also declared that the deportation charges would be taken from the firms employing such workers. In December 1972 nearly one hundred firms had been fined between 3,000 and 10,000 DM for employing "tourists" (Tercüman, 16.12.1972). Police raids on factories, construction sites, workers' hostels and private residences suspected of harbouring spontaneous workers became more and more frequent. The Turkish daily Hürriyet on 17.1.1973 for example reported on the front page, with pictures of police raiding the Turkish residences in Berlin, that the police in Berlin had declared war on spontaneous workers and were hoping to catch and deport most of the estimated 20,000 Turkish "tourists" from the city. That day they had caught 253 Turkish workers who did not have any stay or work permits and had detained them for deportation (Hürriyet, 17.1.1973).

These developments were affecting our region and our workshop as well. We started hearing of the police raids in the region more often. The social networks of the Turks in the region were very effective in communicating information. Whenever the police raided a work place the Turkish workers there or the owners immediately informed, either by telephone or by visiting in person, the other work places in the region where they had Turkish friends. When this happened all the Turkish employers and workers in the region became involved in a big intelligence network. The progress of the raids was followed very carefully. Information like how long the police spent in a factory, which direction they came from and in which direction they went next, was carefully evaluated. The workshops in whose direction the police were moving sent their spontaneous workers away for safe periods until the raid or the possibility of it was over.

During our stay in Ahmet's workshop we were warned four times about the raids in the region. When the police moved closer to the village we left the workshop and spent two to three hours away in the shopping centre of the nearby town. On the last occasion the raids continued for two successive days and we stayed at home. While there had been three months between the first two raids (one in September and the other in December of 1972), the last two had taken place in January 1973 and within three weeks of each other. Ahmet became very apprehensive about the situation and started talking about the dangers of employing spontaneous workers.

Meanwhile in November 1972, Ahmet received his first two officially recruited workers from Turkey. The Arbeitsamt (employment service) informed him that the other two would be coming in three weeks time. He had also found a Turkish woman worker, a distant relative of his who had been working in Berlin. Since she could not stay in the flat with all the other men, she was staying in a small room in Ahmet's flat. Now all the machines in the workshop were occupied and there was no room for new ones. Ahmet started looking for a new and larger place to move into and soon found one in a nearby town about 5kms away.

We moved into the new place in early December. It was a modern factory building at least four times bigger than the previous one, with proper ventilation and toilet facilities. Ahmet bought some more machines for the new workers. With the arrival of legal workers the workshop started acquiring a formal organization. Since Ahmet had to pay a minimum wage of 5.50 DM per hour to the officially recruited workers, it became necessary to have regular working hours. To prevent confusion and provide a steady flow of work all the workers were asked to start at the same time, 8 o'clock in the morning, have a lunch break at 12.30 and finish work at 17.00 (for the official workers). Anyone who wanted to do overtime could stay and work on piece work after this time. Rasin usta started spending less time sewing and more and more time organizing and supervising the work. Ahmet by now had stopped working on the machines and was devoting his time to

managerial functions like finding orders and new workers. He had applied for six more Turkish workers to be recruited from Turkey, two of these were personal job offers for the wives of two of his legal workers, Nezih and Cemil. He had also secured a new order from another factory, again making jeans.

By the end of January 1973 after only nine months, Ahmet had established himself as a successful businessman. After six months in business he had moved into a better and more modern flat, his wife had given up manual work and become a housewife; after eight months he had moved into a bigger and better factory building, sold his old Ford car and bought a van for the business and a new Mercedes for himself, and given up manual work in the workshop. By then his spontaneous workers had served their purpose and become a liability rather than an asset. Now he could afford to hire legal workers but could not afford, especially after the substantial increases in fines, to keep his spontaneous workers and run the risk of financial disaster. Now he had much at stake. So, after several days of preparing the ground during which time he consistently conveyed his anxieties about employing "tourists" and the dangers of detection, he finally sacked them all after the last police raid in the area which had come within three weeks of the previous one. The fact that he had never been the subject of a raid himself did not matter. The dangers were there and the realities of business life forced him to take this action. He was now at a point where several forces converged and pressurized him, some from without, like the political

decisions regarding spontaneous workers and ever increasing police raids, and some from within his business, like the developmental stage of the workshop from a marginal small business to a bigger enterprise which is starting to integrate with the garment industry.

However, the rationality of the decision for Ahmet to sack the spontaneous workers was not much consolation for those of us who were sacked. We felt rather used and abandoned. Mehmet and Yusuf complained bitterly that up to just two months previously Ahmet was continuously telling them that they were his two best workers, and now he did not want to know them. They thought Ahmet had recently become a very selfish man, thinking about nothing but money and showing no regard for friendship or social obligations. Although he told them that they could stay in the flat until they found a new place or until his new workers arrived from Turkey, they did not wish to stay there any longer than was necessary.

We started looking for jobs and accommodation for Mehmet and Yusuf. We visited several workshops and migrants' hostels. The owners of the established firms did not want to employ spontaneous workers. They all stated that the police were putting too much pressure on them these days and advised us to wait for some time and then call again. Then we went to see Kemal, Ahmet's friend who had come from Stuttgart to open a workshop in Hausen (see Chapter 3). He was very keen to employ Oya, Mehmet and Yusuf. He had started in business about a month previously with only eight German women

workers, all transferred with the workshop from the previous owner. Some of these were part-timers and one was pregnant, and none of them worked after five o'clock in the evening. Kemal was in great need of Turkish and spontaneous workers but since he was new in the area and his only friend Ahmet had abandoned him, he had found himself in a social desert and had been unable to recruit anyone. We came as a great relief for him. He often stated that when he found more Turkish workers he would dismiss all the German ones because of their unproductiveness and unwillingness to do overtime.

Mehmet and Yusuf asked him to find accommodation for them in the village which Kemal soon did through newspaper advertisements. They were to share a room in the house of an elderly German lady.

Within four days of being sacked by Ahmet, Oya, Mehmet and Yusuf had found other jobs in a garment workshop similar to that of Ahmet's when it was in its early stages. Once more they were involved in a Turkish entrepreneur's efforts to break into self-employment and industry through the utilization of ethnic ties and social networks in a workshop on the margins of industry. Since, by this time, I had started doing my survey and was visiting other towns, I was unable to spend much time in Kemal's workshop. However, Oya worked there for about two months and I was able to follow the progress of the workshop through her. It seemed that Kemal was having more difficulties in developing his business than Ahmet had had when he started. Most of Kemal's difficulties came from the lack of social contacts with which he found himself as a result of

his venture outside the geographical boundaries of his social network, which was localized in and around Stuttgart. When Oya left his workshop two months later he had still not been able to recruit any more Turkish workers.

When Kemal's experiences and difficulties are considered in comparison with Ahmet's and our own experience and relative success, the importance of social networks in the migration process becomes clear. Turkish migrants operate within social networks that are based on Akrabalar (relatives), Hemşehriler (fellow countrymen) and Arkadaşlar (friends) in which relationships are instrumental in character in that each individual in the network is a sponsor and a potential link to others who are unknown. (Wolf, E., 1966: 12). The successful operation of the networks depends on the traditional values of Turkish society in which saygı (respect) is paid towards those who are older and/or in authority; sevqi ve koruma (affection and protection) given to those who are younger, in need, and of course to females. Free support for friends and generous hospitality to others are important elements too in this value system. In Germany these elements are upheld and can be explained by the notion of "generalized reciprocity" which is defined as a form of exchange based on the assumption that returns will balance out in the long run (Sahlins, M.D., 1972). Individuals help each other not because they expect something in return directly but believe that when they need help it will be given to them freely by other Turks. Indirect sanctions are applied to those who do not follow the rules of the

game and evade their responsibilities and do not help their friends. Such men will be branded as selfish, as exploiting others, as not being real Turks. These are ostracizing accusations which can effectively exclude those so condemned from the interlocking ties of generalized reciprocity (Denich, B.S., 1970: 138).

Ahmet, for example, although very successful in the beginning in operationalizing his network connections and meeting his obligations, was becoming more and more reluctant to help friends in need of his support and, therefore, incurred the criticism and the curses of his friends like Kemal, Mehmet and Yusuf. Kemal's comment, which I related in Chapter 3, that he would complain about Ahmet's selfish behaviour to their master in Istanbul with the expected result that Ahmet would not be able to show his face again in Istanbul for shame, shows the depth of feeling Ahmet's unsocial behaviour created in Kemal and the possible extent of the damage this might cause to his social relations.

However, the more successful Ahmet became, the less important such interpersonal sanctions became. Seen from Ahmet's point of view, his steady integration into the official economy and business success in the FRG - both developments conferring on him a status which did not depend solely on the recognition of fellow Turks - meant that he could afford to be selective about whom he would help. At the same time the importance of the opinion of Ahmet's former master (usta) in Istanbul had, for him, consider-

ably lessened. These 'opinions' which were at the centre of Kemal's threats can be seen as symbolizing the essential values of the Turkish community. But it was precisely this community from which Ahmet was gradually breaking away. His relationships with his new legal Turkish employees were also of a more formal and specific (or uniplex) kind. His gradual integration into German society and his acceptance and observance of the rules and regulations of it were putting strains on his relationships within the Turkish community, whose interests were basically opposed to those of the German one. He was gradually losing his identity as a group member (as "one of us") whose interests and problems were similar, and was becoming identified as an employer (as "one of them") whose interests and problems were in their turn different and often in conflict with those of the Turkish community which consisted primarily of workers.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the social relationships in the work place of a small group of Turkish migrant workers, several of whom were in the FRG spontaneously. My aim was to convey something of the experience of these people in their place of work. The picture which emerges, though by no means complete, lends weight to the following more general points.

Firstly, there is no account here of trade unionism. It is in the nature of being a spontaneous worker that formal member-

ship of a trade union is not possible. They could not in fact exist "officially" in any institution in German society except perhaps in the records of the police. Their access to employment and accommodation, therefore, depended entirely on unofficial, informal contacts through the social relationships and networks of the Turkish community.

Secondly, it is clear that, like many of the official migrants, the work that they were doing required less skill than they in fact possessed. The de-skilling aspect of migration has already been discussed in previous chapters. Two aspects of this need to be emphasized. The first is that they do not suffer a loss of social status as a result of this de-skilling. No one in the workshop, for example, thought of themselves as mere machinists. They were all tailors, some older, more experienced and respected, therefore ustas, some younger with less experience - but still they were all tailors. They all recognized themselves and others in these terms. What they did in the FRG did not confer higher status like meister. The second point is that they could tolerate the tedium of their work because they believed it to be temporary and a step towards self-employment in the future. This is an aspect of the migrants' economic rationality. But there were aspects of their work which did give them status and this connects with the third general point, namely that the authority structure of the workshop rested, in part, on an informal competitiveness among the workers. Those who worked well were well regarded both by the

employer and by the other workers.

The fourth point concerns social obligations. Migrant workers depend very much on one another for help. The values of Turkish society reinforce a sense of the need to help one another which, in my view, is stronger in Germany than in Turkey itself. The subtle norms of reciprocity which operate in this context have to be respected. Those who do not respect them are ostracised because their behaviour threatens the whole community in what is, after all, a basically hostile environment.

The final point concerns marginality. It is clear that the situation of spontaneous workers is an insecure one, that the risk of them losing their jobs is high. But they do not function in an impersonal market; the risk of job loss also carries the risk of a breakdown of very supportive social networks. This kind of insecurity can be borne but the psychological costs of doing so are high. In the end it is the spontaneous workers who bear the heavy costs of the business success of small entrepreneurs and, through them, of large German manufacturers.

The social relationships of spontaneous workers in the work situation in other sectors of the German economy, e.g. in construction, where there is a heavy concentration of spontaneous migrants, will be different to those described here. The size of firms, the ethnic mix of the labour force, the nationality of the

employer, the sector of the economy, are some of the factors which will shape many different types of work situation for both official and spontaneous migrants. What is required, therefore, for a fuller understanding of the migration process are more studies of particular work place settings. This chapter is intended as a small contribution to the work which remains to be done.

Notes

(1) In 1971 the authorities in two states, Hessen and Rheinland-Pfalz, had decided to legalize the status of their spontaneous workers and granted temporary residence and work permits (cÜldung). Some 6,000 Turkish workers had been affected.

After negotiations with the Turkish authorities, it had been agreed that these workers should return to Turkey before their temporary permits expired (on 31.9.1972 in Rheinland-Pfalz, and on 30.11.1972 in Hessen), and apply to the German Liaison Office and T.E.S. in Istanbul in person for their status to be legalized before they were sent back to the FRG as officially recruited migrants.

Those who followed these instructions which were regularly published in Turkish papers in Germany and on Turkish broadcasts, were in fact processed and returned to the FRG quickly.

CHAPTER 5

MIGRANT ACCOMMODATION

5.1. Introduction

The migrant workers negotiate two interconnected markets in the FRG: the market for work and the market for accommodation. Patterns of negotiating the work market were discussed in the previous chapters. I now want to discuss how the migrants negotiate the housing market.

The housing market in the FRG as it affects migrants can broadly be divided into three sectors: special housing for the migrants, the private housing market and public housing. Special housing is usually in the form of company-provided hostels (Heime). Most of the privately owned hostels are usually old buildings, specially converted with a minimum of investment and with little regard for government regulations, to maximize profit. The hostels, whether privately or company owned, are the buildings where migrants of the same sex and usually the same nationality are housed collectively as "single" people in an environment which cannot sustain social relationships of a kind considered normal either in Turkey or in the FRG itself.

The private housing market contains flats, houses or rooms where the migrants live privately either alone or with their families and relatives. Since in this sector migrants are in direct competition with Germans, it is here that they experience most discrimination and prejudice. This finds expression in higher rents for them (66% of the migrants in Frankfurt, for example, were paying over 200 DM rent as against 41% of the national average - Rist, R.C., 1978: 166, Table 7.5), and in the formation of "pocket ghettos" in inner cities and in sub-standard houses where Germans do not wish to live. Large scale ghettos, however, were not yet present in Germany, partly because of the relatively short history of migration and partly because of the fact that the housing supply was very limited and Germans themselves could not vacate the undesirable areas as quickly as they wished. Rist observes that:

"An interesting implication of the lack of housing options for German nationals is that it has hindered housing segregation of the foreigners. Were the Germans to have greater flexibility of movement within the housing market, there might well be a suburban flight such as has created de facto segregation in the United States. The reality of housing immobility has inhibited many German nationals, particularly those who are aged or in lower income levels, from leaving areas where guestworkers have found housing." (Rist, R.C., 1978: 158-159).

The public housing (Sozialwohnungen, social dwellings) in the FRG is almost totally in the control of the Germans. Less than 1% of the migrants had been able to find accommodation in this sector (Rist, R.C., 1978: 175).

As well as reflecting the structural marginality of the migrants in the FRG, their housing also reflects the internal structure of the migrant population as defined by their backgrounds and future plans. Contrary to popular single typologies (cf. Berger, J. and Mohr, J., (1975); Castles, S. and Kosack, G., (1973); Rist, R.C., (1978)), I found that the single "Turkish migrant type" did not exist in the FRG. I found it useful to distinguish four distinct Turkish migrant categories with different migration experiences and expectations. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. It suffices here to note that migrants who live in hostels, for example, have different characteristics compared with the migrants who live in company flats or in private flats and houses. Apart from illustrating the marginality of the migrant, housing is also an important feature of the control of the migrant labour force. The control is sometimes intensely direct and penetrates right into the private lives of workers, particularly those living in hostels. But housing shortage is a control mechanism in its own right reducing the choices migrants have not only in relation to accommodation but also in relation to work and the possibility of changing employment.

This chapter, however, focuses on the conditions of migrant accommodation by first looking at the accommodation of the officially recruited migrants and then at the housing of the spontaneous migrants, then reaches the general conclusion that in the words of Rist:

"The housing conditions of the foreign workers in Germany are but an additional manifestation of the social, political and economic marginality that they experience. The fact that the housing of the guest-workers tends to be the oldest and the least desired, that it is located in the areas of the cities left by the upwardly mobile segments of the German population, and that both rents and density are higher proportionally than for Germans, could only be anticipated... They are in a situation comparable to that experienced many times over by other racial and ethnic minority groups who come into the metropolitan areas of center countries." (Rist, R.C., 1978: 149).

In the next chapter I examine in detail aspects of the family and social life of migrants, describing, among other things, how different groups cope with the living accommodation they have in the FRG.

5.2. The Accommodation Types

One of the advantages of official recruitment for the migrant is the pre-arranged accommodation he finds on arrival in the FRG. The companies that recruit foreign workers to come and work in Germany are required by law to provide housing for them. This could be in either company owned workers' hostels (Heime) or other accommodation that has been secured by the company in the private sector that complies with government regulations. I found that when they first came to the FRG, 89.1% of the officially

recruited migrants in my sample had been accommodated in hostel rooms, 7.8% in bedsitters, 1.3% in company owned flats and 1.7% in privately owned flats, while only 67.6% of the spontaneous workers had been given hostel rooms, a much larger proportion, 24.3%, had found bedsitters, 5.4% had stayed in hostels for a prolonged time and 2.7% had found other accommodation. (See Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Type of First Accommodation in the FRG & by Migrant Types.

	Workers' Hostel	Bed- Sitter	Company Owned Flat	Privately Owned Flat	Hotel	Others
Officially Recruited Migrants	89.1	7.8	1.3	1.7	---	---
Spontaneous Migrants	67.6	24.3	---	---	5.4	2.7
TOTAL	86.1	10.1	1.1	1.5	0.7	0.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

The hostels show great variation in construction, size, shape, age and quality. They could be army-type barracks, made of wood on wooden or concrete bases, with corrugated metal roofs and thin wooden partitions between rooms, or they could be modern, high-rise blocks with all modern facilities like central heating, laundry and ironing rooms, etc. There are many other types between the two extremes. Some companies buy or rent old houses or hostels and turn them into hostels. Some private landlords

who are quick to see the possibility of profit, evict their German tenants and turn their houses into hostels. They may contain as few as two or as many as several hundred rooms. Depending on the size of the rooms, each contains two or more beds. They are normally in the form of bunk beds with steel frames and straw-filled mattresses. Bedding is also provided by the hostel.

On 1.4. 1971 the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs issued regulations as a guide to provision of accommodation for migrant workers. They contained thirty-one specifications describing the necessary minimum provisions such as the living space per person (at least 8 m²!), the bedding, furniture, washing and toilet facilities, etc. These regulations were later, in June 1973, supplemented and made more explicit by the federal parliament (Der Bundestag) when it amended the general housing laws and guidelines of 1934, 1959 and 1968 so as to make special recognition of the housing conditions of migrant workers. However, both regulations noticeably omitted provisions for monitoring compliance, or penalties in cases of non-compliance (Rist, R.C., 1978: 152). Therefore, it is not surprising that in spite of these regulations the quality of migrant accommodation varied enormously. On the one extreme there are the privately rented flats or houses occupied by a category of migrant families (see the following chapter for migrant categories), with all modern conveniences and durable consumer goods, while on the other there are hostels with "hot beds" where the same bed is used by more than one worker on different work shifts (Rist, R.C., 1978: 151), or

houses turned into dormitories where the migrants are charged extortionate rents and live in inhumane conditions. (See Pictures 5.1 and 5.2).

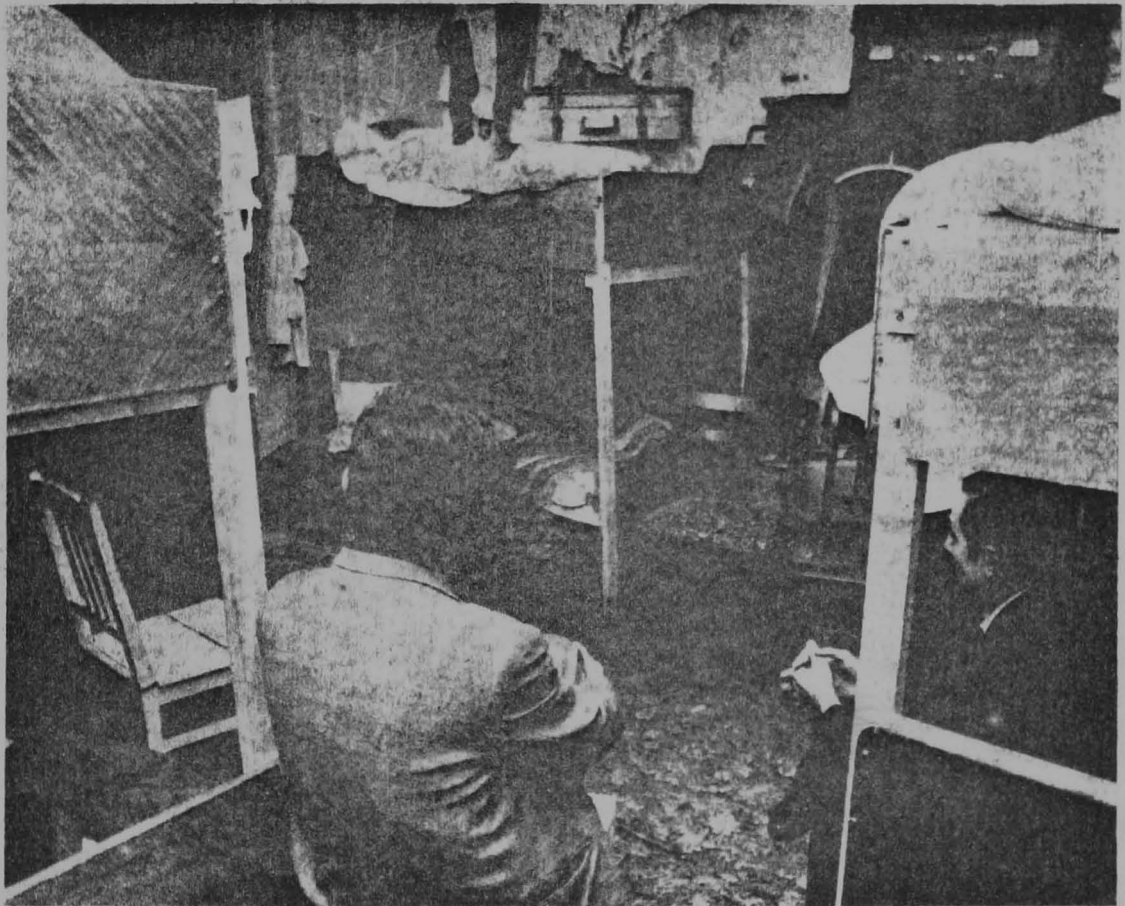
Turkish broadcasts on German radio (WDR) contained frequent reports of housing irregularities. In Neu Ulm, for example, a 51 year old German had been fined by the court 9,000 DM for renting out his house, which had a total area of 210m², to twenty-seven Turks for 80 - 90 DM each. He was also ordered to pay back 12,000 DM which he had overcharged (WDR, 7.1.1973). In another example it was reported that in Munich a landlord had placed eighteen beds in his three-roomed flat and rented these to migrants for 100 DM each and had increased his rent from 280 DM per month (which was the official rate) to 1,800 DM. Another landlord had installed eighty beds in his large house on Westend Strasse in Frankfurt at a total cost of 4,000 DM, and had rented these beds out to migrants for 100 DM each, thus securing his investment back in just a fortnight (WDR, 10.1.1973). Westend Strasse, near the main railway station in Frankfurt, in fact contained a particularly high concentration of foreign workers. It was a known fact that rents in this area were very high and the condition of the houses rather poor. WDR's Frankfurt correspondent reported in February 1973 that the foreign workers living in Westend Strasse had formed a Tenants' Association and secured the services of German lawyers to fight their unscrupulous landlords.

Picture 5.1. Kitchen Area in Migrant Accommodation.



Source: Hürriyet, 7.1.1973.

Picture 5.2. An Overcrowded Hostel Room.



Illegalen-Schlafstätte: „Sie sind plötzlich einfach da“

Source: Der Spiegel, 30.7. 1973.

Privately owned "hostels", usually large old houses converted into migrant accommodation containing heavy concentrations of foreign workers of the same sex and nationality, are generally in the inner city areas. Company hostels, on the other hand, are usually outside the city, near the factories, isolated from the surrounding residential areas and sometimes within the factory grounds, separated off by a wire or wooden fence. Opel, one of the factories included in my survey, had three groups of hostels near the factory buildings in Russelsheim. One of these contained over two dozen wooden barracks, seventeen of which had been reserved for Turkish workers. The Barracks (see Picture 5.3), wooden structures with vinyl covered wooden floors and corrugated iron roofs, contained 19 rooms each, a kitchen with gas rings and small cupboards and sinks, and a bathroom with four showers, four toilets and six urinals. The room contained four bunk beds, a table, four upright wooden chairs and four small wardrobes. Some of the rooms had refrigerators, bought by the workers. Altogether 1,300 Turkish migrants were living in the barracks and paying 85 DM per person per month.

Because the rooms had only thin partitions, the workers' major complaint was the noise. Especially at shift changing times the noise was most annoying. While some of the workers were sleeping the others were getting up to go to work or returning from the factory, washing, cooking their meals and eating. Although the hostel management was trying to put the workers on the same

shift together in the same barracks, inevitably this did not always work out and some barracks contained workers on different shifts. All the workers in the barracks were trying to secure places in one of the other two groups of hostels which were modern concrete blocks. (See Picture 5.4).

The barracks had been built in the company grounds and encircled by wire and a wooden fence. One of the barracks had been reserved as the management office, one as a mosque and another as a television and games room. The office barracks contained the offices of the German compound manager, four Turkish, one Yugoslav and one Spanish assistant managers/ interpreters. The games barracks contained a television room, two table tennis tables, some tables and chairs for cards, dominoes and backgammon and vending machines for cigarettes and soft drinks. Women visitors, gambling, fighting and drinking alcohol in the rooms were all forbidden. The sanctions for disobeying these rules were expulsion from the hostels. Since it was extremely difficult to find alternative accommodation in Russelsheim, expulsion from the hostels would effectively mean leaving the factory and moving to another town. Therefore, the migrants followed the rules very carefully.

The "mosque" was simply another barrack without the room divisions. It had one room at one end where the books were kept, and a bathroom at the other end, near the door, for ritual ablution. The floor was covered with carpets. In one corner stood a large table on which religious books and prayer-beads

Picture 5.3. Opel Barracks.



Picture 5.4. Opel Hostels.



(tesbih) were on sale. Mosque attendance was highest on Fridays and during the month of Ramadan (Ramazan).

The other two groups of hostels, one in the town of Russelsheim and the other just outside it, contained four to six storey modern, concrete buildings. (See Picture 5.4). Over 3,000 Turkish workers were living in these hostels. As far as possible, different nationalities were being accommodated in different blocks. The Turks occupied eight blocks, hostels 5 and 11 - 17. Each block had an office near the entrance door where usually two or three Turkish hostel managers and assistant managers worked. Ground floors also contained a "mosque", a large room reserved for prayers, a sick room, a television room, a large saloon with vending machines, tables and armchairs for card games, etc., a table tennis room and a laundry room.

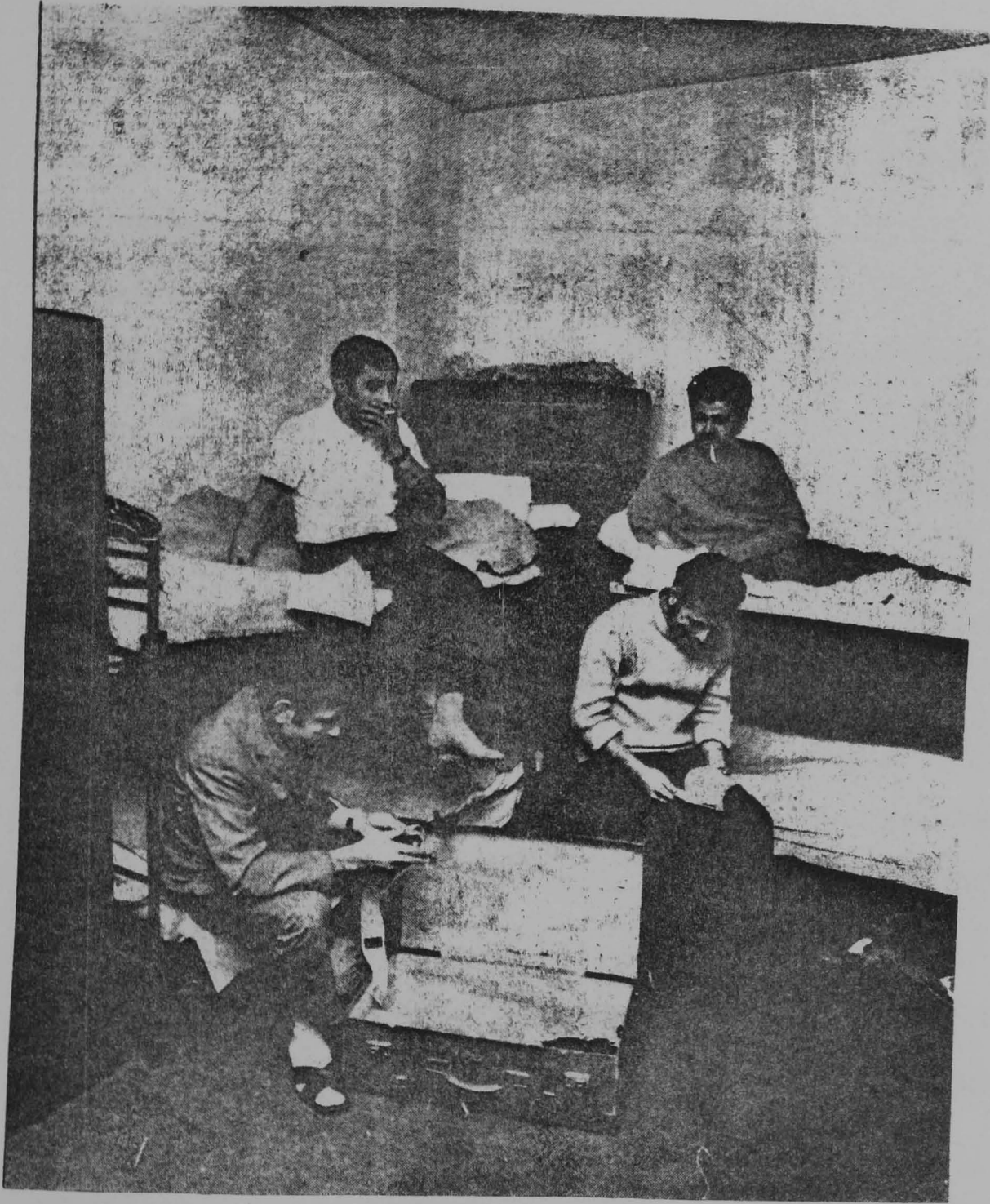
According to their size, the rooms contained three or four double-decker bunk beds, a wardrobe for each worker and a table together with three or four wooden or plastic and metal chairs. On each floor there was a large kitchen with gas rings, tables and cupboards, a large toilet with ten urinals and eight toilets, and a bathroom with four showers. The hostel buildings were new; they were kept clean but were very impersonal. Hostel rules were similar to those in the barracks. In fact all the hostels were managed by the same organization, the Jugendsozialwerk, in co-operation with Opel. The workers were paying 95 DM per month.

Dunlop and Telefunken's hostels, where I interviewed workers, together with those of other big firms, where I paid informal visits, were similar in many respects to those of Opel. Most of them were purpose-built, or converted, large buildings to accommodate workers of the same sex and usually of the same nationality, within easy reach of the factories. Generally they were located on the outskirts of the cities or towns or in the nearby villages. They adhered to government housing regulations and provided adequate accommodation for the single workers. The main disadvantages of these hostels, as of the Opel ones, were the lack of privacy in the rooms (see Picture 5.5), the strict discipline in the hostels and the segregation of the migrants from the Germans. Clark notes, for example, regarding the residential patterns of Turkish migrants in Cologne:

"While there is no distinct Turkish neighbourhood in Cologne, there is nevertheless a high degree of residential segregation. Two thirds of the city's Turkish population live in buildings which are occupied largely or wholly by Turks and other foreign groups. Factory dormitories account for a large measure of this segregation. Not only are 40 per cent of Cologne's Turks concentrated in 40 dormitory buildings, but most of the larger dormitories are located in relatively remote corners of the city." (Clark, J.R., 1975: 61).

Despite the disadvantages, these factory hostels are sought after by the "single" migrants. They are usually much cheaper, better equipped and more conveniently located near the workplaces than the privately owned ones. Only those who cannot find a place in company hostels or those who work for unscrupulous

Picture 5.5. Workers Sharing a Hostel Room.



Source: Hürriyet, 1.7.1973.

employers who are merely interested in getting as much as possible from their workers for as little as possible and who only provide sub-standard, over-crowded and very expensive accommodation, live in the privately owned accommodation.

Some companies also provide family accommodation. The Ruhr miners included in the survey, for example, were all living in old houses converted into flats by their firm, SE-KE. The houses were located in Herne, near Essen, on the outskirts of the town. They were all over one hundred years old - terraced houses that formed a bleak-looking quarter destined for urban renewal until the migrants came and took up residence there. According to my informants, the German tenants were constantly moving out of the area and their places were being filled by Turkish families. Demolition work was also going on on the outskirts of the quarter. I saw two houses being demolished during my interviews there. The quarter consisted of a cobble-stoned main road that linked it to the main street leading to Herne, and six blind alleys off the main road, each lined with ten terraced houses on either side. Only the two adjacent alleys at one end of the quarter contained some Yugoslav and German families. The first four alleys and most of the main road were wholly occupied by Turkish families. This quarter was the nearest thing to a Turkish ghetto I have seen in Germany. Altogether there were about 200 families from Turkey and most of them were from the villages of the same town, Zonguldak, in the western Black Sea region of Turkey. Several of the families

were connected by either kinship or marriage and were living in adjacent flats. Most of the men had been miners in Turkey, working for the same government company.

The quarter immediately reminded one of an Anatolian town. There were Turkish children shouting at each other in Turkish and playing Turkish games in the alley; Turkish housewives in their long, multi-coloured Turkish cotton dresses and headscarves, hanging washing on the clothes lines that were suspended between two houses, and Turkish music coming through the open windows from cassette players.

The housing consisted of uniformly two storey buildings with small back yards where two coal sheds and a toilet were to be found. They had been converted into flats of one to each floor. The upstairs flats had three rooms and a kitchen with no bath and an outside toilet, for which the rent was 75 DM per month. The downstairs flats had two rooms, kitchen and bathroom with toilet and their rent was 115 DM per month. The flats had very high ceilings and rather small windows. They were heated by old-fashioned coal stoves which burned coal bought cheaply from the mine. Almost all the flats contained a refrigerator bought by the workers and most of them had a washing machine as well. Relatively few flats had a vacuum cleaner but nearly all had a radio, a cassette recorder and a television receiver.

In 1972 a Bundesanstalt für Arbeit survey found that 40% of the Turkish migrants (and 34% of all the migrants) in the FRG were living in accommodation provided by their companies similar to that described above, while 58% of the Turks (and 65% of all the migrants) had had to find accommodation in the private sector (IIBK, 1974D: 92). Of those who lived in company housing, 75% were in communal hostels (heime)- i.e. 30% of the total Turkish migrants - like the Opel hostels; 17.5% were in private flats or houses (7% of the Turkish total) and 7.5% in other accommodation like bed sitters and shared houses (3% of the Turkish total). Table 5.2 summarizes these results.

The same survey found that as the period of stay in the FRG increased so too did the percentage of those who lived in private houses or flats. The percentage of those who lived in communal places decreased steadily with stay. One third of those, for example, who had been in the FRG for two years were living in communal places. Their ratio went down to one fifth for a 3-4 year stay and to one tenth for those who had been in Germany for 5-7 years, and decreased even further with a longer stay (IIBK, 1974D: 93). Similarly, 80% of the migrants who wanted to stay in the FRG permanently, 89% of those who had their wives and children with them in Germany, and 58% of the trained and skilled workers (as opposed to 50% of the untrained ones) were living in private houses or flats either provided by their firms or rented in the private sector (IIBK, 1974D: 94 - 102).

Table 5.2. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Housing & by Sex.

	Communal Housing		Private House/Flat		Others (Bedsitters, House-sharing, etc.)		Total		Unknown
	Private	Company	Private	Company	Private	Company	Private	Company	
Men	3	36	36	7	14	2	53	45	2
Women	2	8	58	9	17	4	77	21	2
TOTAL	2	30	41	7	15	3	58	40	2

Source: IIBK, 1974D: 92.

My survey lends support to the findings above. When we look at the percentage of the migrants living in various types of housing in succession, we find that the percentage of those living in hostels is decreasing in favour of those living in private flats, houses or bedsitters. (See Table 5.3).

Table 5.3. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Housing Types & by Successive Accommodation.

	1st Acc.	2nd Acc.	3rd Acc.	4th Acc.	5th Acc.	6th Acc.	7th Acc.	Last Acc.
Hostels	84.3	69.7	72.7	49.0	56.0	63.6	71.4	76.5
Bedsitters	11.7	11.8	11.8	26.5	20.0	9.1	----	2.6
Company Owned Flats/Houses	0.9	9.7	10.0	10.2	12.0	9.1	----	16.1
Privately Owned Flats/Houses	1.7	6.7	3.6	10.2	8.0	9.1	28.6	4.3
Hotels	0.9	1.5	1.8	2.0	----	9.1	----	----
Others	0.4	0.5	----	2.0	4.0	---	----	0.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

5.2.1. Facilities in the Accommodation

Most of the workers (79.8%) I interviewed were living in hostel rooms and were pleased with their situation. The relatively few men (2.2%) who were living in bedsitters and lodgings felt rather isolated from their friends. Those who were living with their families in flats or houses constituted 18% of the sample, the majority of whom (37 families out of a total of 48) were miners living in company-provided flats in Herne that I have just described.

A majority of the married migrants in private housing lived in 2-roomed accommodation (50%), while 37.5% lived in 3-roomed, 6.3% in one room and another 6.3% in 4-roomed houses. Most of the single workers who lived in hostels, on the other hand, lived in rooms that were shared by four migrants (61.9%), 21.9% lived in rooms shared by three workers, 15.3% in rooms shared by two and a small 0.5% in rooms shared by six and another 0.5% lived in rooms shared by eight people.

A significant number of migrants in my sample had no bath in their accommodation (10.5%). Those who did have bathroom facilities had to share them with varying numbers of people. A majority of them (44.9%) shared their baths or showers with 18-20 others. (See Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Number of People Sharing a Bath or Shower.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
No bathroom	12.2	----	10.5
Under 3 share	10.4	2.7	9.4
3 - 5 share	2.2	----	1.9
6 - 8 share	0.4	----	0.4
9 - 11 share	0.4	----	0.4
12 - 14 share	9.6	----	8.2
15 - 17 share	----	97.3	13.5
18 - 20 share	52.2	----	44.9
21 - 23 share	12.2	----	10.5
24 and over share	0.4	----	0.4

Toilet facilities were generally better in comparison to the bathrooms. Most of the migrants (56.2%) were sharing a toilet between 9 - 11 people, and the maximum number sharing a toilet was 12 - 14 people. (See Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Number of People Sharing a Toilet.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Less than 3 sharing	22.2	2.7	19.5
3 - 5 sharing	2.2	97.3	15.4
6 - 8 sharing	0.9	----	0.7
9 - 11 sharing	65.2	----	56.2
12 - 14 sharing	9.6	----	8.2

5.2.2. Ownership of Consumer Durables in the FRG

A great majority of the people interviewed for the survey were living in hostels. Most of them were from a rural background in Turkey and had definite plans to save enough to return to Turkey to invest in various projects. (See Chapter 7 on the intentions of migrants for their return home). They had a high economic rationality (see Chapter 3.4) and propensity to save (see Chapter 3.11). Their consumer behaviour was shaped by these attitudes. They tried to spend as little as possible on non-essentials. A majority of them, for example, had no radio, tape recorder or

record player or television (44.2%), and only 3.4% of them owned all the four items listed. (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Ownership of Radio, Record Player, Tape Recorder and Television.

<u>Own</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Owens none	38.3	81.1	44.2
Owens one item	24.8	16.2	23.6
Owens two items	21.7	----	18.7
Owens three items	11.7	----	10.1
Owens all items	3.5	2.7	3.4

Even fewer migrants owned larger consumer items such as refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and Turkish carpets. 53.6% of the workers in the sample owned none of these and only 1.1% had all the items listed in their accommodation. (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Ownership of Refrigerators, Washing Machines, Vacuum Cleaners and Turkish Carpets.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Owens none	47.0	94.6	53.6
Owens one item	38.3	2.7	33.3
Owens two items	9.6	----	8.2
Owens three items	4.3	----	3.7
Owens all four items	0.9	2.7	1.1

The unusually high number of females who owned none of the items listed in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 was due to the fact that they were all living in a hostel (one in a flat in the hostel as the manageress of the hostel) and most of them were new migrants with little savings as yet.

It is a measure of their determination to accept difficult conditions as part of the price they have to pay for better things to come that a significant number of migrants deny themselves the simple facilities which might help to make living in Germany more tolerable.

5.3. Change of Accommodation

In spite of the housing scarcity and the great demand for housing in the FRG, there seems to be a rapid turnover of migrants in this sector. In the survey I found that only 15.2% of the Turkish migrants were still living in their first accommodation, while 37.4% of them had changed their accommodation once, 26.1% twice, 10% three times and 11.2% four or more times. As most of the Turkish women interviewed were recent migrants they had not yet had an opportunity to change their accommodation. (See Table 5.8).

Among the relatively few reasons for changing accommodation the most important is changing firms. This was partly due to the

Table 5.8. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Change of Accommodation & by Sex.

	None	Once	Twice	3 Times	4 Times	5 Times	6 Times	7 Times +
Male	15.2	37.4	26.1	10.0	6.5	1.7	1.7	1.3
Female	89.2	5.4	5.4	----	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	25.5	33.0	23.2	8.6	5.6	1.5	1.5	1.1

fact that migrants travelled long distances for new jobs (see Chapter 3.8), and partly due to their dependency on their employers for housing (see below 5.2.7). Between 81.8% and 69.2% of the migrants seem to have changed their various accommodation for this reason. (Table 5.9).

The second most important reason for changing accommodation seems to be connected with family unions. The single workers had to find suitable accommodation and move there when their families arrived from Turkey. The reverse also happened when for various reasons like the illness of the wife, schooling of the children, being unable to save with the family present, etc., the family returned home and the migrant moved back to accommodation for single workers. Between 7.7% and 14.3% of the migrants changed housing for this reason. (Table 5.9).

The next most important reason for changing accommodation seems to be the desire to move nearer to relatives or friends.

Between 2.1% and 14.3% of the Turkish workers had changed their places for this reason. Then the final yet increasingly important reason for changing accommodation was connected with seeking better quality housing. From 2.6% to 9.1% of the migrants had changed their accommodation for this reason. There was also a very small percentage of workers who had been forced to change their housing either because of the closure of the hostel or because of expulsion by their landlords. (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Reasons for Changing Accommodation & by Successive Changes.

	1st Acc.	2nd Acc.	3rd Acc.	4th Acc.	5th Acc.	6th Acc.	Mean x ^{cc}
Changing firm	81.0	79.1	79.6	69.2	81.8	71.4	78.9
For better conditions	2.6	3.6	4.1	11.5	9.1	----	4.0
To join relatives or friends	2.1	4.5	6.1	11.5	9.1	14.3	3.5
Family union or separation	13.3	11.8	10.2	7.7	----	14.3	11.6
Hostel closed by the firm	0.5	0.9	----	----	----	----	1.5
Landlord expelled	0.5	----	----	----	----	----	0.2

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

5.3.1. Duration of Stay in Successive Accommodation

The survey indicates that the Turkish migrant workers change their accommodation frequently. On average 49.4% of them had changed their various previous accommodation in less than a year, and 33.5% within 1 - 2 years. Those who had stayed in previous accommodation for more than 2 years made up only 17.1% of the sample. (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Duration of Stay in Previous Accommodation.

	1st Acc.	2nd Acc.	3rd Acc.	4th Acc.	5th Acc.	6th Acc.	Mean x
Less than 1 year	38.2	62.2	57.1	73.1	45.5	28.6	49.4
1.1 - 2 years	41.2	25.2	24.5	19.2	45.4	42.9	33.5
2.1 - 3 years	11.6	8.1	8.2	----	----	14.3	9.2
3.1 - 4 years	5.0	3.6	----	3.8	----	----	3.7
4.1 - 5 years	3.0	0.9	8.2	----	9.1	14.3	3.2
5.1 - 6 years	1.0	----	----	----	----	----	0.5
6.1 - 7 years	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
7.1 - 8 years	----	----	2.0	3.8	----	----	0.5

When we look at the duration of stay in the present accommodation, although the mean length of stay is slightly longer the same picture emerges. On average 59.2% had been in their present accommodation for less than a year, 16.9% for 1 - 2 years and only 23.9% for more than 2 years. (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Duration of Stay in Present Accommodation.

	1st Acc.	2nd Acc.	3rd Acc.	4th Acc.	5th Acc.	6th Acc.	7th Acc.	Mean x
Less than 1 year	66.2	52.3	64.5	52.2	66.7	75.0	42.9	59.2
1.1 - 2 years	5.9	23.9	17.7	21.7	13.3	25.0	14.9	16.9
2.1 - 3 years	4.4	13.6	4.8	-----	6.7	-----	42.9	8.2
3.1 - 4 years	11.8	2.3	6.5	8.7	-----	-----	-----	6.0
4.1 - 5 years	5.9	4.5	-----	13.0	13.3	-----	-----	4.9
5.1 - 6 years	5.9	1.1	1.6	4.3	-----	-----	-----	2.6
6.1 - 7 years	-----	2.3	1.6	-----	-----	-----	-----	1.1
7.1 - 8 years	-----	-----	1.6	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.4
Over 8 years	-----	-----	1.6	-----	-----	-----	-----	0.4

5.3.2. Distance Between Accommodation

The Turkish migrants not only change their accommodation very frequently but also they move long distances at each change. I found that on average 41.2% had travelled under 25kms, 11.2% between 25 and 49kms, 10.9% between 50 and 99kms, 11.2% between 100 and 199kms, 17.9% between 200 and 399kms and 7.4% over 400kms between various accommodation. (Table 5.12).

The social implications of such a high frequency of changing accommodation and long distances of geographical mobility

has already been discussed in Chapter 3 in connection with job mobility (see Chapter 3.8). Suffice it to repeat here that travelling often long distances for new jobs and accommodation means moving into a new town, city or state, reducing even further what little chance these migrants have of making close contacts with Germans at the local level. This high turnover, therefore, contributes to a large extent to the migrants' difficulties of social integration into the FRG.

Table 5.12. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Distance Between Various Accommodation.

	2nd Acc. from 1st	3rd Acc. from 2nd	4th Acc. from 3rd	5th Acc. from 4th	6th Acc. from 5th	7th Acc. from 6th	Mean x
Under 25kms	40.4	36.6	46.9	61.5	36.4	28.6	41.2
25 - 49kms	8.1	15.2	16.3	3.8	18.2	28.6	11.2
50 - 99kms	10.6	12.5	14.3	3.8	9.1	----	10.9
100 - 199kms	14.1	8.0	6.1	11.5	18.2	----	11.2
200 - 399kms	17.7	24.1	10.2	3.8	18.2	28.6	17.9
400kms & over	9.1	3.6	6.1	15.4	----	14.3	7.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

5.3.3. Channels Utilized in Finding Accommodation

Migrants, especially those who work for large companies which are located in areas of heavy population concentrations, are

very much dependent on their employers for accommodation. Heavily industrialized urban centres like Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Stuttgart are densely populated and come at the top of the housing shortage lists. These areas are also the very places that contain heavy migrant concentrations. Over 20% of the population in these areas are migrants (IIBK, 1974D: 106 - 107). The scarcity of housing is reflected in very high rents, especially for private housing. In Munich and Frankfurt, for example, 60% and 58% of the migrants respectively were paying over 200 DM rent for their private housing, while the ratio for the same rent in other areas was 19% (IIBK, 1974D: 106).

The demand for housing in the private sector in these areas was great. Several of my informants told me that they wanted to bring their families but could not, simply because there was no housing within their price range. The available houses were either too expensive or not given to foreigners. Those that were given to foreigners were in certain areas of inner cities on particular streets and in sub-standard houses that were not in demand by Germans. Therefore, it is not surprising to find such dependency on the employers for housing. I found that on average 81.5% of the migrants in the sample had successively been given accommodation by their employers, while 10.6% had found accommodation with the help of their relatives, hemsehriler and friends. A 7.3% had found housing by their own efforts and only 0.6% had received help from officials like those of the Employment Bureaux or councils. (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Channels Utilized in Finding Accommodation.

	1st Acc.	2nd Acc.	3rd Acc.	4th Acc.	5th Acc.	6th Acc.	7th Acc.	Mean x
Provided by firm	89.1	77.4	83.9	65.3	65.4	63.6	71.4	81.5
Found by own effort	3.7	10.1	7.1	12.2	11.5	9.1	14.3	7.3
Found by relatives	2.6	4.5	2.7	4.1	7.7	----	14.3	3.6
Found by <u>hemsehriler,</u> & friends	4.1	7.0	6.3	16.3	15.4	27.3	----	7.0
Found by official help	0.4	1.0	----	2.0	----	----	----	0.6

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Such dependency of the migrants on their employers for their accommodation makes them very vulnerable and open to exploitation. Castles and Kosack note, for example:

"The problem in employers' accommodation is the additional dependence this entails for the worker... At the best of times that dependence means that a foreign worker has to find alternative accommodation if he loses his job... This type of accommodation is, indeed, regarded as one of the best ways of 'stabilizing' the foreign labour force. In cases of industrial dispute, the interdependence of job and accommodation can be used by employers to prevent workers from participating in strikes, by threatening them with expulsion from their hostels if they do... A careful check is also made on visitors, with the aim of keeping out trade union officials or anyone else who might draw attention to bad conditions." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 259 - 260).

My observations totally support these statements. When I wanted to visit the Siemens and A.E.G. hostels in Berlin and Hildesheim, for example, I was not allowed in. Neither the hostel managers nor the company officials would give me permission to visit and interview the Turkish migrants living in their hostels.

5.4. Private Housing

Most of the migrants with an urban, relatively more educated and skilled background live in private housing. If they are married, almost always they bring their families to Germany and live in flats rented from the private sector. Depending on how long they have been in the country and when they rented the flat and the location of the accommodation, both the condition of the flats and the rents paid for them varies considerably.

Our accommodation, for instance, a tiny flat in a village outside Offenbach, consisted of two small furnished rooms and a bathroom in a newly built house. One of the rooms had a divan, a tiny electric oven, a refrigerator and a table and two chairs and was used as a kitchen as well. The other room contained a convertible divan bed, a wardrobe, an armchair a desk and a chair. We were paying 250 DM per month and our friends thought it was rather cheap and well furnished!

A couple we knew, who had been in the same village for eight years, were living in our old house at a rent of 150 DM. They had found it through the newspapers. It had three large rooms, an entrance hall and a bathroom. They had rented it unfurnished and over the years had furnished it according to their taste. They had all the requirements for comfort.

Erkan and Gül, who had come to the FRG about a year previously, had found their flat near Offenbach with the help of Erkan's brother through the newspaper advertisements. It was an upstairs flat in an old two-storey house. It had a large hall-cum-kitchen with a sink, wall-mounted water heater, a two-ring gas cooker, and a small fridge with a kitchen table and four chairs. There were also a large bedroom, with a double bed, wardrobe and built-in storage cupboard, and a very small sitting room with a three piece suite, television and coffee table which filled the room. There was also a toilet which had been built as an extension but there was no bath or shower. They were only paying 85 DM per month.

Erkan's older brother, Ersin, who had been in the FRG for three years with his wife and who was an artist-illustrator working for an international advertising company, had recently moved from a furnished attic flat to an unfurnished three-room flat in a modern apartment block in Offenbach. They bought all the modern requirements and necessary furniture from fashionable shops in Frankfurt. They were paying a high 400 DM rent. They

had been unable to find a similar flat for less than that. As they were expecting a baby they needed a flat like this. They had found it through newspaper advertisements.

In each of these cases decent private housing had been acquired though the cost was high. It should not be forgotten, however, that on the open market for housing the migrant is at a distinct disadvantage. As Castles and Kosack note:

"In his search for housing on the private market, the immigrant is in direct competition with the indigenous population - or at least its lower income groups. It is all too easy for him - a stranger singled out by his appearance and way of speaking - to be made the scapegoat for bad conditions and scarcity. The private housing market is the field where the immigrant is most likely to have his first experience of prejudice and discrimination. The freedom of the 'free' housing market is often the freedom to reject or exploit the weakest social groups." (Castles, S. and Kosack, G., 1973: 266 - 267).

I related in the previous chapter how I had been refused flats because I was a Turk. The difficulties of finding decent flats and the discrimination by the landlords was common knowledge among the migrants. Only in those areas of inner cities and in sub-standard houses that the Germans were vacating was it relatively easier to find accommodation. It was in these areas, like Kreuzberg and Wedding in Berlin, for example, that the seeds of migrant ghettos were being sown.

Although there were as yet no ghettos in the FRG in the classical sense of the term (like the ones found in the United States,

for example), pockets of migrant settlements were growing in most of the heavily industrialized urban centres as a result of the discrimination by German landlords on the private housing market which was forcing the migrants to "stick together" in both the physical and metaphorical sense of the term.

The existence of strong prejudice on the part of the native German population against foreigners in general and against Turks in particular was constantly reminding the Turkish migrants of their ethnic identity and forcing them to negotiate this hostile environment through the strengthening of their social networks which are based on ethnic relationships and using them instrumentally. These relationships were particularly useful in finding jobs and accommodation, if the employer did not provide it. The instrumentality of the ethnic relationships was especially important for the unskilled, rural Turkish men with a family in Germany and limited knowledge of German. These are the ones who come closest to the German stereotype of a Turk: a peasant with no skill, education or manners, but with a large, noisy, dirty family, who came to the FRG to escape starvation, bringing his knife along with him. His main preoccupation after money being sex, he is, therefore, constantly after German women! (I remember being asked by the German workers in our first place of work in the electronics factory how many wives I had and whether I carried a knife. They seemed positively surprised when I told them I had only one wife and that I had never in my life carried a knife!) They are the ones who are discriminated against most and find that the only way to deal with this situation is to

utilize their social networks which are based on relatives and hensehriler. By helping each other to get jobs and accommodation within their social milieu they come to associate closely not only socially but geographically as well, and form pockets of migrants' residences in the industrial towns and villages that are occupied by fellow countrymen and related migrants.

5.5. The Accommodation of Spontaneous Migrants

There is a great difference between being an official migrant and a spontaneous migrant. While the former is to some limited extent protected by government regulations, the only protection the latter enjoys is the strength and effectiveness of his social networks. Those who have the misfortune to have no relatives or friends in the FRG are exploited viciously and live in the worst conditions. Some of them are accommodated in "hot bed" barracks near their workplaces where workers on different shifts share the same bed (Rist, R.C., 1978: 151). Others are offered bunks in small, over-crowded, military-style barracks and are strongly discouraged from having contact with the outside world. Even their shopping is done for them by a German member or the firm's interpreter. They are threatened by expulsion if they venture out (Üzcan, M., 1973: 13,14).

As they all live in constant fear of being caught and expelled, they are at the mercy of their employers and landlords, usually one and the same person. Depending on the sector and the size of the workplace, the goodwill of the employer and the qualifications of the migrants, the types and conditions of the accom-

modation vary enormously. The worst conditions are usually associated with the construction sector. Some of the big construction firms that use spontaneous workers usually house their workers in overcrowded barracks near the construction sites, like the one reported by Özcan (1973). Migrants working for smaller firms may be housed either in barracks or old houses and flats converted into dormitories. Some of them live in the basements of the buildings which are in the process of being constructed. I have seen Turks living near Hanau in huts on the construction sites, or in the basements of the houses they were building. Those who have no industrial skills - in addition to having no residence or work permits, and no close relatives or friends - are the ones who are most vulnerable.

I met such a one, Garip, in Offenbach. He was a peasant from Eskisehir in central Anatolia, in his early thirties with no industrial experience. He had arrived in the FRG recently and found a job through a Turkish agent as a farmer-gardener for only 4.00 DM per hour. He was working on a small farm outside the town and living in a tool shed on the farm, among the garden tools. The shed was no bigger than 2 x 4 metres and contained many dirty tools and some equipment as well as sacks of fertilizer, cement, etc. There were no washing or toilet facilities. His employer provided drinking water in plastic containers. Garip complained bitterly that his employer's guard dog had much better sleeping quarters than he had and was getting much better attention and food than he

himself was. When I met him he was feeling very bitter, resentful, abandoned and "down". He was hoping to find a better job and some accommodation but did not think it would be easy with his background together with the recently tightened-up regulations against spontaneous workers. He thought his only chance was to find hemşehriler working in their area and ask for their assistance.

The importance of having relatives and hemşehriler already working in Germany cannot be exaggerated for the spontaneous workers to secure work or accommodation. The initial experiences of Yusuf, Mehmet and the two Selims that was related in the previous chapters illustrate this point. This is especially so when we compare their experience and success through their social networks with the experience and failure of Garip, who lacked such contacts to secure a well-paying job and decent accommodation.

However, the fact that spontaneous workers do not exist in the FRG legally makes them always vulnerable and forces them to work and live on the margins of society. A great majority of them always work in the least secure, hardest, dirtiest, least desirable jobs for the longest hours and the lowest wages, and live in the least desirable accommodation too. Their social networks can be very helpful in securing jobs and accommodation, but they cannot alter the spontaneous workers' basic status of "illegality" as defined by the host society. The migrants and their social institutions are forced to operate within the rules and regulations of

industrial German society. These rules are geared to get the most out of the migrants who are closely controlled and allowed only limited freedom. In the case of spontaneous workers, this freedom is even more strictly controlled and limited.

During a period of industrial expansion they are allowed to come and work in the country, especially in those sectors of industry where conditions are particularly bad and where it is most difficult to get legally recruited workers, and they are allowed to live marginally without much pressure. However, when industrial activity slows down and public pressure against foreigners grows, the political pressure on migrant workers, especially the spontaneous ones, grows as well. The border points are more closely controlled and passports checked more carefully. Police raids on workplaces and houses containing spontaneous migrants become more frequent and more rigorous. (See Pictures 5.6 and 5.7). The media starts campaigning and articles questioning the wisdom of using migrant workers start appearing daily. All these activities were witnessed during the period of fieldwork leading up to the energy crisis in October 1973.

Within such a strictly controlled system the migrants can only achieve so much in their manipulations. The spontaneous ones receive protection and guidance from their social networks as much as possible. They are invaluable in establishing bridgeheads in Germany during the initial phases of migration. But for the spon-

Picture 5.6. Berlin Police Raid on Turkish Houses in the District of Mesbit. 253 Turks who had no residence permits were arrested during the raid.



Source: Hürriyet, 17.1.1973.

Picture 5.7. Police Checking a Flat During the Same Raid.



Source: Hürriyet, 17.1.1973.

taneous migrants these bridgeheads invariably connect Turkey with the marginal sectors of the FRG. The fact that Selim, for example, had a strong connection in Germany in the person of his cousin who had been working in the FRG for nearly ten years and who was an experienced migrant dealer and who had brought Selim there and looked after him for nine months while trying to find a suitable job for him, could not prevent Selim getting a job in a tyre factory in rather bad conditions and finally moving into rather squalid accommodation. He had found this accommodation through his hemşehri and workmate, Selim Hoca.

When I met them they were living in this place in our village. Their room was an extension of a barn, with a sloping roof, covered with corrugated iron. There was one small window next to the door. Their place contained three beds with iron frames, three single wardrobes, a small kitchen table, three chairs, a single-ring cooker, a sink, a couple of pans and some plates and cutlery. The floor was of sloping, cracked concrete. There was only a single bar electric fire which they were discouraged from using often. The room was no bigger than 2.5 x 5 metres and there was scarcely room to walk around the table. The "house" had two other rooms occupied by eight other Turks and the landlord was busy building other extensions. The Turks who lived in the adjacent rooms paid a higher rent of 125 DM per person, for their rooms had wooden floors and ceilings, larger windows, double-burner cookers and stoves which burnt coal. Although the workers were paying

extortionate rents they were contented with their circumstances for they had no fear of being caught by the police and expelled from the country because the landlord's brother-in-law was a member of the local police! This, they believed, would give them the protection from officialdom that they needed. In fact the house was only about 60 yards from the town hall and the police station which were side by side on the main street of the town. All the Turks who lived in the house were planning to stay there until they were granted residence and work permits and thus became "legal" migrants. They were then hoping to find better jobs and accommodation and move.

Tailor Yusuf's case is another good example of the importance of the network of relatives, hemsehriler and friends during the initial phases of migration. (See Chapter 2 on recruitment). When he was placed through his uncle in his first job in a hemsehri's dress-making factory near Offenbach, he was offered a place in the flat rented out by his employer to the workers of the factory. For only 60 DM per month Yusuf shared a room with three other Turks in a comfortable, centrally heated flat. He stayed there for eight months until the factory closed on account of financial difficulties.

While Yusuf was working in his first job, he had heard about, and subsequently visited, another hemsehri who had a similar business in the same village. He used to visit him regularly during the eight months he worked in the first factory. When this

factory closed he went and asked for a job and accommodation from this man, and the following day he started working for him. He was told that he could sleep under the factory, in a cellar, for the time being, and that the employer would soon find him a better place. He lived in this cellar with five other spontaneous workers for forty days always in the expectation of better accommodation being forthcoming. Meanwhile he was constantly in touch with some of the workers from his previous job who had started work in another dress making factory in the same town. He knew from his friends that their employer, Ahmet, was looking for more workers. When it became evident to Yusuf that his employer had no intention of finding him decent accommodation, he asked one of his friends in Ahmet's factory, Mehmet, to introduce him to his employer for a job. A couple of days later he was taken to meet Ahmet, who told him he could start working there immediately and that he could share a room with his friend Mehmet in the flat he had rented for his workers and share the rent with them. After forty days in the cellar, Yusuf moved into this flat and started working for Ahmet, where I met him. His new accommodation was in a modern, centrally heated flat in a large, new apartment block, occupied mostly by what seemed to be lower middle class Germans.

Yusuf's experience highlights the fact that the migrants, after this initial introduction into the system by their networks, are very much dependent on their employers for their living conditions. As the primary operators within the system, the employers are in a

position to manipulate both the working and living conditions of the migrants. With the help of the political, economic and administrative machinery which is at their disposal, employers can define the experiences of the migrants, especially those of the spontaneous ones, during their stay in the FRG. As Rist notes:

"The migrant workers comprise a group brought into the industrialized countries of northern Europe to promote economic development; the costs of their presence to the system in terms of social capital have been kept to a minimum, and they are relegated to the lowest status positions in the society. In short, discrimination and exploitation are part of the very process that brought them to the north in the first place. The functioning of the housing market for foreign workers should not be anticipated to be different. It functions as an integral part of the entire apparatus which has brought, sustains and profits from the efforts of the guest workers." (Rist, R.C., 1978: 150).

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter several aspects of the housing conditions of migrants have been examined. An important theme has been the way in which the system of accommodation is part of the control of the migrant labour force. Migrants are not, however, simply passive victims of circumstance, although their ability to fight back is severely limited. I have shown that their willingness to move and seek better accommodation is very evident. I have also noted how on the other hand, and particularly in the case of single men in barracks, that in anticipation of a better life later, they are

prepared to accept very difficult conditions. To understand the reaction of migrants to both their work situation and their housing, however, it is necessary to look into the pattern of their family and associational life in the FRG. This is my aim in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

FAMILY, RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

6.1. Introduction

One of the key issues arising from European labour migrations has been the question of the permanency of the migrants in the countries to which they migrate. In the early 1960s both the migrants and the countries that received them thought that the situation would be temporary. Because the labour shortage problem faced by the industrial societies of Europe was regarded as short term, it was thought that when the need for foreign labour slowly diminished so would the numbers of "guest workers". In the case of the FRG, the influx of foreign labour was encouraged and continued unchecked until October 1973, with a brief temporary slow-down during the 1966-67 economic crisis. At the end of November 1973, the FRG imposed a total ban on the recruitment of labour from non-EEC countries. Although this measure effectively stopped the recruitment of labour officially, it has failed to check the size of the migrant population in the FRG. The number of officially recruited workers dropped but the number of spontaneous migrants has increased dramatically after the official recruitment ban. In 1975 it was estimated that the number of spontaneous migrants had gone up to 2 - 300,000 (Rist, R.C., 1978: 78). Some of the spontaneous

workers were the immediate family members (spouses and children) of the legal workers who joined them in the FRG after December 1st, 1973 and who were, therefore, denied official work permits.

Clearly even such a drastic political act as a total ban on recruitment was not enough to stop let alone to reverse labour migration. If anything it made the migrant workers already in the FRG more determined to stay and strengthen their position in the country by staying longer and sending for their families since they knew that if they returned home it would be impossible to re-emigrate and obtain the same official status. By 1975 more than 50% of the foreign workers had their families with them in the FRG, 550,000 family members had come to Germany within the two years after the recruitment ban (Rist, R.C., 1978: 115).

This seems to support Böhning's views on the maturation of the migration stream. At a certain point the immigrant population increases and families settle into distinct^l groups, and within the migrant community distinctive ethnic institutions arise which sustain what Böhning calls "the psychological comfort" (Böhning, W.R., 1972: 70) of the migrants. Against this background, a significant group of migrants become alienated from their country of origin^f and opt for semi-permanent settlement.

To understand what underlies such processes it is vital to grasp how migrants themselves perceive the opportunities avail-

able to them. It is important to clarify what values migrants seek to realize for themselves and their families. These are elements of what one writer has called migrant ideology (Philpott, S.B., 1970: 11). The term is apt for it refers to the whole social outlook and system of values of different groups of workers. Decisions about staying or not staying in the FRG largely reflect such ideological frameworks and it became clear to me in the course of my fieldwork that certain social characteristics of the migrants, like family status, level of education, rural or urban background, were quite fundamental to their social perception. The theme of the duration of stay in the FRG focuses this quite sharply.

6.2. Duration of Stay Abroad

The mean length of stay abroad for Turkish workers has been increasing steadily over the years. Tuna reported in 1966 that nearly two thirds of his sample had stayed abroad for one year or less and the S.P.O. survey in 1971 found that the mean length of stay abroad was 2 years 4 months (Paine, S., 1974: 89, 90). I found from my own survey in 1973 that the mean length of stay in the FRG was 3 years 6 months for the whole sample, and 3 years 11 months for the men. The following Table 6.1 sets out my results.

Table 6.1. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Duration of Stay Abroad & by Sex.

	Under 1 year	1yr.1mth. - 2 yrs.	2yrs.1mth. - 3 yrs.	3yrs.1mth. - 4 yrs.	4yrs.1mth. - 5 yrs.	5yrs.1mth. - 6 yrs.	6yrs.1mth. - 7 yrs.	7yrs.1mth. - 8 yrs.	Over 8 years	Mean x
Male	10.9	9.1	18.7	23.5	11.7	8.3	2.6	3.5	11.7	3yrs.11mths.
Female	78.4	13.5	2.7	---	---	2.7	---	---	2.7	1yr. 1mth.
TOTAL	20.2	9.7	16.5	20.2	10.1	7.5	2.2	3.0	10.5	3yrs.6mths.

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Most of the men (87%) and all the women in the sample had spent the whole of this period in the FRG where 82% of all the Turkish migrants work (Gulsun, I., 1974: 12). Of those men who had stayed in other countries in Europe, 80% had been in only one country before coming to the FRG, 10% in two countries, 6.7% in three countries and 3% had stayed in four countries. The time spent in these countries varied: 6.7% of them had spent only a short period elsewhere, i.e. under 3 months; another 6.7% had spent 3 - 6 months; 3.3% between 6 and 12 months; a large 40% had stayed between one and two years; 33.3% between two and four years and 10% had spent over four years in Europe before coming to the FRG.

Most of the men (66.7%) had decided to come to the FRG for better economic and social conditions like higher wages, social security and children's allowances, better accommodation and work conditions. 13.3% of the men came to the FRG mainly to join their relatives and friends who were already there; 6.7% came to become legal workers rather than stay as spontaneous workers in the first country. 6.7% had been sent by the T.E.S. after returning home from their first country and re-applying for migration and another 6.7% had come to the FRG after failing to get a job in the first country.

6.3. Intended Period of Stay in the FRG

An overwhelming majority of the Turkish workers in the FRG see themselves at the beginning of their migration as "target workers" who go abroad to earn money as quickly as possible and as much as possible, in order to return home (Bohning, W.R., 1972: 62). Most of the Turkish migrants leave Turkey with specific goals in mind. These include buying some land, establishing a business, accumulating some capital, etc. Most of them also set a particular target for themselves in terms of length of stay abroad during which they think they can realize their aspirations. However, after some experience abroad, these early targets are usually modified.

When they establish themselves in the new country, they quickly establish a particular standard of living and set the amount they can save each month. This is the point when new and "real" targets are set. They can now say with some certainty how long they will have to work in the FRG to realize their aspirations. The targets and the conditions for achieving these are evaluated constantly. The earnings and savings, health and social conditions in the FRG are calculated against the economic and social conditions back home. Any serious changes that occur in these conditions effect the targets to be reached, and sometimes force the migrants to abandon their targets completely. Deterioration of health, changes in family relationships or in economic and political conditions in the FRG, or problems back home, may and do force the migrants to abandon their targets and return home earlier than they had planned.

Indeed Penninx and Van Velzen reported that 27.6% of the migrants in their sample had returned home because of ill health, 24.4% were compelled to return by family circumstances and 10% had been expelled from the country of immigration for working spontaneously (Penninx, R. and Van Velzen, L., 1975: 190).

On the other hand, social integration into the FRG with the resulting change in life style, reference groups and growing expectations, promotion or increased qualifications (Gokdere, A., 1978: 90-91), together with the high and continuous inflation back home and unexpected expenditures force the immigrants to delay their return. A major feature of the immigrants' experience is, therefore, that of uncertainty. He is constantly poised between arguments for remaining in the FRG and arguments for leaving. The most difficult aspect of this is the fact that the migrant is not in control of the major factors on which his decisions must depend. The subordination of the migrants to external factors that originate within both the sending and receiving countries^a effect migrants whatever their migration ideology is. For example, those whose total commitment and orientation are towards Turkey and whose only aspirations are to save enough money to buy, say, a plot of land in the village or a small shop in the town and return home immediately, may be forced to remain in the FRG much longer than they planned because of the extraordinary inflation in Turkey or because of lower than expected earnings in Germany. Conversely there are those whose total commitment and orientation are towards the FRG and whose plans are to stay there permanently or at least until retirement, who may be forced to alter

their plans and leave the country much earlier than they had anticipated because of the economic crisis and unemployment in Germany. Two of my friends, for example, Erkan and his brother, Gani, who were in this category of migrants who wanted to stay in Germany indefinitely, were forced to change their plans on account of the concentrated anti-foreigner campaigns leading to the labour recruitment ban of October 1973 and the realization it brought to them that their future in the FRG would not be a happy and guaranteed one. First Gani, in 1974, and a year later Erkan left Germany and migrated to Canada with their families.

There seem to be too many variables involved at various levels to ascertain with any accuracy the average length of expected stay in a country for a migrant labour population most of whose members maintain the belief that they are there temporarily. This is indeed displayed dramatically by two surveys conducted in 1973 in the FRG, one of which found that 13% of the migrants wanted to stay in Germany permanently, while the other found that 90% wanted to stay permanently! (The Economist, 5.5.1973: 71; Volker, G.E., 1973: 69).

A large proportion of the migrant population seems to be aware of this uncertainty as evidenced by their replies to the question of return migration in various surveys. A sample survey of the German Federal Employment Agency in 1972 found that 28% of the migrants did not know when they were going to return home (IIBK, 1974D: 28). My findings were similar with 28.8% undecided. (See

Table 6.2). In 1974, Mehrlander reported that 37% of the Turkish and 44% of the total migrants in the survey were undecided about their date of return (Gökdere, A., 1978: 98).

Table 6.2 displays an interesting contrast between the sexes. Female workers would like to stay in the FRG much longer than the men. 59.4% of them wanted to stay in the FRG over 5 years or permanently, as opposed to 26.5% of the men. This is hardly surprising when the social backgrounds of the women are taken into account: they were highly educated, young and single workers, Western orientated, from the big cities in Turkey.

Another interesting contrast is related to family status. Bachelors (including divorced and widowed workers) display a much stronger desire to stay in the FRG for long periods or permanently. Nearly 47% of the bachelors and only 28% of the married migrants were expecting to stay in the FRG over 5 years or permanently. (See Table 6.3). This was probably due to the fact that as well as having less responsibilities and ties in Turkey, they were young (68.9% of them were under 25 years old), highly educated (35.4% of them had had five years education, 35.4% eight years and 29.2% had eleven years or more) and were from urban areas in Turkey (66.7% of them having been born in towns or cities in Turkey).

The social backgrounds of the migrants reflected in their places of birth seem to have an effect on their decision to stay in

Table 6.2. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Expected Period of Stay in the FRG & by Sex.

	Under 1 year	1yr.1mth. - 3 years	3yrs.1mth. - 5 years	5yrs. 1 mth. - 7 years	Over 7 years	Permanently	Undecided
Male	5.7	28.3	9.6	3.9	20.4	2.2	30.0
Female	2.7	2.7	13.5	18.9	21.6	18.9	21.6
TOTAL	5.2	24.7	10.1	6.0	20.6	4.5	28.8

Table 6.3. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Family Status & by Expected Period of Stay in the FRG.

	Under 1 year	1yr.1mth. - 3 years	3yrs.1mth. - 5 years	5yrs.1mth. - 7 years	Over 7 years	Permanently	Undecided
Married	5.9	26.8	9.1	5.0	20.9	1.8	30.5
Bachelor ⁽¹⁾	2.1	14.9	14.9	10.6	19.1	17.0	21.3
TOTAL	5.2	24.7	10.1	6.0	20.6	4.5	28.8

(1) Includes divorced and widowed workers.

Totals in both tables may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Germany for at least 5 years; among the town-born migrants this figure went up to 29.4% and among the city-born to 43.9%. (Table 6.4).

The educational levels of the migrants had a similar effect on their intended periods of stay in the FRG. Among those who had no formal education, 20% intended to stay over 5 years in Germany. 20% of those with only 3 years schooling, 28.9% of those with 5 years schooling, 29.5% of the migrants with 8 years education and finally 39.3% of those with 11 or more years of education wanted to stay in the FRG for more than five years or permanently. (Table 6.5).

It seems that the location of the family has an important affect on the married migrants' decision whether or not to prolong their stay abroad. An overwhelming majority of the migrants who were planning an early return home had their families in Turkey. 100% of those who wanted to go back within a year were in this position. 97% of those who were planning to return within 1-3 years and 80% of those who wanted to return within 3-5 years were also in this position. On the other hand, the number of those united, or planning to unite with their families increased steadily as their expected duration of stay increased: from 3% for those who wanted to stay between 1-3 years to 60% (100% with those who were planning to unite) for those who wanted to stay in the FRG permanently. (Table 6.6).

Bringing the families into the FRG has important social consequences for the migrants. As well as regularizing sexual

Table 6.4. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Places of Birth & by Intended Period of Stay in the FRG.

	Under 1 year	1yr.1mth. - 3 yrs.	3yrs.1mth. - 5yrs.	5yrs.1mth. - 7yrs.	Over 7yrs.	Permanently	Undecided
City	7.3	17.1	9.8	14.6	22.0	7.3	22.0
Town	2.0	27.5	17.6	5.9	17.6	5.9	23.5
Village	5.7	25.7	8.0	4.0	21.1	3.4	32.0
TOTAL	5.2	24.7	10.1	6.0	20.6	4.5	28.8

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Table 6.5. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Intended Period of Stay in the FRG & by Educational Attainment.

	Under 1 year	1yr.1mth. - 3 yrs.	3yrs.1mth. - 5yrs.	5yrs.1mth. - 7yrs.	Over 7yrs.	Permanently	Undecided
None	8.3	16.7	8.3	-----	20.8	-----	45.8
3 years	4.0	24.0	4.0	-----	20.0	-----	48.0
5 years	4.4	27.7	11.9	5.0	21.4	2.5	27.0
8 years	6.5	19.4	12.9	19.4	22.6	9.7	9.7
11 years or more	14.3	7.1	3.6	21.4	7.1	17.9	28.6
TOTAL	5.2	24.7	10.1	6.0	20.6	4.5	28.8

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Table 6.6. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Family Location, & by Expected Period of Stay in the FRG.

Intended Period of Stay in FRG	Family in FRG		Stays with 1 Relative	Family in Turkey		Undecided
	Yes	No		Wants to Bring to FRG	Does not want to Bring to FRG	
Under 1 year	----	100.0	----	----	100.0	----
1yr.1mth.-3yrs.	3.3	96.7	----	12.1	86.2	1.7
3yrs.1mth.-5yrs.	15.0	80.0	5.0	17.6	82.4	----
5yrs.1mth.-7yrs.	18.2	81.8	----	66.7	33.3	----
Over 7 years	28.3	71.7	----	39.4	57.6	3.0
Permanently	60.0	40.0	----	100.0	----	----
Undecided	34.3	62.7	3.0	34.1	63.6	2.3

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

relations and eliminating one set of deprivations it actually transfers the migrants from one category of Turks in Germany, that of "single migrants" who usually live in communal accommodation like company hostels with their own distinctive life style, to one of two other categories of "migrant families" (grouped according to criteria like that of educational levels and urban or rural background) who display patterns of social relationships quite distinct from those of men living singly.

Living as families rather than as single men or women and having a home life provides women workers with male protection and gives them security, while it gives the men additional status and respect in Germany - which is a scarce commodity for the migrants -

as the heads of families and contributes towards their self respect. Living with their wives also saves the men from performing what they regard as menial actions like cooking, washing and cleaning, which are thought to be suitable activities for women only, and this too adds to their self respect.

Living with families may have economic benefits too by saving on maintaining two households, one in Turkey and the other in the FRG. If the wife or children take up employment in Germany it can also add considerably to the family income.

The Western-orientated migrants can provide their children with the desired Western education and contribute to their future well-being by bringing their families into the FRG.

Various surveys indicate that there is a positive relationship between the time already spent abroad and the expected duration of stay. The 1972 Bundesanstalt für Arbeit sample survey found that while only 9% of the newly arrived migrants were planning to stay in the FRG permanently, this figure reached 23% among those who had been in the FRG for 5-6 years, and 39% for those who had been in the FRG for 10-11 years (IIBK, 1974D: 29). I found that while only 8% of the new migrants (i.e. of less than 1 year) wanted to stay in the FRG for over 7 years, 25.4% of those who had been in Germany for between 1-4 years and 15% of the 4-7 years group of migrants, and 34% of the migrants of 7 years standing wanted to stay over 7 years.

Interestingly, the number of those who were undecided about their expected duration of stay went down steadily over the years: from 35% for new migrants to 22% for migrants of 10 years standing in the German survey (IIBK, 1974D: 29) and from 44% for new migrants to 23% for migrants of 7+ years in my survey.

It seems that the level of migrants' education and knowledge of German also reduce the number of those who are undecided about their duration of stay: nearly 46% of the men in the survey who had no formal education were undecided, whereas among the men with a primary school education (5 years) this figure dropped to 27%, to less than 18% of the men with 8 years education and 15% of the men with a secondary school education (11 years) who were undecided. There was no such uncertainty among the men with a higher level of education.

A similar picture emerges when the level of competence in the German language is considered: 44% of those with no German, 31% of those with elementary German, 29% with intermediate and 20% with an advanced knowledge of German were undecided about their future length of stay. None of the migrants with perfect German were undecided.

This seems to strengthen the view that many migrants start their sojourn with only general aims or targets; as they experience the new country and the life it offers and gain compet-

ence in communicating with their environment, gradually their targets start to widen. Generally the migrants have a good notion of what their targets mean in terms of accumulated capital. In a simplified form, their targets and the economic conditions in Turkey determine the capital they need and the earnings and savings in the FRG define the length of time they need to achieve this target. But as the social, psychological, economic and political forces involved in the migration process are never in a simple relationship with one another, the migrants on whom these forces interact do not display simple behaviour patterns either. For example, most of them are usually reluctant to specify precisely how long they intend to live in the FRG. The first replies to such a question are usually in the form of: "It depends!", "God knows!", "Difficult to say" or "I don't know." Only if they are pressed for an answer in terms of years do they offer some numbers - and even then those numbers are usually round figures like "a couple of years", "3-5 years", "8-10 years", etc. Only careful and insistent questioning can get meaningful figures out of the migrants. Migrants like to keep their options open, as indeed they must. There are too many external forces at play giving shape to their lives for them to limit their alternatives in a strange country. Only when they start gaining confidence and competence in the new social environment - through extended stay, proficiency in the language and a growing ability to negotiate the institutions of the host society - do they gradually become more decisive and restrict their targets in terms of years. Even then they are prepared to change their decisions according to circumstances.

For example, when they were asked about their expected period of stay in the FRG, only 25% declared a desire to stay over 7 years (Table 6.2). However, when they were asked what they would do if they could not achieve their aims within the desired period and if they would be prepared to work in the FRG until retirement, nearly 50% of them (86.5% of the women and 43.7% of the men) stated that they would. (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Intended Length of Stay in the FRG & by Sex. (If they cannot achieve their goals earlier).

	Until Retirement	Not Until Retirement	Undecided
Male	43.7	54.6	1.7
Female	86.5	13.5	---
TOTAL	49.6	48.9	1.5

It was of interest that even among those who were planning an early return home (within a year), there were some (7%) who said they were prepared to stay until retirement to realize their aims. The percentage of those who intended to stay until retirement to achieve their goals went up steadily as did their original expected length of stay. (Table 6.8).

In spite of the fact that so many migrants had such long-term expectations, very few of them wanted to stay in the FRG permanently and be naturalized. Only 5% of the women and 1% of the men

Table 6.8. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Expected & Intended Periods of Stay in the FRG.

<u>Expected Stay</u>	<u>INTENDED</u>		<u>Undecided</u>
	<u>Intends to Stay Until Retirement</u>	<u>STAY Intends not to Stay Until Retirement</u>	
Under 1 year	7.1	92.9	----
1yr.1mth.-3yrs.	20.0	80.0	----
3yrs.1mth.-5yrs.	51.9	44.4	3.7
5yrs.1mth.-7yrs.	75.0	25.0	----
Over 7 years	76.4	23.6	----
Permanently	100.0	----	----
Undecided	49.4	46.8	3.9
TOTAL	49.6	48.9	1.5

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

wanted to be naturalized in the FRG, with another 1% of the men undecided. (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Desire to be Naturalized in the FRG & by Sex.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Male	1.3	97.4	1.3
Female	5.4	94.6	---
TOTAL	1.9	97.0	1.1

A large group of the migrants found the idea of naturalization in the FRG unthinkable (24%). The other reasons given for rejecting the

idea grouped around ethnic and religious concepts. Over 31% of them declared that being Turkish was more important to them than anything else and that the idea of making another country one's home was ridiculous. Nearly 15% declared that they were Muslims and that they could not settle among infidels! 5.4% combined the religious and ethnic characteristics and said that as Turks and Muslims they could not live in the FRG indefinitely. 9.3% of the respondents mentioned the cultural and ideological differences as the reasons for their rejection, and another 10% could offer no answers apart from firmly refusing the idea of naturalization in the FRG. (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Reasons Given for Rejecting the Idea of Naturalization in the FRG & by Sex.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Unthinkable	25.4	11.4	23.6
Being Turkish	31.2	45.7	33.2
Being Muslim	14.7	5.7	13.5
Being Turk&Muslim	6.3	----	5.4
Cultural Differences	10.7	----	9.3
Dislike of Germans	3.1	2.9	3.1
Regrets Coming to the FRG altogether	1.8	2.9	1.9
Unable to Explain	6.7	31.4	10.0

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

The fact that they are Turks gives them a self respect and identity which for them is positive despite the fact that in many subtle ways their background is denigrated in Germany. In any case, given the kind of education and socialization they have had in Turkey, to seek naturalization as a German would entail such a switch of symbolic worlds that few are capable of it.

To summarize: there are clear differences among Turks in their attitude towards staying in the FRG. Their differences, following Philpott, can be seen as the outcome of a variation in "migrant ideologies." Those positively oriented towards the FRG include bachelors, the relatively better educated, those from an urban background and, among those who are married, those with their families with them. Their attachment to traditional social values and, therefore, to the idea of returning to Turkey is less than that of the less educated, those from a rural background and those those who are married but who do not have their families with them. For them a strong identification with the values of home is a positive support and a fundamental framework of self respect and social recognition (cf. Mayer, P., 1961). To carry this analysis further, it is important to examine aspects of the family and community life of the migrants. For ideologies do not exist in a vacuum: they are part of the fabric of social relations and cannot be separated from them.

6.4. Family Status in the FRG

Although a great majority of the Turkish men in the FRG are married (86% in 1972 - IIBK, 1974D: 12), most of them are, in effect, living as bachelors. Only 46% of the married men had their wives with them in the FRG in 1972 (IIBK, 1974D: 12). Although more and more of them were bringing their wives over to Germany every year, and especially so after the 1973 recruitment ban, there were still only an estimated 280,000 adult Turkish females, or 26%, out of a total of 1,070,000 Turks in the FRG in January 1976. The other two categories among this estimated Turkish population of over a million were 195,000 children, or 18%, and 595,000 males, nearly 56% (Rist, R.C., 1978: 95). In fact, if we add the estimated 2 - 300,000 or so spontaneous migrants, who are mostly men, to this total, the percentage of single men increases substantially.

Most of the female Turkish workers, on the other hand, used to go to the FRG as the wives of the migrant men and take up employment there subsequently. However, after the temporary recession of 1966-67 in the FRG, the job offers for migrant men, and especially for unskilled men, became limited but increased substantially for migrant women. This caused a change in the migration pattern of Turkish women. A situation was created whereby there were Turkish men who wanted to migrate but could not do so because of a long waiting list of 5 - 10 years and also there were Turkish women who could migrate but who were not interested in doing so.

Up to then they had only been involved in the migration process, both in internal and external migrations, as dependents of men - as wives, mothers, daughters and sisters. Turkish men were quick to see a way of beating the system and going to the FRG quickly in this situation. They encouraged their wives and daughters to apply to go to the FRG as officially recruited migrants so that they could join them as dependants. They believed that once their families had a legal base in Germany through their women, they could easily go there, get jobs and then regularize their own position. Two of my spontaneous migrant friends, Yusuf and Mehmet from Ahmet's workshop, for example, had sent instructions to their fathers and wives to apply and register the women in their local employment centres for work in the FRG. They thought that if their wives came over as legal migrants, as their husbands they could get stay permits at the end of the first year and thus feel much more secure in Germany. They believed that they could also get work permits much more easily in this case.

In fact the figures concerning migrant women support these assumptions. In 1972, for example, 78% of the Turkish migrant women in the FRG were married, and 85% of them were living with their husbands. 95% of the husbands were also in "worker" status (IIBK, 1974D: 13).

Because of the difficulties encountered in contacting families and women workers, the single Turkish migrants in the

survey were over-represented. Only about 27% of the men and 7% of the women respondents were living with their families. (Table 6.11).

Table 6.11. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Family Status and Residence and by Sex.

	Married	Bachelor	Widow	Family in FRG	Married Family in Turkey	Lives with 1 Relative
Male	89.6	10.0	0.4	21.7	76.8	1.4
Female	37.8	59.5	2.7	6.7	93.3	---
TOTAL	82.4	16.9	0.7	20.7	77.9	1.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

However, among the married living singly, 20.4% of the men and all the women (except for one who had not been able to adapt to life in the FRG and wanted to return home soon) wanted to bring their families to Germany. 77.8% of the men did not want to bring their families to the FRG and 1.9% were undecided.

Those who were planning to unite with their families wanted to bring them over very soon. 61.5% of the women and 27.3% of the men said that they wanted to bring their families as soon as they found suitable accommodation; 36.4% of the men and 15.4% of the women wanted to bring their families within a year and 36.3% of the men and 23.1% of the women declared that they had not yet decided when exactly they would bring their families.

Among those who wanted to bring their families only 18.2% of the men and 7.7% of the women wanted to bring their entire families to the FRG. 51.5% of the men and 30.8% of the women wanted to bring only their sons; 15.2% of the men and none of the women wanted to bring their spouses and some of the children and 15.2% of the men and 61.6% of the women wanted to bring only their spouses - of these all the men and 15.4% of the women had children, and 46.2% of the women had no children.

The reasons given by the men for not wanting to bring their families to the FRG were polarized on two points: moral and economic. Most of these men (42.9%) thought that Germany was not the ideal place for family life. They thought that their wives and children would be vulnerable to the bad and immoral influences of German society. Another large group of the men (34.1%) put forward economic reasons for their unwillingness to bring their families. They thought it would be impossible or very difficult to save if their families came to the FRG because of the high rents and other prices. Most of these men were not, of course, considering allowing their wives to work in Germany. Other reasons given for not wanting to bring the family were the desire for early return home (9.5%); having children at school (4.8%), large families (4%) and old and dependant parents (2.4%) in Turkey; frustration in the FRG (1.6%) and the wife's illness (0.8%).

The size of the families of the Turkish migrants in the FRG was much smaller than the average family size in Turkey. While the average number of persons in the families changed between 4.1 in the

three big cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) and 6.1 in the case of villages, with an overall average of 5.5 persons (Timur, S., 1972: 37). I found that the average size of the Turkish family household in Germany was 3.8 persons. 22.9% of the families I interviewed consisted of only two persons; 25% of three persons; 12.5% of four persons; 27.1% of five persons; 10.4% of six persons and 2.1% of seven persons. The main reason for this drop in the family size was the fragmentation of the families due to migration. For instance, 45.5% of the 2-person families in the FRG were living in households of 6-7 members and the rest in much larger families in Turkey. Most of the 3-person families in the FRG were living in households of 6-7 members (41.7%); the largest group of 4-person families (42.9%) were living in households of 10-11 members; nearly 31% of the 5-person families were living in households of over 15 members; 60% of the 6-person families were living in households of 12-13 members, and finally the only 7-person family I interviewed was living in a household of 12-13 members before migration. (Table 6.12).

The fragmentation of the families is also evident in the reduced number of children the migrant families have with them in the FRG. For example, of the families who had no children accompanying them in Germany, only 30% actually had no children, while 20% had one child, 20% two, another 20% three and 10% had four children in Turkey. Of the families who had one child with them, only 35.6% had no other children left behind, while 21.4% had two children, 14.3% had three, 7.1% had four, 14.3% had five and 7.1% had six children in all. Of

Table 6.12. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Pre-migration Number of Household Members & by Number of Household Members in the FRG.

In the FRG	Lived Alone	2 - 3 Persons	4 - 5 Persons	6 - 7 Persons	8 - 9 Persons	10 - 11 Persons	12 - 13 Persons	14 - 15 Persons	Over 15 Persons
Living alone	1.8	11.0	24.8	28.4	14.7	7.3	3.2	4.6	4.1
2 persons	----	----	----	45.5	18.2	----	18.2	9.1	9.1
3 persons	8.3	8.3	25.0	41.7	----	----	----	----	16.7
4 persons	----	14.3	28.6	----	----	42.9	----	14.3	----
5 persons	7.7	----	15.4	15.4	----	7.7	7.7	15.4	30.8
6 persons	----	----	----	20.0	----	----	60.0	----	20.0
7 persons	----	----	----	----	----	----	100.0	----	----

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

the families who had two children in the FRG, 42.9% had more children in Turkey; of the families who had three children with them, 25% had more than three children; the families with four children displayed the same picture: 25% of them had more children in Turkey. And the only family encountered with five children in the FRG actually had six children but had left a daughter behind to look after the elderly grandparents. (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Men With Families in the FRG by Total Number of Children & by Number of Children in the FRG.

<u>Total No. of Children</u>	<u>No Child</u>	<u>1 Child</u>	<u>2 Children</u>	<u>3 Children</u>	<u>4 Children</u>	<u>5 Children</u>
Have no children	30.0	----	----	----	----	----
1 child	20.0	35.6	----	----	----	----
2 children	20.0	21.4	57.1	----	----	----
3 children	20.0	14.3	28.6	75.0	----	----
4 children	10.0	7.1	14.3	----	75.0	----
5 children	----	14.3	----	16.7	25.0	----
6 children	----	7.1	----	----	----	100.0
7 children	----	----	----	----	----	----
8+ children	----	----	----	8.3	----	----

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Although the married migrant men in the sample have displayed very similar characteristics to the general Turkish population concerning

the number of children, with their mean of 3.1 children per person which was similar to the Turkish mean in 1970 (Paine, S., 1974: 78), those who had their families with them in the FRG had a mean of 2.6 children which was significantly lower than the general population. The most significant of all was the fact that the average number of migrant children per family in the FRG was 1.8, much less than the indigenous Turkish and the migrant averages for home.

However, the number of Turkish wives and children in the FRG has been increasing sharply since 1974. Two political acts by the German government have been the causes of this drastic change in the attitudes of the Turkish migrants towards family union. The first was the ban on labour recruitment of November 1973, and the second was a tax reform act for cutting down social welfare expenditure which came into force on 1.1.1975 and which made a considerable distinction in favour of those children living in the FRG concerning the payment of children's allowances. While all the children were getting the same amount (25 DM for the second child, 50 DM for the third, 60 DM for the fourth and 70 DM for the fifth) before this date, regardless of their places of residence, after this act those children who resided in the FRG started getting more than twice the amount (50 DM for the first, 70 DM for the second, 120 DM for the third, fourth and fifth children as opposed to 10, 25, 60, 60 and 70 DM respectively) the children who resided abroad were getting (Abadan-Unat, N., 1976: 35).

Both these acts had the undesirable result in the Germans' point of view of bringing about rapidly increasing family unions. Workers tried to consolidate their precarious positions and benefit financially with increased child and tax allowances, by bringing their families into Germany. This in turn has caused a rapid increase in the number of births to foreigners in the FRG. In 1974 alone there were 40,000 live births to Turkish parents in Germany (Gökdere, A., 1978: 50).

Most of the Turkish families encountered in the FRG were fragmented nuclear families who had left one or more children back home in Turkey. Among the other forms there was one broken nuclear family where the mother had returned after being ill and had left the husband and son, both working, in Germany. There were two extended nuclear families, one with husband, wife, three children and husband's brother, and the other with husband, wife, two children and husband's maternal uncle. Only one extended family was encountered where two brothers, their wives and one child lived together. There were also two cases of brothers living together and sharing the same hostel room.

In just over half the families only one person was working. In two fifths of the cases two people, and in 2% three people were economically active. The main obstacles in the way of employment of the wives are legal restrictions, young children, lack or shortage of nursery facilities and the traditional Turkish values that restrict women's economic activities outside the home.

6.5. Relatives in the FRG

As I have stated earlier (Chapter 2) the most important factor in prompting the decision to migrate is having relatives and friends who are already abroad. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that 77.2% of the workers in the sample (70% of the men and 78.4% of the women) had relatives in the FRG. 31.6% of these had only one, 28.2% had two, 17.5% had three, 8.7% had four, 8.3% had five, 3.4% had six and 2.4% had seven relatives in the FRG. 24% of the migrants had also got relatives in other European countries (89.1% of these had only one, 6.2% had two and 4.7% had three relatives in other countries). 11% of these were trying to unite in the FRG. Another 25% wanted to unite but found it legally impossible.

Social interaction among relatives is very intense and constitutes the core of the social life of the Turkish migrants in the FRG. Relatives seek to live in close geographical proximity so that they can visit one another often. Most of the migrants have at least one or two relatives and many hemşehriler who live and work close by. I met many migrants who had relatives staying in the same hostel rooms or houses and were working in the same factories. If the migrants are given alternatives during their recruitment through the official channels they chose to go to the countries, cities or towns where they have relatives or hemşehriler. In the case of the spontaneous workers, they invariably follow the paths of their relatives

or hemşehriyer where they know they can get help in finding jobs and accommodation. This is a pattern which is observable in many migration processes in different countries (Du Toit, B., 1973: 6).

If the officially recruited migrants cannot get near their relatives in their first jobs abroad, they try to rectify this position in their subsequent jobs. When their contracts end, they change their jobs and go near their relatives. Although the main reasons for changing jobs are economic, like higher wages and better work conditions (see Chapter 3.4), the mechanics of finding jobs with the help of relatives and hemşehriyer (see Chapter 3.7) create a situation whereby relatives find themselves getting closer and closer both geographically and socially through subsequent job changes. Bott observed the same among her research families in London:

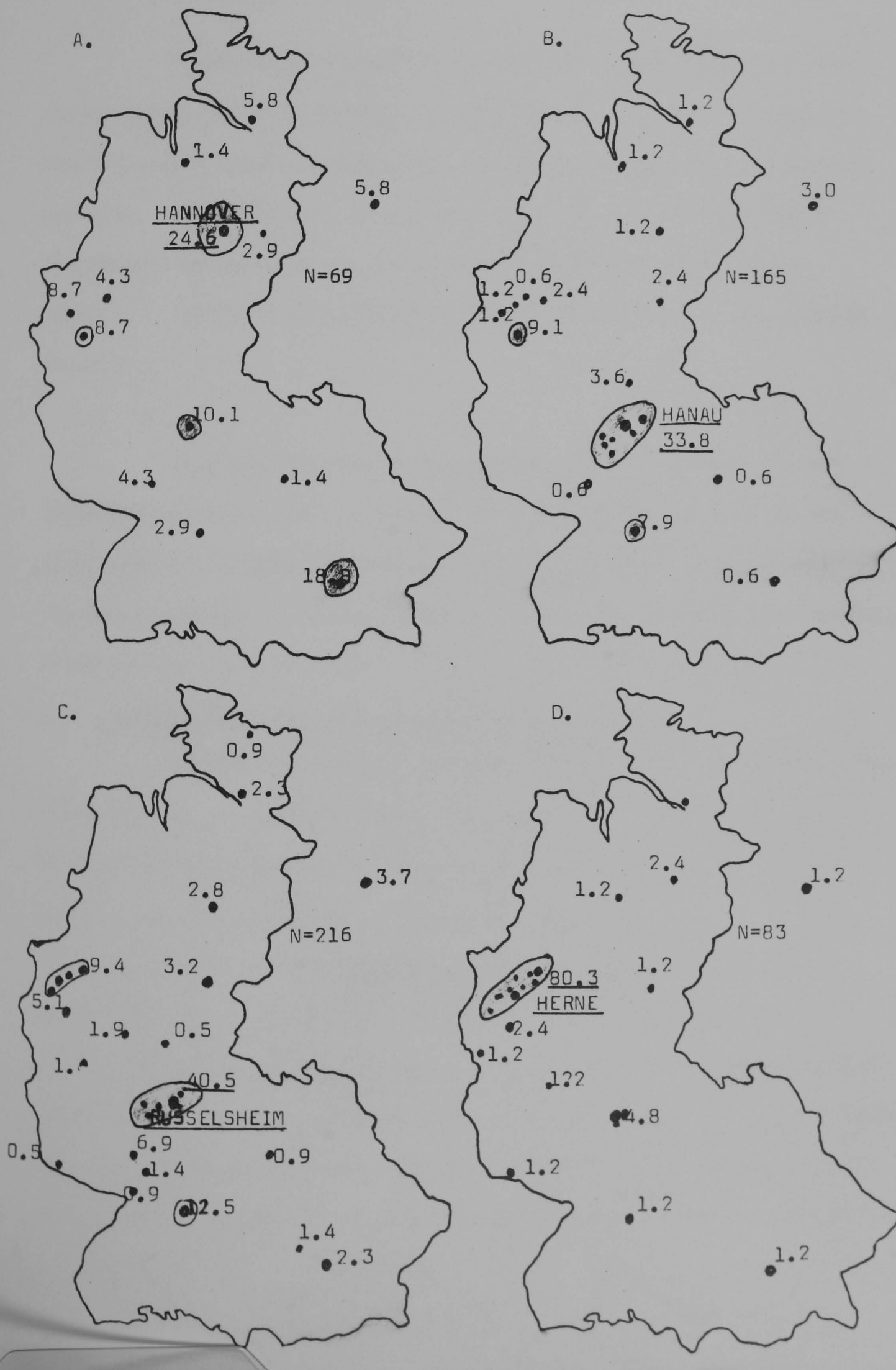
"If possible, then, people use their existing contacts with relatives to find jobs and houses, and the possibility of using their kin in this way helps to maintain and possibly even to develop the existing relationships." (Bott, E., 1957: 126).

In the context of international labour migrations, the economic, political and social marginality of the migrants in the host societies (Rist, R.C., 1978: 149) forces the migrants to maintain and strengthen their close relationships with their kin and fellow-countrymen. The structural position of the Turkish migrants on the margins of German society certainly reinforced their relationships of the categorical and personal orders between relatives and hemşehriyer by limiting their own community and group.

The migrants quickly realized that the Germans were only interested in them as workers who would work in jobs vacated by the native population and thus contribute to the development of the German economy. Their interests within this system were obviously second to those of the German economy and German workers. They concluded that if they wanted to achieve more than the system gave them at present they had to get it through the help of their social networks which were based on relatives and hemsehriler. I have shown in Chapter 3 that most of the workers did, in fact, find jobs with the help of their relatives and hemsehriler. One result of this process has been the colonization of certain districts and firms in the FRG by groups of related and hemsehri Turks. Figure 6.1, A, B, C and D which shows the geographical distribution of the relatives of the workers I interviewed in four different firms and localities illustrates the point vividly. If we first look at the recent migrants of Telefunken in Hannover (with a mean stay in the FRG of only 12 months) we notice that the geographical distribution of their relatives shows only slight concentration in Hannover where the migrants lives. Only 24.6% of the relatives lived in and around Hannover (Figure 6.1.A). Most of the migrants interviewed here had been in the FRG for less than a year and had not yet changed their job.

Figure 6.1.B shows the geographical distribution of the relatives of the Dunlop workers in Hanau. The mean stay in the FRG for these workers was 3 years and 7 months. Obviously some of them had had a chance to change their job before. This is reflected in the

Figure 6.1. Geographical Distribution of the Relatives of the Turkish Migrants Working in: A. Hannover, B. Hanau, C. Russelsheim and D. Herne (in %).



high concentration of the relatives in and around Hanau. 33.8% of the relatives were living in this region. (Figure 6.1.B).

Figure 6.1.C shows the geographical distribution of the relatives of the Opel workers in Russelsheim. Their mean stay in the FRG was 3 years 8 months - only slightly longer than the Dunlop workers. Interestingly, the concentration of their relatives in and around Russelsheim is also slightly bigger than the Dunlop workers'. 40.5% of the relatives were living in this area. (Figure 6.1.C).

Figure 6.1.D shows the geographical distribution of the relatives of the miners in Herne. Their mean stay in the FRG was significantly longer than the previous ones, with 4 years 11 months. The concentration of their relatives in and around Herne was dramatic: 80.3% of the relatives were living in this area. (Figure 6.1.D).

6.6. Relationships Between Hemşehriler and Friends

Relationships among relatives are of primary importance for the migrants. As well as being instrumental in finding jobs and accommodation and providing close and intimate company in leisure time, it is the relatives to whom a person turns in times of need. After the relatives the hemşehriler are the second set of people with whom close contact is maintained. As I have already discussed in the Introduction, hemşehriler are the people from the same geographical area in Turkey. Inclusiveness of the term changes situationally from the people of the same village to the people of the same town, city, province or region. There are considerable physical, cultural,

social and dialect differences between the people of different regions in Turkey. It is possible for a Turk to identify another Turk and place him in a regional category from his appearance and speech. The regional identification is in most cases strengthened by some common ethnic, religious or cultural traits. Various ethnic and religious minorities, for example, have settled in different parts of the country and are identified, both by themselves and by others, closely with those districts.

As well as sharing in the general Turkish culture and value system, hemşehri also share in more particular aspects of this culture that sets them apart from other Turks. There are some prominent and some subtle differences between regions. People living in Thrace or along the Black Sea coast, for example, eat differently, dress differently, talk differently and work differently from people living in Eastern or South-eastern Anatolia. The music and dances greatly vary from one region to another. Customs and beliefs also change between regions. Preferential marriages, for example between cousins (i.e. father's or mother's brother's daughter) are more common in the east than the west (Timur, S., 1972: 80).

The importance of social interaction among hemşehri is very much in evidence in the FRG. The shopping centres and the vicinities of the main railway stations in big cities like Munich, Frankfurt or Cologne, for example, contain dozens of "export shops" that are owned by and cater for Turks and that carry the names of Turkish cities and

towns: "Ankara Export", "Konya Pazarı" (Konya Market), etc. In most cities and towns in Germany the bars and cafes that cater specifically for the Turks are usually patronized by those from the same geographical background. In Hanau, for instance, there were three bars owned by Turks. One was owned by a man from Kastamonu, in northern Turkey, the other by a Kurd from Erzurum in Eastern Turkey, and the last by a man from Istanbul. The first bar was the meeting place for the men from Kastamonu and surrounding provinces along the Black Sea. The second bar was frequented almost exclusively by the Kurdish people from Erzurum, Kars and surrounding provinces, and was known among the Turks who lived in Hanau as "the Kurdish bar." The third bar was patronized by the Turks from other provinces whose numbers were not many and who found themselves in the minority when they visited the other two bars.

The importance of hemşehrilik (common locality) in the FRG is also well illustrated by the joint-stock corporations that are formed by the Turks for investment in Turkey. Most of these were formed by hemşehriler for the specific purpose of investing their savings in companies in their home areas to develop industry and to provide employment for hemşehriler or for themselves on their return home. Some of these were named after the localities that their founding members came from: Karamanlilar Güç Sanayii A.S. (People of Karaman Power Industry, Ltd.); Hacibektaş Anonim Şirketi (Hacibektaş - a town in Central Anatolia - Ltd.), etc. (Gülsün, İ., 1974: 71, 75). Penninx and Van Renselaar note, for example:

"In Chapter 4 we demonstrated that a vast majority of the companies (joint-stock companies) in our samples had strong regional orientation, both in

Terms of initiatives leading to their creation and in terms of geographical concentration of their shareholders' places of origin. There was a desire among the founders of these companies, sometimes formulated explicitly in statutes, to make a contribution to the development of their home area by establishing a (productive) project there." (Penninx, R. and Van Renselaar, H., 1978: 199).

More about these companies will be discussed in the following chapter.

The third set of people with whom the Turks form close relationships are arkadaşlar (friends). Friendships usually develop between people who are unrelated, through close contact either in the workplace or in the neighbourhood of accommodation. Friends are usually of the same sex, are close in age and status and share common interests like devotion to religion, drinking, sports, cars, etc. They like to live nearby and spend most of their leisure time together. They are expected to help in times of need and support each other against others.

The networks of relatives, hemşehriler and friends are the prime sources of social recognition and status for the Turkish migrants. As I have already discussed in Chapter 3, the work they do in the FRG does not in itself confer any status differences to the great majority of the Turks in Germany. Status is accorded following criteria derived from Turkish culture and based on characteristics like age, sex, kinship relations, education, rural-urban and regional background and pre-migration occupation and achievements. Since the bulk of the social relationships are with other migrants of similar background, status and values, their social networks operate also as the networks of social control and produce conformity and reinforce Turkish values (c.f. Mayer,

p., 1961; Philpott, S.B., 1970).

6.7. Migrant Attitudes

Migrants' attitudes towards establishing friendships with other nationalities, speaking the German language and leisure activities further illustrate their encapsulation within the Turkish culture while in the FRG. Among the 267 migrants interviewed, for example, only 37 or 13.9% said that they had foreign friends outside work. Among those who had foreign friends, 70.3% visited them often and 29.7% visited seldom. Among the sample, 10.9% of the workers had no knowledge of German while 46.8% had "elementary" (enough only for shopping purposes), 19.5% "intermediate" (enough to get along in Germany), 20.6% "advanced" (enough to carry on a conversation with Germans) and 2.2% had "perfect" German and could read and write without serious mistakes. (Table 6.14).

Table 6.14. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Knowledge of German Language & by Sex.

	None	Elementary	Intermediate	Advanced	Perfect
Male	9.1	44.3	20.4	23.5	2.6
Female	21.6	62.2	13.5	2.7	---
TOTAL	10.9	46.8	19.5	20.6	2.2

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Most of those who had little or no knowledge of German wanted to learn or improve their language (73%), but a significantly large group (24.7%) declared that they had no desire to improve or learn German. (Table 6.15).

Table 6.15. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Desire to Learn or Improve Their German & by Sex.

	Perfect	Already	Yes	No
Male	2.6		70.0	27.4
Female	---		91.9	8.1
TOTAL	2.2		73.0	24.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Interestingly, the female workers were much keener to learn German (91.9%) than the males (70%). Although I had not specifically asked in the survey why they wanted to learn German, the general feeling and expectation was that it would improve their lives in the FRG. When they were asked why they did not want to learn or improve their German, 37.9% said that they were not going to stay in the FRG for long so there was no point in learning the language. Another large group (28.8%) declared that they did not need it. They had learned how to do their jobs at work and they did not feel restricted by their lack of German. Anyway, they added, if they needed they could always use the interpreters. Their relationships outside work were very limited and restricted to the Turkish community. In almost every town in Germany there are ethnic shops and businesses to cater for the migrants' needs. These range from

small grocers and tailors' shops to travel agents and law firms; all can easily satisfy the migrants' demands and migrants can transact their business there in Turkish.

A large group of migrants (22.7%) found German very difficult and their talents lacking so said that they could not learn it. A small group (9.1%) declared that they were better off not learning the language because they believed learning German was corrupting Turkish workers and turning them into Germans. Finally, one of the workers stated that there was not enough time to study German. (See Table 6.16).

Table 6.16. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Reasons for not Wanting to Learn or Improve Their German & by Sex.

	Will Not Stay Long	Do Not Need It	Cannot Learn It	Learning It Corrupts	There Is No Time
Male	38.1	27.0	23.8	9.5	1.6
Female	33.3	66.7	----	---	---
TOTAL	37.9	28.8	22.7	9.1	1.5

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

One of the least changing habits of the migrants concerned food. An overwhelming majority of them ate only Turkish food at breakfast (95.5%), lunch (93.3%) and dinner (94.0%). (Table 6.17). Almost all the ingredients of Turkish cuisine (e.g. lamb, beef, fresh and dried vegetables and fruit, rice and pasta, etc.) are readily

available in Germany from the supermarkets, and some that are not can be obtained easily from the ethnic shops.

Table 6.17. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Food Habits & by Sex.

	BREAKFAST		LUNCH		DINNER	
	Turkish Food	Mixed Food	Turkish Food	Mixed Food	Turkish Food	Mixed Food
Male	96.5	3.5	93.9	6.1	94.8	5.2
Female	89.2	10.8	89.2	10.8	89.2	10.2
TOTAL	95.5	4.5	93.3	6.7	94.0	6.0

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

6.8. Social Interaction

Migrants spend most of their spare time in the company of other Turks who are their relatives, hensehriler or friends. This not only satisfies the psychological needs of the migrants but also provides them with effective channels of communication and social interaction through which information on housing, employment, political and economic situations both in the FRG and in Turkey is exchanged and when needed help is given. However, in order to understand who associates with whom and why, and what staying in the FRG means to migrants, it is necessary to distinguish between different groups of migrants for it is impossible, in fact, to generalize about migrants as a whole.

I have shown in earlier chapters that there is no "migrant type", that the attitudes, outlook, life style and expectations of migrants differ significantly according to a number of parameters. These include geographical origin, level of education, social class background and marital status. Such differences are not eradicated by migration to the FRG. The significance of such factors changes in the German context, however, and it is important to understand this in order to explain why different groups of Turks have different attitudes and life styles in the FRG. It is necessary to focus first on family relationships because these are of fundamental significance in Turkish culture and the most important elements in the "structural order", to use Mitchell's phrase (1969A), of which the Turks are a part. Moreover, variations in the structure and patterns of family life among Turks affect their modes of social perception and their understanding of their position in Germany. Through such variation in the "categorical" and "personal" orders of their relationships there are consequential differences in the way different groups of Turks respond to the host society. In what follows I shall try and clarify some of these questions.

In my view Turkish migrants in the FRG could clearly be divided into four categories with distinct social characteristics and housing and residential patterns. In the first category were those workers with urban, comparatively more educated backgrounds and a modern social outlook. They usually lived with their families in modern flats or houses in better quarters of the towns or cities, dispersed among the German population, and had no definite plans to

return to Turkey within a short time. Some of the people I met in this category included Erkan and Gül, our friends from Istanbul and our hosts during our first two weeks in the FRG, and Nuri and Nermin in whose tailoring shop my wife took up employment. This was the category with which we had most social contact while in Germany. Most of the pioneer migrants were also in this category. They could speak German and identified more with the host population than with the Turks in other categories. Middle class Germans constituted their reference group. Their children went to German schools and played with German friends. They were pleased that their children were being educated in German schools and that they were being socialized into Western culture. Some of those who had been long enough in the FRG owned businesses. They associated exclusively with Turks of their own category and regarded themselves socially superior to the other categories of Turks. Their social networks were based on relatives and friends who shared common interests like football, cars, etc. rather than hemsehriler who shared a common traditional Turkish culture. Their life style displayed a high degree of Western consumer orientation. They were fashionably dressed, had all the modern conveniences in their houses and owned and took pride in their better quality cars. They entertained and visited their friends at home as couples, and the men spent more time at home in the company of their wives and children and granted them more freedom and share in decision-making regarding domestic and economic issues. They had small families with only one or two children and were using modern family planning methods with care. The men usually worked in more qualified and skilled jobs and earned more than most other groups of Turks. If they had no child-

ren their wives also worked. If they had children their wives stayed at home to look after them rather than leaving them in Turkey in the care of relatives or leaving the younger ones in the care of older children in Germany.

In the second category were those Turks with rural, comparatively less educated backgrounds and traditional outlooks. They too lived with their families in Germany but usually in the inner city or other areas of high migrant concentration in sub-standard houses and flats, and had definite plans to return to Turkey. The extent of their knowledge of German and Germany was limited. They considered themselves to be morally superior to Germans and the Turks of the first category. Although they thought the Germans were hard-working and disciplined people and appreciated the orderly and secure lives they led, they did not think much of their family and social life. They believed German women to be too loose and family and kinship obligations non-existent. They found it particularly disturbing that the old people should be left on their own, abandoned to loneliness by their adult children. Their families were larger than those of Turks in the first category. Some of them had left one or more children back home in Turkey either for schooling or to be looked after by other relatives so that their mother could work in Germany, thus speeding up the necessary accumulation of savings before the final return home. Some of the younger children were also left at home in Germany in the care of older sisters or brothers while their mothers and fathers worked. Their whole attitude to life in Germany was shaped by their ideology which was oriented

towards their future lives, towards comfort and prestige in Turkey. This was particularly noticeable in their ambivalent attitude towards the education of their children in the FRG: although they wanted better things in life for their children and regarded education as one of the ways through which to achieve this, they were in two minds about educating them in the FRG. They were worried both about the compatibility of the German and Turkish education systems and over the Germanization of their children. They complained that the children were not learning anything like enough about Turkish history, culture and language at school and thought that if they had to return to Turkey suddenly before the children completed their education, they would suffer and lose out. Some of them were also worried that the children who were at school were being socialized into German culture and value system and thought that if they grew up this way they would be disobedient and uncaring towards their parents and also would probably never return home to Turkey as culturally Germany was becoming their home. Consequently some of them preferred to educate their children in Turkey and sent them home when they reached school age.

Although their homes contained some durable western goods like refrigerators, washing machines, radios, cassette recorders and televisions, regarded as necessities by the Turks in the first category, some of these, like the washing machines, cassette recorder and television, had been bought by these people for their prestige value. Generally their houses were sparsely furnished with these prestige items occupying conspicuous places in their homes. They were oriented towards saving for their future in Turkey rather than consuming their

earnings in Germany. Their social relations were restricted to family, relatives and hemsehris. Families did not usually visit each other as units unless they were related. Women usually visited each other during the day or at weekends while their husbands were away at work or visiting single hemsehriler in their hostels or meeting them in the railway stations, in the bars, etc. The social distance between the sexes that existed in small Turkish towns and villages continued for them in the FRG, although to a lesser extent because of the obvious changes in their lives concerning work, accommodation and leisure. They now worked in routine jobs for 8 or 12 hours a day, 5 or 6 days a week, and for 46 or 48 weeks a year. They lived in small flats or houses that did not have a separate room to welcome and entertain male visitors in the house but outside the privacy of the family. They lived in quarters which did not have the coffeehouses attended by the men of the quarter. Finally they did not have much leisure time and what precious time they did have had to be carefully allocated to rest, family needs and visiting relatives and hemsehriler. Their women dressed not according to the current fashion but according to the notions of Turkish morality and modesty. While the Germans and the Turkish women in the first category were wearing T-shirts and mini skirts, the women in this category were wearing headscarves, dresses extending some length below the knees and coats even on hot summer days. The authority structure in the family seemed very much unaltered: the men were the decisionmakers.

The miners I interviewed fell into this category. The existence of significant social differences between the families of this

and the first category was dramatically brought home to me one day during our interview visits to the houses of the miners in Herne. We had been in Herne for three days and completed 25 interviews in the miners' homes. The flats were very similar in many ways: they were sparsely furnished with old furniture and arranged in a similar fashion. On our arrival at a flat the family head would come out, listen to my explanation of the research and request for an interview and invite us in. If their husbands were out the women would not agree to be interviewed and would not let us in. The wives were all modestly and conservatively dressed. During my interviews with the men the wives would offer us tea or coffee and talk to my wife.

However, on one occasion we rang the bell of a flat and were suddenly surprised when the door was opened by a young woman in a fashionable dress and make-up and an equally fashionably dressed young man. They eagerly invited us in. A glance round the sitting room immediately communicated to us that we were in a flat that did not fit in with the others we had seen so far, for it had better quality furnishings and a modern air about it. The couple had been married for just over two years. They were both from a big city in Turkey and had had secondary school education. The husband was working for the mining company but, unlike their neighbours, he was working on the surface in the maintenance workshop. The wife was working for another company.

Instead of the customary tea or coffee she offered us good quality chocolates and liqueur and constantly offered her opinions

during the interview. After the interview, they insisted that we sit and chat and also come to visit them the following days. They said that it was good to have some educated and sensible people to talk to and went on to explain that all their neighbours were ignorant peasants and that they were not friendly with any of them! In fact they wanted to leave this district and move into a decent flat in a good district as soon as possible. This couple obviously belonged to the first category of Turks but had had the misfortune of living among the families of the second category.

The Turks comprising the third category in the FRG were the "single" men living in communal hostels or houses. They were represented in my survey by the men in the Opel and Dunlop hostels. They shared most of the social characteristics of the Turks in the previous category for they also had a rural, less educated and traditional background. However, unlike the men in the second category they had been reluctant to bring their wives and some of the children over to Germany. The most important reason given for this was a moral one (see 6.4. above): they thought that if they brought their families to the FRG it would have a corrupting influence on their family and social relationships. Another important reason for this reluctance was an economic one: they thought it was very difficult to find houses and flats within their price range and big enough for the authorities to grant permission to bring their families into, and in addition they felt that if they brought their families their intended savings would never be realized.

The emerging picture, then, is that the single men living in hostels are more conservative, savings-orientated and with large families in Turkey. They display a high degree of economic rationality and high rates of job turnover to achieve better wages and are prepared to move long distances to realize this. (See Chapter 3.4). Their social interaction takes place within social networks that are based on male relatives and hemşehrilere and in communal places like hostels, railway stations, ethnic bars and associations and at work. They firmly believe that they are in the FRG temporarily and save religiously to hasten the day when they will finally return home. Their orientation was also very much towards future security, comfort and prestige in Turkey. Unlike the men in the second category they had no ambivalent attitude towards German institutions: they were sure that life in the FRG was not right for them and their children. They were there to earn to secure their future and did not mind being in a state of suspended animation since it was temporary. They lived in accommodation that was overcrowded and impersonal. Apart from absolute necessities like some underwear, shirts, a pair of trousers, a suit, a pair of shoes and slippers, one or two pans, plates, tea cups and a teapot, cutlery and a pair of towels, they did not own much in the way of personal property, although some did have radios and cassette players which were regarded as necessary items with which to keep in touch with Turkey for with them they could listen to the news and music from Ankara Radio and playback pre-recorded Turkish cassettes. This kept memories of home fresh in their minds.

In the fourth category were the Turkish migrant women who lived in hostels. The Telefunken workers I interviewed in Hannover were in this category. Most of the migrant women come to the FRG as dependents of migrant men and subsequently take up employment. A majority of the women who come unaccompanied are sent by their husbands or fathers so that the women can send for the men, as their dependents, and bring them to the FRG quickly. All the married women I interviewed (except for one who was extremely disillusioned with the FRG and wanted to return home soon) were frantically looking for ways of bringing their husbands to the FRG before the officially required period of one year had expired. When their husbands came, these women moved out to private housing and, depending on their social background, joined the ranks in either the first or second category of Turks, leaving behind the unattached women in the hostels.

That this process has a general validity is borne out by the official statistics. In 1972, 85% of the married Turkish women workers in the FRG were living with their husbands (IIBK, 1974D: 13). Furthermore I suspect that most of the remainder (15%) were recent migrants who were trying to get their husbands to the FRG but had not yet succeeded in doing so. This process did not, of course, mean that after a while only the unmarried women were left at the hostels. Due to high migrant labour turnover, sometimes up to 54% as in Siemens in Munich (Powers, J., 1976: 20), there was a steady flow of migrant women. The rooms vacated by the women who had been joined by their husbands were quickly filled with newcomers of a similar background.

However, the backbone of this category of single women workers were the unattached, young and relatively better educated women from urban areas in Turkey. They had a positive attitude towards the host society and formed friendships based on mutual interest rather than common locality (hemşehrilik) with other Turkish women from the workplace or hostel. They lived in hostels under strictly regulated conditions concerning times and visitors. Male visitors were not allowed in the rooms. They socialized exclusively with women of similar background and status either in the hostels or in the houses of their relatives and friends.

In spite of the strictly regulated work and leisure life in the FRG they felt more in control of their lives than ever before and had a sense of achievement, confidence and optimism. Their plans did not include a speedy return home and they were keen to learn or improve their German.

Although the magnitude of the unaccompanied Turkish women working in the FRG is relatively small, it is, nevertheless, a unique and very important feature of Turkish social history brought about by the labour migration. Traditionally the women were never allowed to leave the parental home and the community for work in another place. This was especially true for married women. The only exception to this was the institution of evlatlık (Kudat, A., 1975: 92) whereby young girls from poor rural families were given to wealthier and usually urban families as evlatlık (adopted child) for the purposes

of doing housework, sometimes for a small monthly payment, sometimes for a single total sum and sometimes without any payment at all. The girls so given (usually, too, without any legal transactions) were expected to be treated as a daughter of the household, to be well cared for, fed and clothed, schooled if she was at the primary school age (7-12), taught cookery, cleaning and general housework. When she reached marriageable age she expected to be married to a suitable partner. However, the practices of different families varied considerably: some of these girls were treated as servants and suffered enormously while others were treated as real daughters and looked forward to a comfortable future.

The other circumstances in which women were and are allowed to leave home for lengthy periods are connected with education and the pursuit of careers. Girls, although less often than boys, can be sent to stay with close relatives near schools or in boarding schools and later in girls' hostels near the universities. Those who receive educational grants from government departments, especially teachers, doctors and nurses, are expected to work for the same departments in various parts of the country for many years afterwards to pay back their grants. Most of them are alienated from their home communities during this process and never return home. Almost all are married within their new social milieu, many to their colleagues. However, this alienation does not mean a complete break from the home community. Social and moral obligations towards parents and kin are still maintained. The process means for

those children of working class or peasant families a change of class through education. Prior to the international migrations, this used to be the only mechanism, barring marriage between classes which rarely occurred, through which individuals from the lower classes could become upwardly socially mobile within a relatively short period. As the resulting changes in the individuals involved (with better speech, refined behaviour, dress and consumption patterns) were perceived positively by parents and kin, they were encouraged rather than rejected.

After the 1960s, international labour migration afforded a new channel of social mobility for Turkish women along with the men, and on a much greater scale than ever before. The speed with which Turkish families took this opportunity up can perhaps be explained by their previous positive attitude to urbanization and to the education of their children, both of which were regarded as the means to achieving a better life.

Research conducted in the rural areas and among the urban migrants in the gecekondular in Turkey clearly reveals that people have a high opinion of urban life. The city obviously has a symbolic significance as a place where life can be improved (c.f. S.P.O., 1970; Karpat, K.H., 1976; Saran, N., 1971). This is an attitude largely based on the experiences of previous migrants to the cities and epitomized in the saying that "Istanbul is paved with gold!" - a saying that was held to be true until the late 1950s and which was altered in the early 1960s to "Germany is paved with gold!"

6.9. Voluntary Associations

I want, finally, to make a few comments on the formal organizations of the Turks in Germany. These are usually known as Turkish Workers' Associations and provide facilities for leisure as well as having broader aims such as helping the migrants with their problems and facilitating German-Turkish friendship. Some others have specific aims such as building and maintaining a mosque or running a Turkish football club. Most of them have halls incorporated for eating and drinking and playing cards or backgammon, while some of them are actually based in bars by owners wishing to enlarge their clientele.

Both the Turkish and the German authorities encouraged the workers to join these associations and actively participated in their meetings. One can only speculate on why this is the case. Perhaps it is to cultivate a political constituency or it may even reflect a genuine concern for welfare. It could also be a way of making official control of migrants more effective.

In the anthropological literature such associations are said to perform important functions for the community by providing a body through which migrants can communicate with one another and the host society and give each other support. Such associations may also give expression to specific political or religious interests in different communities (Wheeldon, P.D., 1969: 131). It has also been

noted, however, that often such organizations are highly segmental and cover only a small fraction of the members of a particular group who support them unenthusiastically (Cohen, A., 1969: 195).

In the case of Turkish workers in the FRG, my observations support the latter view. Workers' associations seemed of little importance to most of the Turkish migrants. In their leisure time they preferred to interact informally within their social networks of relatives and friends rather than formally within organizations like workers' associations. Although there were 148 registered Turkish associations in the FRG in 1973, less than 40 were functioning effectively (Tercüman, 14.2.1973). Certainly a great majority of the migrants in my sample did not show any interest in them: only 8.6% of them (9.6% of the men and 2.7% of the women) were members of associations, while 91.4% of them (90.4% of the men and 97.3% of the women) were not. Most of the workers (75.7%) were not even aware of the existence of any Turkish associations in their neighbourhood. Most of those who knew they existed had not joined as they thought they were not helpful at all and that they were there to take advantage of the workers. Some thought that they were nothing but gambling places and bred trouble.

This indifference towards the associations can perhaps be explained firstly by the effectiveness of the social networks and the intensity and instrumentality of the relationships within them, and secondly by the presence of organizations like Arbeiterwohlfahrt

(Welfare Organization for the Workers), Arbeitsamt (Employment Bureau) and trade unions where migrants can seek and get assistance when and if their social networks prove ineffective.

6.10. Conclusion

It is not possible to summarize briefly the main conclusions of this chapter. My main theme, however, has been as follows. Turkish migrant workers are a large and heterogeneous group. To understand their behaviour in the FRG it is necessary to recognise the diversity which exists among them. This is a diversity which reflects the social and cultural diversity of Turkey just as much as the differences of occupation and social status of various migrant groups in the FRG. Migrants, as I have tried to show, must be seen as being poised between two social structures and two cultural worlds - those of Germany and Turkey. How they resolve the uncertainties of this position is the key to their attitudes and orientations regarding their stay in Germany. In this sense the economic actions of migrant workers cannot, in fact, be discussed apart from the matrix of social relationships in which they are implicated. Different sets of social relationships give credence to and sustain different "migrant ideologies" and have distinctive consequences for how different groups of Turks perceive themselves and their role in German society.

Behind such diversity, however, there are certain social patterns and constellations of values which are common to all Turks.

The main feature here, of course, is the importance of both family life and the social networks of relatives and friends. These networks form the scaffold upon which both the relationships of work and leisure are built. They are vital to the self respect and social support of migrants and are much more important to them than many of the formal voluntary associations. Nevertheless it is important to acknowledge the fact that according to the social backgrounds of the migrants concerning their regional origins, family status and education, the patterns of their social interaction and the characteristics of their networks vary. My aim in this chapter has therefore been to describe some of the more important features of the social life of Turkish migrants in the FRG but in such a way as to avoid the pitfalls of crude generalization about migrants and to be sensitive to diversity and uniqueness.

CHAPTER 7

RETURN MIGRATION

7.1. Introduction

One of the key stages in the migration process is the return home. This is the stage which ends a process, that of migration abroad, and starts a new one, that of re-integration and social change in the home community. Although this study had as its subject the first process of migrating abroad, the implications of the second process on the first has always been prominent. Throughout this thesis it has been indicated that the migrants' intentions about returning home play a key role in determining how they adapt to life in the FRG. In this chapter I want to focus on the intentions of the migrants concerning return migration which they had while they were still abroad in the FRG. The second process of what actually happens to the migrants and their intentions and to the community to which they return deserves a thorough study in itself.

The plans migrants have for their return home are part of the whole social outlook and in that sense part of "migrant ideology" (See Philpott, S.B., 1970). The comments about these plans that migrants make must be interpreted with care, however, since it cannot be assumed that what they say they would like to do is what they will, in fact, do. It is likely, too, that there will be a fantasy element

in their expectation about their return. Nonetheless, it is still important to see how the migrants perceive the return home. In what follows the discussion is under three main headings: their plans concerning the kind of family life they will return to, their expectations about housing and, finally, their hopes concerning business enterprises. What the account shows is that they are very concerned not so much to bring about change in the social structure of Turkish society but to find a better position for themselves in that structure.

7.2. Future Family Type

When asked about the type of family they would live in on their return to Turkey, 45.3% said that they would live in nuclear families consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children, while 44.6% said that they would live in large families which would include a married son and his family (Large Family Type 1 - see Chapter 1.9.1), and 9.4% declared that they would live in large families mainly consisting of nuclear families with dependent relatives, usually aged parents (Large Family Type 3). (See Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Future Family Types & by Sex.

	Will Be Alone	Nuclear Family	Large Family Type 1	Large Family Type 3	Unknown
Male	---	39.1	50.4	10.4	---
Female	2.7	83.8	8.1	2.7	2.7
TOTAL	0.4	45.3	44.6	9.4	0.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

It seems that there will be significant differences between the family types of the female and the male returnees, as far as the sample suggests. While most of the men wanted to live in large families, an overwhelming majority of the women (83.8%) wanted to live in nuclear families. These differences in the family types were already present in their pre-migration families (see Chapter 1.9.1).

When compared with their pre-migration family types, a slightly smaller number of people wanted to live in nuclear families—45.3% as against the 47.9% who came from such families. However, while 19.5% of the migrants lived in Large Family Type 2 (families with more than one married son) before migration, interestingly none of the migrants wanted to live in such large families on their return home. (Compare Tables 1.25 and 7.1).

Although there do not seem to be important changes in the general pattern of family types, i.e. the ratio of nuclear to large families, there are nevertheless important social changes taking place for the migrants, especially for the men concerning their family status. For example, while only 51.3% of the male migrants were the heads of their families before migration (Table 1.24), 75.2% of them declared that they themselves would be the heads of their families on return home. (Table 7.2).

When they were asked about which members of the family would seek employment in future, a large group of men (44.8%) said that only

Table 7.2. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Heads of Families on Return Home & by Sex.

	Him/Herself	Father	Elder Brother	Mother	Husband	Unknown
Male	75.2	22.2	1.3	1.3	---	---
Female	2.7	43.2	---	8.1	43.2	2.7
TOTAL	65.2	25.1	1.1	2.2	6.0	0.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

themselves would be working while the women in this category were only 21.6% and were mostly made up of those who were single and who had, as yet, no definite marriage plans. The largest group of the women (32.4%), however, said that on their return home only their husbands would be working. Interestingly, a large group of the women (21.6%) said that both their husbands and themselves would be working, while only 7.8% of the men thought that their wives would also be working. (Table 7.3).

What this suggests is that being in the FRG does not in itself produce changes in family orientation. Many migrants look forward to a family life which in Turkish terms is much more traditional. This is yet another aspect of the way in which migrant workers retain their attachments to the values of their own society. There are, however, significant differences between the men and the women in my sample: women seem more determined to work and to move away from the status traditionally accorded to them in Turkey. It may be, therefore, that the experience of migration is more fundamental in its effects on the

Table 7.3. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Working Family Members in Future & by Sex.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Self Only	44.8	21.6	41.6
Husband Only	----	32.4	4.5
Sons Only	0.4	----	0.4
Husband and Wife	7.8	21.6	9.7
Self and Children	26.5	----	22.8
Self and Brother	1.3	2.7	1.5
Whole Family	4.8	----	4.1
Others	14.3	18.9	15.0
Unknown	----	2.7	0.4

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

attitudes and values of women rather than men. There is no way of demonstrating this with my data but this conclusion is at least consistent with some recent accounts of the effects of migration on the modernization of Turkish women (Abadan-Unat, N., 1981).

7.3. Future Accommodation

Most of the migrants, 79.0%, were planning to live in a new house on their return home and some had actually bought or built, or were in the process of building, new ones already. Only 20.2% said

that they were going to move back to their pre-migration houses on their return. (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Future Accommodation & by Sex.

	The Old House	A New House	Unknown
Male	21.3	78.3	0.4
Female	13.5	83.8	2.7
TOTAL	20.2	79.0	0.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

As will be apparent in the next section below (7.4), one of the main migration targets of the majority of the migrants was to buy or build a house for themselves. 87.3% of the migrants said that they would be living in their own house when they returned to Turkey. Only 11.2% said that they would be living in their fathers' or other relatives' houses on their return. There were only two men in the sample who said that they would be living in rented accommodation when they went back home. (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Future Accommodation Ownership & by Sex.

	Own House	Father's/Relative's	Rented Accommodation	Unknown
Male	89.1	9.6	0.9	0.4
Female	75.7	21.6	---	2.7
TOTAL	87.3	11.2	0.7	0.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

This constitutes a significant improvement for the migrants, and becomes apparent when we look at their pre-migration background. Only 36.3% of the migrants (40.4% of the men and a small 10.4% of the women) owned their accommodation prior to their migration. Nearly 48% were living in their fathers' or other relatives' houses, and 15.7% were in rented accommodation. (See Table 1.29).

The improvement they expect in their lives is also reflected in the style and the quality of their future accommodation. Before migration 63.0% of the migrant men were living in village houses (see Chapter 1.11 for a description of various housing types), 27.8% in town houses, 5.2% in gecekondu houses and only 3.9% in modern city flats. In stark contrast, on their return home the great majority of the men (71.7%) wanted to live in town houses, 10.4% wanted flats and only 16.5% wanted to live in village houses and a negligible 0.9% wanted gecekondu houses. (Table 7.6).

None of the women in the sample used to live in village houses or gecekondus before migration. A majority were living in town houses (70.3%) and 29.7% in city flats. Although most of them still wanted to live in town houses (54.1%) there was a big shift towards living in modern city flats (43.2%) on their return home. (Table 7.6).

The main significance of the above discussion on housing types emerges as the migrants' desire to relocate in towns (for the men) and cities (for the women), rather than return to their original place.

Table 7.6. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Future Type of Accommodation & by Sex.

	Village House	Gecekondu House	Town House	Flat	Unknown
Male	16.5	0.9	71.7	10.4	0.4
Female	----	---	54.1	43.2	2.7
TOTAL	14.2	0.7	69.3	15.0	0.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

The improvements sought in the housing type were also accompanied by improvements in the quality of the housing. For instance, while only 65.5% of the pre-migration accommodation had bathrooms and 52.1% had inside toilets (see Table 1.31), 94.0% of the future accommodation would have bathrooms and 85.7% would have inside toilets. (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7. Percentage of Bathroom and Toilet in Returning Migrants' Future Accommodation & by Sex.

	Bathroom			Toilet		
	Unknown	Yes	No	Unknown	Inside	Outside
Male	0.4	93.9	5.7	0.4	83.5	16.1
Female	2.7	94.6	2.7	---	100.0	----
TOTAL	0.7	94.0	5.2	0.4	85.7	13.9

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

7.4. Future Ownership of Consumer Goods

In accordance with their aims of buying new and better houses in urban areas, migrants also want to improve their material comforts and concomitantly their status by buying durable consumer goods like fridges, washing machines, Hoovers and carpets for their houses. An overwhelming majority of the migrants (77.2%) said that they wanted to buy all these goods to take home with them when they returned. Only 5.6% of them had owned all these in their pre-migration accommodation (see Table 1.32). Only 9.0% of the migrants declared that they wanted to buy three, 5.2% wanted two and another 5.2% only one of the items listed. (Table 7.8). The usual order of priority given was first carpet, then fridge, washing machines and electric sweeper.

Table 7.8. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Desired Ownership of Carpet, Fridge, Washing Machine & Electric Sweeper in Future & by Sex.

	Unknown	One Item	Two Items	Three Items	All Four Items
Male	3.5	6.1	6.1	10.4	73.9
Female	2.7	---	---	---	97.3
TOTAL	3.4	5.2	5.2	9.0	77.2

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

The same attitude is reflected in the migrants' desire to buy radios, tape recorders, record players and television sets. While only

7.9% of them owned all three items listed - there was no television network in Turkey until 1972 - and 16.9% owned two items in their pre-migration accommodation (see Table 1.34), 62.9% of the migrants now wanted to buy all the items and 27.3% wanted three of the items listed for their future home in Turkey. (See Table 7.9).

Table 7.9. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by the Desired Ownership of Radios, Tape Recorders, Record Players & Televisions & by Sex.

	Unknown	One Item	Two Items	Three Items	All Four Items
Male	1.3	2.6	7.0	31.7	57.4
Female	2.7	---	---	---	97.3
TOTAL	1.5	2.2	6.0	27.3	62.9

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

Consumer durables have great prestige value since these are the status hallmarks of better-off urban Turks and, of course, those possessions that are taken for granted by Germans. Such objects are associated with city life and represent for the migrant social improvement. It seems, therefore, that some of the values of the consumer society are acquired by Turks and it is worth noting that the purchasing power and demand for such objects by the migrants is an important element in the West Germany economy. Böhning has noted in this context that migrants become subject after a while to an entirely new set of deprivations different to those they felt at home, namely the need felt to have the consumer goods they lack and which only the host society can

satisfy (1972: 63). The data in this study suggests that the expectations migrants develop in the FRG concerning possessions are far in excess of what they had before migration and perhaps, too, far greater than they can realistically satisfy in Turkey.

7.5. Intended Use of Savings

As I have already discussed (see Chapter 3.11), Turkish migrants are very much savings orientated. Some of these savings are remitted regularly to Turkey for family needs or for the target purchases like house, land and agricultural or domestic machinery. Depending on the economic or political conditions both in the FRG and in Turkey, remittances show variations. The sudden drop in the level of remittances, for example, in 1967 and the gradual decrease after 1974 reflect the economic crisis in the FRG, while the enormous increase after 1970 reflects the effects of the 66.6% devaluation of the Turkish lira in August 1970 (Gökdere, A.Y., 1978: 178-182). Table 7.10 shows the progress of Turkish migrants' remittances over the years.

As analyses of the economic consequences of such huge flows of foreign exchanges for Turkey have been expertly done elsewhere (e.g. Miller, D. and Çetin, I., 1973; Gökdere, A.Y., 1978; Çarıkçı, E., 1975; Paine, S., 1974; Abadan-Unat, N. et al., 1975), I will limit myself here to some general points and the migrants' own intentions concerning their savings.

Table 7.10 Progress of Turkish Migrants' Remittances, 1964-76.

Years	Remittances (Million ₺) (1)	Migrant Population Abroad (Yearly Average) (2)	Remittance per Migrant (₺) (1)/(2)	Remittance per Migrant Index (1965=100)
1964	8.1	84,785	95.5	20.3
1965	69.8	148,485	470.1	100.0
1966	115.3	187,385	615.3	130.9
1967	93.0	166,413	558.8	118.9
1968	107.3	176,540	607.8	129.3
1969	140.6	269,710	521.3	110.9
1970	273.0	403,850	676.0	143.8
1971	471.3	523,161	900.9	191.6
1972	740.1	610,847	1,211.6	257.7
1973	1,183.2	708,384	1,670.3	355.3
1974	1,426.2	739,500	1,928.6	410.2
1975	1,312.3	678,424	1,934.3	411.5
1976	928.7	651,236	1,508.9	320.9

Source: Gökdere, A.Y., 1978: 178, Tablo IV.10.

It is agreed that the migrants only remit a percentage of their savings home regularly for family needs. They prefer to keep their savings in German banks until they reach a decided amount for investment. Given the continued very high inflation rate in Turkey, this is a very rational attitude for the migrants (Gökdere, A.Y., 1978: 182). It was estimated that Turkish savings in German banks amounted

to 3.5 billion DM in 1973 (Miller, D. and Çetin, I., 1973: 91).

Most of the migrants use their savings either when they are still in the FRG or on their return on houses or real estate in Turkey. It was found in 1970 that 50% of the yearly net savings of Turkish migrants were spent on the purchase of housing and real estate. Approximately 29% was invested in small workshops or workshops, 9% on land, 5% on cars and other types of transport and another 5% was spent on education (Çarıkçı, E., 1975: 167-8).

Çarıkçı found in 1974 that 80% of the workers in his sample of migrants in the FRG and Switzerland were using part of their savings to buy real estate, and more than 50% preferred their investments to be in big cities. 60% of these bought houses or land in their home town or city, whereas 40% preferred a different location, mainly a larger city. Only 6% of the respondents had invested in joint-stock companies or co-operatives and only 14% were willing to invest in such ventures on their return home (Çarıkçı, E., 1975: 169-70).

The responses of the migrants in my sample were similar to those above. 11.2% of them wanted only to buy a house, 1.9% only to buy land, 13.1% only to establish a business, 47.9% to buy a house and establish a business, 12.0% to buy a house, land and establish a business. In total 77.8% of the respondents wanted to buy or build a house. (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Intended Use of Savings on Returning Home & by Sex.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
No Savings	0.9	5.4	1.5
On House	8.7	27.0	11.2
On Land	2.2	----	1.9
On Car	0.4	----	0.4
On Business	13.5	10.8	13.1
On House & Business	50.0	35.1	47.9
On House & Car	4.8	18.9	6.7
On Land & Business	0.9	----	0.7
On House, Land & Business	13.9	----	12.0
Others	4.8	2.7	4.5

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

On the question of the types of businesses they wanted to establish, the largest group of the men wanted to go into trade and establish a small retail shop while the largest group of the women wanted to go into the services sector and establish small businesses there like coiffeur salons. A considerably large group (20.9%) of the men wanted to continue farming but on a much larger scale, while only 10.4% of the men wanted to join the joint-stock companies in their home area. The majority of the women (56.8%), however, had no intentions of going into business. (Table 7.12).

Table 7.12. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Types of Business to be Founded in Turkey & by Sex.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
No Business	13.5	56.8	19.5
Farming	20.9	----	18.0
Trade	26.5	5.4	23.6
Workshop	6.1	13.5	7.1
Service	3.0	21.6	5.6
Factory	6.5	2.7	6.0
Transport (taxi, lorry)	8.7	---	7.5
Joint-Stock Company	10.4	---	9.0
Others	4.3	---	3.7

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

When they were asked how much they wanted to save to realize their aims, 17.2% said that they had not yet made up their minds about this, while 21.7% wanted to save under 20,000 DM, 15.0% between 20,000 - 30,000 DM, 20.6% between 30,000 - 40,000 DM, 8.2% between 40,000 - 50,000 DM, 6.7% between 50,000 - 60,000 DM and finally 10.5% said that they wanted to save over 60,000 DM. (See Table 7.13).

Most of the migrants (64.8%) declared that they would rather buy houses and/or establish businesses in their home region and preferably relocate in a metropolitan centre, and 5.6% did not express a particular choice, saying that anywhere in Turkey would be welcome.

Table 7.13. Percentage Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers by Intended Amount to be Saved & by Sex.

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Undecided	14.7	32.4	17.2
Under 20,000 DM	23.5	10.8	21.7
20,001 - 30,000 DM	16.5	5.4	15.0
30,001 - 40,000 DM	19.6	27.0	20.6
40,001 - 50,000 DM	7.4	13.5	8.2
50,001 - 60,000 DM	6.5	8.1	6.7
Over 60,000 DM	11.7	2.7	10.5

Totals may not add up to 100.0 because of rounding.

14.6% of the sample had not yet decided on where to go on their return.

As already indicated, a majority of the migrants save to buy a house and set up a small business. This is how they conceive a successful return home. This connects back to the earlier discussion (Chapter 3) where it was explained that migrants seek to improve their status in Turkish society by becoming self-employed. This group of people carry far more prestige than employed workers and constitute a reference group for many migrants. It must be noted, however, that becoming self-employed and running a small shop means different things in different settings. In urban areas, for example, and especially in the major cities in Turkey, being a shop-keeper does not carry the prestige it does in the rural areas. This might go some way to explaining why a majority of the migrants want to return to their home regions rather

than the metropolitan centres.

Finally, this opens up the question of the long term significance of migration for the Turkish economy. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this study to answer this. It is sufficient to note that there seems to be general agreement among social scientists who have inquired into this problem that the effects of international migration is, on the whole, negative for the the sending countries (e.g. Paine, S., 1974; Abadan-Unat, N. et al., 1975; Çarıkçı, E., 1975; etc.) Penninx, Van Renselaar and Van Velzen note, for example:

"International migration causes a number of serious negative consequences for the region of emigration: in predominantly agrarian, underdeveloped regions migration leads to sharper contrasts within the region and between the region of migration and other more developed regions within Turkey. Positive effects of migration are negligible or non-existent." (Penninx, R., Van Renselaar, H. and Van Velzen, L., 1976: 7).

Although the foreign currency coming into Turkey through the migrants' remittances has been vital for the Turkish economy and has actually pushed up the GNP growth rates over one per cent per year between 1970 and 1974 (Çarıkçı, E., 1975: 189), on the whole these remittances have not been channelled into productive uses.

The long term consequences of migration pose an open question. To fully understand what they might be studies are required of the effects of return migration on particular industries, regions of the country and particular institutions such as school or family. Questions

would also have to be asked about how far returning migrants import into Turkey attitudes and values they have acquired in the FRG. These are questions which could be fruitfully examined from an anthropological point of view.

What such a study would comprise is not something which can be discussed here. At a minimum, however, it would have to recognize what has been fundamental to this study: that migration is a social process. It involves two societies and the economic linkages between them are fashioned through social networks. The aim of this study has been to examine the role of social networks in migration. Future anthropological research into return migration could profit from the same approach.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have tried to examine the migration of Turkish workers to the FRG as a social process. Migration itself is, of course, the outcome of a massive imbalance of development and underdevelopment between Turkey and other states on the periphery of Western Europe and Western Europe itself. The roots of this imbalance lie deep in the development of European capitalism. But this study was not a study of underdevelopment as such. What interested me was the process of migration itself and the experience of the migrant workers I studied.

To study them it was essential to grasp the nature of the society from which they came - the sending society - and the nature of the relationships which existed there. The reason for this is that migrant workers do not simply cut themselves off from their own cultural background. To do so is not possible, in fact. In any case most of them intend to return to Turkey and see their migration as a temporary phase in their lives. For these reasons, together with the fact that that social relationships among Turks in Germany reinforce the values of Turkish society, it is not possible to explain the actions of migrants in Germany without grasping that while they are in Germany they nonetheless remain Turks. Their actions in Germany are massively shaped by their migration ideology which is largely orientated towards Turkey.

To examine migration as a social process involves a recognition that migrants make decisions about their actions in consultation with others and in terms of expectations which are themselves entrenched in a particular social framework. This study was limited to a particular period of time and to particular places in Germany. The workers interviewed were drawn largely from manufacturing and mining industries. The period of participant observation took place mostly in the workshops of Ahmet and Kemal, two small entrepreneurs employing spontaneous migrants and functioning on the margins of the German garment industry. For these reasons the study is limited. To have reported on the experience of Turkish migrants in other industries, in other towns, in different work situations was beyond my resources but clearly it is vital in the development of anthropological research into migration that the diversity of migrant experiences should be properly catalogued. My findings must, therefore, be interpreted against an awareness that for migrants in different industries, in different states or towns and at different times, the experience of migration will be essentially different to those described in this study.

Nevertheless there is variation, too, as it has been constantly stressed in this study, among migrants themselves, irrespective of the positions they occupy in Germany. Differences of background, education, age and marital status predict further differences in the way people cope with being in Germany. In the anthropology of migration such differentiation within a migrant labour force must be acknowledged. For such differences influence directly the plans of different groups of workers and the decisions they take

on such vital questions as whether or not to stay in Germany or whether or not to join trade unions, or to learn German or to seek to educate their children in German society.

What this amounts to is that anthropologists working in the field of migration studies must retain a strong comparative sense and be alert to systematic differences among migrant communities of the same ethnic group.

Given these qualifications my main empirical findings can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The international migration of workers is a product of developmental differences between countries. In the case of Turkey, its roots go back to the development of capitalism in Europe and to the simultaneous disintegration process of the Ottoman Empire and its economic colonization by the capitalist West.
- 2) The selectivity of the migration process was very much in evidence in the case of Turkish migrant workers. Migrants have been predominantly male, from the more developed regions of Turkey, young, and, contrary to some elements of the stereotype of them held by some sections of German public opinion, better educated, economically active and married.
- 3) The recruitment of the migrants was highly organized. During the boom years most migrants went to the FRG through the official channels. Only those who were "too old" (over 45), unskilled or with skills which were not in demand, and those who were not in

perfect health preferred the channels of spontaneous recruitment. In their case the extensions of their social networks in the FRG were vital for finding work and accommodation.

4) Most of the Turkish migrants are employed in the manufacturing industries, construction and mining in the FRG. They fill in these industries low-rank, manual occupations that have been left open by Germans. The work they do is strictly regulated, routine, monotonous and tiring. Most of them experience de-skilling.

They developed a strong economic rationality which found its expression in high labour turnover, uniplex relations with the host society and multiplex relations within the Turkish community resulting in the development of a dual value system, one pertaining to their relationships with the Germans and the other with the Turkish community. The social networks of the migrants became the most important institution through which the migrants negotiated the labour market.

5) Their social relationships at work are restricted to other Turks. Turkish values and norms continue to govern the actions of individuals and through intensive interaction these values and norms are in fact re-affirmed and strengthened. Most of the migrants depend for their status and their prestige on these relationships which are instrumental in character and help migrants to cope with their situation in the FRG.

6) They live either in special housing for migrants (heime) or in the private market. Most of the "single" migrants live in the

impersonal, overcrowded workers' hostels in rooms that house, on average, four migrants in bunk beds. In the private market, migrants pay high rents for sub-standard accommodation and realize that they are being pushed towards ghettoization in run-down areas of inner cities in areas of high migrant concentration.

Only those migrants who are in the first category (urban, educated with families, Western orientated) live in decent houses by paying high rents.

The housing of migrants emerges as yet another area which can be manipulated to control the migrant population.

7) Despite the Germans' initial expectations that the use of migrant labour was a temporary phase in the development of their industries (Konjunkturpuffer approach), migrants have now become an integral part of German society and their numbers do not show any signs of diminishing. In fact their average length of stay has been steadily increasing. They are also being joined, especially after the 1973 recruitment ban, by their families and showing signs of turning into permanent immigrants.

The primary relationships among Turks are still with family and hemşehri; these constitute a framework for social life and leisure for them.

8) In spite of their encapsulation within the Turkish community while they are abroad, the experience of migration seems to be causing important social changes in the migrants' lives concerning their family

structure, social status and the role of women. There are changes, too, in the types and quality of accommodation migrants seek on their return home and in their consumer orientation.

Most of the migrants' savings are being channelled into real estate and small businesses, like that of a retail shop or taxi service, usually in the towns and cities of the migrants' home province.

Research on the returned migrants in Turkey shows that the effects of return migration is not at all beneficial for the country's economy.

Since the period of fieldwork for this study was finished there have been some major changes both in the position of Turkish workers in Germany and in Turkey itself and there have been profound changes in the political life of both societies. What bearing these changes have on the communities of Turkish workers in Germany is something I am not competent to judge, but some of the more obvious changes include the growth of unemployment in the FRG and a severe slowing down of the German economy and, in Turkey, a deepening of economic problems, inflation and political violence which led in 1981 to the third military takeover of political power since the Second World War.

Migrant workers in Germany are not insulated from these problems. Unemployment has brought with it attempts to control

migrant workers even more intensely and Turkish families, particularly those with children of school leaving age, have to face high rates of unemployment. Unemployment in Germany increased from a figure of 2% in May 1974 to a peak of 4.2% in May 1977. By 1979 it had fallen back slightly to 3.4% (Lenhardt, G. and Schober, K., 1980: 938). In comparison with some other European states, these figures indicate that Germany was not too badly hit by unemployment. However, some groups within German society have been affected more than others for young people especially have had great difficulty in finding jobs. Hanby and Jackson point out that: "The migrant worker and children of migrant workers have been particularly badly hit in recent years... it is reported that currently unemployment among the children of migrant workers in West Germany is twice as high as amongst German-born young people." (1979: 90).¹

Such figures must be set alongside the fact that the absolute numbers of official migrant workers in the FRG has decreased significantly since the early 1970s. There were, for example, 2.3 million foreign workers in 1974 (of whom just over 600,000 were Turks) but this figure dropped to 1.8 million in 1978 and the Turkish figure dropped to 514,000 (Siewert, P., 1980: 1065). However, despite this decrease there has been a change in the composition of the Turkish population with the number of families increasing and consequently the number of children of school age. In 1974 the population of Turkish children under fifteen years of age in the FRG was 216,600, which increased to 375,700 in 1978. One feature of this is that a growing

number of young Turkish school leavers face unemployment, a problem exacerbated in the West German context by the fact that two thirds of them leave school without any certificates (Hanby, V.J., and Jackson, M.P., 1979: 90). In a competitive market those without certificates suffer most.

There have been some profound and serious changes in Turkish society since my fieldwork was completed. The underlying weaknesses of the Turkish economy - inflation, unemployment and regional imbalances in development - have not been overcome. The rise in the price of oil in 1973 hit the Turkish economy particularly badly. Political divisions in Turkey between various groups on the left and the right of the political spectrum erupted into terrible violence during the late 1970s, prompting martial law to be declared in several provinces and ultimately a military takeover of power and the arrest of prominent politicians and large numbers of political activists.

There is some evidence that political divisions in Turkey have appeared too among migrant communities in Europe. I am not in a position to discuss this in any detail. The point which can be made, however, is that Turks in Germany are not in any way immune to what happens in Turkey. I have shown that they keep in touch with developments in Turkey - indeed they have to do so and not just for family reasons. They must calculate, too, when to try to return, how much money to remit to Turkey and how much they should try to save in the FRG.

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It has been an important theme that migrants are literally poised between two worlds. That both worlds are themselves rapidly changing is yet another complexity with which migrants must cope. It is certain, therefore, that fieldwork of the sort I attempted in 1973 would have several different emphases were it to be carried out in 1983. Were I myself to carry out such fieldwork I would be concerned to learn more about the position and experience of the children of migrants. I would seek to discover more about changes in their political values and allegiances. In the case of the spontaneous workers with whom I had much contact, I would be keen to understand how they cope with the awful uncertainties of recession and tighter police controls. Also I would be keen to understand more of the changing social world of migrant women for they were an under-represented group in my study but their experience of migration was in many ways very different to that of the men and the long term consequences of this for the social structure of Turkish society may well be profound.

What I tried to do in this study was to look into the complex processes of international labour migration from an anthropological perspective. I am aware that there are many aspects of the migration process which have not been discussed in this study. However, if the basic approach of the study stimulates further research into these areas it will have achieved its purpose.

1 Hanby, V.J. and Jackson, M.P., (1979), "An Evaluation of Job Creation in Germany," in International Journal of Social Economics, Vol.6, No. 2, pp. 84-117.

APPENDIX 1. Methodology and Fieldwork.

This thesis is based on research carried out in Turkey and West Germany between April 1972 and October 1973 with a break for three months in March 1973 for evaluating the work done so far.

The first two months of the fieldwork period were spent in Turkey to gather data from official sources like the State Planning Organization (D.P.T.), State Statistics Institute (D.I.E.), Turkish Employment Service (T.E.S.), Ministries of Employment and Foreign Affairs, German Liason Office and the universities. I talked with the civil servants who were concerned with Turkish migrants in various ministries in Ankara and discussed the problem with many specialists in the universities and state organizations. I also interviewed the head of the German Liason Office in Istanbul. I was able to gather all the books, bulletins, reports and statistics that were available then on Turkish migrants in Europe thanks to these people.

Because of the obvious methodological limitations like time and resources, I decided to take as my theme one phase of the migration process, the experience of the migrants while they were in the FRG, and study it partly through a participant observation and partly through formal interviews. To share the migrants' experiences of recruitment I decided to go to the FRG as a migrant worker myself. Since I had neither the skills demanded by German industry nor the time to wait in the queue for "unskilled" workers, I decided to go as a spontaneous

worker and was accompanied by my wife. The details of how we got to the FRG are in Chapter 4 of this study. The main feature of our move to Germany was, like thousands of other spontaneous workers, the way we manipulated our social networks to secure help in the FRG.

The second phase of my fieldwork started in June 1972 with our arrival in the FRG. To be able to capture a systematic and holistic view of migration I decided to combine the methods of participant observation and social survey based on a questionnaire. Since I wanted to observe the social relations of the Turkish migrants at their workplace, as well as outside it, I wanted to secure employment in a place where Turks worked. As my status as a "tourist" prevented me applying for a job in one of the large companies where most of the Turks worked I had to get a job "spontaneously" through my contacts, as did all the other spontaneous workers. Within a short time both I and my wife, Oya, found jobs in a small but developing garment workshop which was owned by a Turk and where nine Turks and five workers of other nationalities worked. It seemed an ideal place for an in-depth study of the social relationships of the Turks both at work and outside it.

Working there, in fact, proved invaluable. I was able to observe the development of a marginal business owned by a Turk and the social relations operating in it. Through close contact with a small group of Turks over a period of eight months I was able to develop intimate relationships with them and by sharing in their experience of

migration I was able to feel what it meant to be a migrant as well as study it. Throughout this study I drew on the experiences of my work-mates in this workshop in the form of case histories to illustrate and exemplify certain patterns in the process of migration.

However, to be able to generalize my observations on the whole Turkish migrant population I needed to check the validity of my findings through a survey on a larger and more diversified group of migrants. In an effort to gather a cross section of the different types of migrants, 267 structured interviews were conducted with the workers representing firstly, "single" men (e.g. unmarried or without their families in the FRG); secondly, "single" women and thirdly, families, from mining and manufacturing (car, tyre and electronics) industries where most of the Turkish workers are concentrated in the FRG. (See Chapter 3). The interviews (each taking about two hours) were conducted in the rooms of the single migrants and in the homes of the married migrants. Only the household heads were interviewed in the latter category. Considering the enormous size of the Turkish migrant population in the FRG (over 500,000 in 1972), it was obviously impossible for me to cover a statistically meaningful sample of it, therefore I tried to cover a typical, though not statistically representative, cross-sample of the Turkish population in the FRG.

From the very beginning, it became apparent that there were different categories of Turks in the FRG rather than a homogeneous group of Turkish workers. These included, for example, professional people like doctors, lawyers, architects and government officials; people with an urban and more educated background, and people with

less education and rural backgrounds. In the course of the fieldwork, however, it was necessary to exclude from the study some of these groups such as doctors and other professionals, and students. One important reason for this was that such people neither regarded themselves as migrants nor were they regarded by ordinary workers as migrants. I limited my study, therefore, to different groups of workers and found it convenient to distinguish in the course of fieldwork four principal categories. These were: firstly, workers from urban backgrounds, Western orientated people living with their families; secondly, workers from rural backgrounds with less education, lower skill levels but living with their families and strongly orientated towards home culture; thirdly, single men living in hostels who were generally from rural Turkey, less well educated and traditionally minded with strong economic rationality and a desire to return home, and finally, "single" women living in hostels who were relatively well educated and from urban backgrounds. Further details about these groups are given in Chapter 6. The interviews were restricted to the last three groups while the first category was studied through informal social contacts among them. Most of our friends in the FRG were in this group.

The main reason for leaving this category outside the survey was the difficulty of access, for the members of this group were scattered among the German population. Tracing them and interviewing a sizeable sample would have taken too much of my limited time and resources. Because of this impracticality, I decided to observe a small number of people in this category informally - from the inside, so to speak - by making friends and visiting them in their homes. This proved to be rather easy and fruitful. Both my wife and I were regarded by them as

"one of us" because of our social backgrounds and we spent many evenings and weekends visiting them.

The interviews for the survey were carried out during the last four months of our stay in the FRG, between June and September 1973. Because of ease of access, the interviews were conducted among workers living in hostels in Offenbach, Hanau, Steinheim, Rüsselsheim, Hannover and among migrants living in company houses in Herne. However, it was not always easy to gain access to the workers' hostels, especially to those owned by companies. I was refused access to hostels for women migrants on several occasions by Siemens and A.E.G. in Berlin and Blaupunkt in Hildesheim. It was generally believed that conditions in Siemens' hostels and factories were very poor and most of my other respondents agreed that these were the reasons why I was not given access. Their suspicions were subsequently confirmed in a report by the Minority Rights Group that conditions for migrants employed by Siemens were, indeed, bad (Power, J., 1976).

An additional difficulty in respect of interviewing Turkish women was presented by the traditional Turkish attitude that requires women not to socialize with unrelated men. Although this attitude has changed considerably in the urban areas of Turkey, it still continues to regulate the social relationships of the sexes in rural areas (see Engelbrektsson, U.-B., 1978; Sacks, M., 1976). For this reason my wife, Oya, accompanied me on interviews with women and actually conducted half the interviews herself. She was also invaluable later

in Herne during the interviews with the families. As a couple we had much easier access to workers in their homes than a single man would have had.

There were also difficulties in interviewing men. One was related to their work schedules for most of the factories were working three shifts, thus some of the migrants were absent from the hostels during my visits, others were sleeping and did not like being disturbed from their precious sleep.

However, the main difficulty was the migrants' suspicion of strangers, especially of those who come to the hostels well-dressed with black brief cases and collect information and signatures from the workers. Some of them had had bitter experiences in the past at the hands of swindlers who fitted that stereotype. Therefore, I had to make a special effort to avoid any association with this stereotype. I introduced myself as a student of society, studying in an English university and specializing in migration studies in Europe. Immediately I made it plain that I had no official status and was not interested in their names or signatures. In this way I was able to gain their confidence and interview them.

Another difficulty arose from the nature of the hostels. It was difficult to have privacy during the interviews. Although I tried to interview the migrants alone, this was not always possible. Sometimes a neighbour or a friend would drop in in the middle of the

interview and insist that we continued with our interview and not mind him at all! However, the respondents did mind, however unconsciously, and whenever a third person was present they tended to give "ideal" answers and said what they were expected to say according to the norms of the community rather than give their frank answers. Therefore, a special effort was needed to conduct the interview in private.

The full questionnaire (in English translation) which was used in this study is set out in Appendix 2. It was formulated before the fieldwork and the issues which were addressed by the questionnaire were determined largely by my understanding at that point of the literature on migrants in Germany. I did arrange, however, for a small pilot survey involving twelve respondents to see whether the questionnaire worked in the field, and modified it accordingly. The questionnaire was not a pre-coded one. The questions were put to the respondents and their comments were noted as fully as possible on the form. I had considered using a taperecorder as part of my interviewing programme, but decided on reflection that my respondents might be too suspicious of the machine and would therefore be unwilling to be frank with me.

My decision to carry out the survey towards the end of my fieldwork period proved to be a positive one. By the time I started the survey I had considerable knowledge of the migrants' attitudes, experience and expectations, and I came to appreciate far more than

I had been able to understand before going to Germany what kinds of problems migrants actually faced. It was this experience which allowed me to code the questionnaire results on my return to Britain. One of the problems of using questionnaires is that the categories of the researcher can be imposed on the responses of those being interviewed. What I sought to do, however, was, as far as possible, draw on the typical patterns of responses of the migrants themselves in formulating the coding categories needed in order to process on the computer the results of the survey. The background knowledge I myself had acquired helped very much in the process of administering the questionnaire and of being able to interpret the results.

The first task on my return from Germany was to code the questionnaire and process the results on the computer. To do this I used the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) standard cross tabulation programmes. In the course of writing it became necessary to check and re-check the data and to run further cross tabulations on the data.

One of the major limitations of data drawn up on the basis of questionnaire research is that the subjective interpersonal world of the respondents cannot be captured in the categories of a questionnaire. It is for this reason that the techniques of research of social anthropology and particularly that of participant observation is so important. But the advantages of using a questionnaire seemed to me to outweigh the disadvantages, particularly in urban settings

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when the researcher is dealing with large heterogeneous groups of people. In these contexts when there is a need to gather a lot of basic information, the questionnaire is a very useful instrument of research.

Since conducting a statistically meaningful sample survey was out of the question, I decided to cover a cross section of the Turkish migrants which would be illustrative of the general population. In 1971, 41% of the Turkish migrants in the FRG were in the iron and metal industries. (See Chapter 3.2). In the survey they were represented by 125 Opel workers (46.8% of the sample). The next largest group of Turks were working in other manufacturing industries (25%). They were represented in the survey by 59 Dunlop, 37 A.E.G. and 9 other factory workers (39.4% of the sample). 7% of the Turks were in the mining industry. In the survey they were over-represented by 37 miners (13.9%). While the rest of the Turks in industry or services constituted 34% of the total, they were represented in the survey by only 9 workers (3.4%). The main reasons for these under- or over-representations were the difficulty or ease of access to the workers. For example, another group that is under-represented in the survey is the women workers. We were only able to interview 37 women workers in Hannover with the help of the Turkish Consul who knew the manageress of a heim where the Turkish workers lived. Before Hannover we had been to Berlin, where there is a large population of Turkish women working in the electronics industries. However, despite our continuous efforts over four days, both at the

hostel, company and Consulate level, we were not able to secure access to the hostels. Therefore, I had to be content with an under-represented sample of women in the survey.

Finally, some observations concerning the process of writing is in order. The writing of a study based on fieldwork has its own specific problems that arise from the necessity of bringing different sorts of data, like participant observation, survey results, other studies and statistics, etc. together and relating them to their historical context.

Writing is obviously structured by theoretical themes. Depending on the theoretical standpoint of the writer, the same subject can be researched and written about several times over. The most important themes for this study have been the theme of migration as a dynamic social process and the outcome of a particular kind of relationship between two societies which are socially and economically different. Since the analytical units of the process were taken to be the migrating units, the migrants, as decisionmaking individuals negotiating the two systems of sending and receiving societies, necessarily my focus was directed on institutions like social networks and migrant categories rather than, for instance, social classes. This does not mean, however, that the class structure in Turkey or the FRG or the migrants' position within them (and they occupied different class positions and social statuses in each country) was not important for the migration process

or the migrants involved in it. What it does mean is that looking at the process from the migrants' own point of view, their main preoccupation was how best to manipulate the system. They had found the answer to this question in their social networks and the Turkish community. In fact, the community of fellow Turks was more important to migrants than any notion of an abstract, wider community of class. It was my firm impression that migrants did not identify their interests with those of either the organized working class of the FRG or of Turkey. Indeed class consciousness among Turkish workers in Turkey itself did not really surface until the late 1970s. They were suspicious of German trade unions (see Chapter 3) and their own ambitions were, in fact, to become socially mobile in Turkish terms. In many respects their attitudes were distinctly bourgeois, although this was more true of the urban, educated Turks.

For these reasons, themes which might be highlighted from different theoretical perspectives, e.g. Marxist approaches, were not central to my work. What I hope to have achieved, however, is a description of the lives of migrants in Germany which anthropologists using different theoretical frameworks can utilize to examine whether their categories of analysis are capable of re-interpreting my results.

Writing is also limited by the data collected. This is a theme which is, of course, connected to the first point above in that the collection of data depends in the first place on the theoretical orientation of the study. For example, the data collected by Castles

and Kosack (1973) or Berger and Mohr (1975) is quite different to that collected for this study. As traditional anthropology lacks a political economy, so the political economy lacks anthropology.

The limiting effects of data collection on writing also arise from omissions, for theoretical or practical reasons, in the body of data collected. To be able to keep the subject under study down to a manageable size, for instance, I had to omit from my study certain aspects of migration, like the position of the children of migrants, the reaction of German society to the presence of migrants, the process of return migration, the social and political divisions among migrants, etc. These issues need to be thoroughly researched in their own right. What is needed are several investigations in different settings in Germany and at different periods of time and each using methods appropriate to the problem. It is beyond the scope of one study to embrace all aspects of the lives of migrants.

Independent of the theoretical stand of the writer or the condition of his data, the act of writing is in itself a creative process. Themes come together through writing. Writing is a form of discovery in its own right. One discovers what one would have liked to have done but did not actually do.

APPENDIX 2. Translation of the Questionnaire

Questionnaire Used in the Survey of Turks Working in the FRG

Interviewee: Male () Questionnaire No:.....
Female ()

1. a) Place of birth: Province.....
District..... Village.....
b) Age.....

2.A. Place of Residence Prior to Migration:
a) In place of birth.....()
b) In another place: Province.....
District..... Village.....
c) No. of years.....

B.a) Occupation Prior to Migration:.....
b) Wage.....

3. a) How long have you been out of the country?.....
b) Has all this time been spent in Germany? Yes.....()
No.....()

1. <u>Countries in which you have stayed</u>	2. <u>Length, of Time</u>	3. <u>Reasons for Change</u>
.....
.....
.....

4. What work are you doing here?.....

5. What was the main reason for seeking work outside your country?

- a) Economic.....()
- b) Other.....().....
.....

6. Channels Through Which You Left the Country:

- a) Through TES.()
- b) As a worker's dependent.()
- c) Through a personal job offer.()
- d) As a tourist.....()
- e) Through private agencies.()

7. In Whose Company You Left the Country:

- a) With other workers.....()
- b) Alone.....()
- c) With relatives.....()
- d) With fellow townsmen.()

8. How long You Wish to Stay in Germany:.....

9. If possible, would you like to take out German citizenship?

- a) Yes.....()
- b) No.....()
 why?.....
.....
.....

10. Do you have relatives in Germany? Yes.()

No.....()

1) Close Relationship 2) Their Age 3) Date of Arrival 4) Place of Work

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

5) Place of Residence 6) How Often you See Them

- 1. a) Always together..... () No:
- 2. b) From time to time.... () No:
- 3. c) On holidays..... () No:
- 4. d) Never..... () No:
- 5. Reason:
- 6.

11.A. Do you have relatives in other European countries? Yes.....()

No.....()

a) Close Relationship b) Their Age c) Date of Arrival d) Work They Do

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

e) Country of Residence f) How often You See Them

- 1. a) Official holidays.....()
- 2. b) Annual holidays.....()
- 3. c) Never.....()

11.8. Do you want to work together in the same country in the near future?

a) Yes..... ()

b) Yes, but legally impossible... ()

c) No..... ()

12. Are you married? Yes..... ()

No..... ()

13. a) Date of marriage.....

b) Is your spouse Turkish? Yes...()

No....()

c) No. of children.....

14. Do you have family with you? Yes.....()

No.....()

Do you wish to bring your family here? Yes.....()

No.....()

If yes, when?

Who will you bring? a) Only spouse..... ()

b) Only children..... ()

c) Spouse and....children... ()

If no, reasons: a) Economic difficulties here..... ()

b) Impossible to find accommodation... ()

c) For moral reasons..... ()

d) Other..... ()

.....

15. a) Father's place of birth:

i) Same place as mine..... ()

ii) Province..... District..... Village

b) Is he alive? Yes.....()
No.....()

c) Where does he live? i) In his place of birth.....()

ii)

d) What is his job? i) Farmer.....()

ii) Retired.....()

iii)

16. Family Structure:

A. In Turkey, pre-migration:

1. Who was the head of the family? a) My father..... ()

b) Me..... ()

c) Other..... ()

2. Members of the household:

father.....() single..... siblings.....()

mother.....() married..... siblings.....()

me.....() their children.....()

my spouse.....()

our children.....()

others.....()

3. Working members:

my father.....() my mother..... ()

me.....() my spouse..... ()

my siblings.....() children..... ()

other.....

4. When did you leave your father's household for the first time?.....

Reason: i) marriage.....()

ii) to work in another town..... ()

iii) to go to Germany.....()

iv) other.....()

16.B. In FRG:

a) Are you living alone?.....()

b) Or with your family?.....()

1. Who is the household head?

a) my father.....()

b) me.....()

c) other.....()

2. Members of the household in FRG:

me.....() father.....()

spouse.....() mother.....()

children..() sibling.....()

other.....

3. Working members:

me.....() father.....()

spouse.....() mother.....()

children..() sibling.....()

other.....

C. Family Structure on Returning to Turkey:

1. Who will be the head of the household?

a) me.....()

b) father..()

c) other.....

2. Members of the household:

- a) me and my spouse.....()
- b) unmarried children.....()
- c) married sons and daughters.....()
- d) my parents.....()
- e) others.....

3. Working members:

- a) me..... ()
- b) spouse..... ()
- c) sons and daughters..... ()
- d) others.....

17.A. In FRG, do you have any foreign friends outside work?

- a) Yes.....()
- b) No.....()

B. How often do you see each other?

- a) often...()
- b) seldom..()

18.A. Apart from Turkish, do you know any other language?

- a) Yes.....() German.....() other.....
- b) No.....()

B. How good is your German?

- a) enough for shopping purposes.....()
- b) enough to cope with official business.....()
- c) enough to talk with Germans.....()
- d) to read and write perfectly.....()

19. If you don't speak it, do you want to learn (or improve) your German? a) Yes.....()

b) No.....()

If no, reason: a) I won't stay long.....()

b) I don't need it.....()

c) other.....

20. Educational Attainment:

a) Nil.....() d) Middle school (8 years).....()

b) 3 years village school...() e) High school (11 years).....()

c) Primary school (5 years).() f) Higher education.....()

21. Have you had any education/training in FRG?

Yes.....()

No.....()

A. a) Short training, course (less than 3 months).....()

b) Longer training, course (over 3 months).....()

c) Language course()

d) Longer education (e.g. secondary school, university).....()

B. Did you pay for this? Yes.....()

No.....()

22.A. Where do you have your meals?

a) Breakfast:

1. I don't have it....() 3. At the factory.....()

2. At home.....() 4. Outside.....()

b) Lunch:

1. I don't have it....() 3. At the factory.....()

2. At home.....() 4. Outside.....()

c) Dinner:

1. I don't have it....() 3. At the factory.....()
 2. At home.....() 4. Outside.....()

B. What do you eat?

a) For breakfast:

1. Turkish food.....()
 2. Other.....()

b) For lunch:

1. Turkish food.....()
 2. Other.....()

c) For dinner:

1. Turkish food.....()
 2. Other.....()

C. What do you drink?

1. Non-alcoholic drinks.....()
 2. Beer.....()
 3. Spirits, wine, etc.....()

D. How much is your monthly food bill?.....

23. Present Accommodation:

a) Type:

1. Room in a hostel.....()
 2. Room in a house.....()
 3. Flat or house.....()
 4. Other.....
 5. Number of rooms.....
 6. How many persons per room?.....
 7. Bath: a) private.....() b) shared with..... others....()
 8. WC: a) private.....() b) shared with..... others....()

b) Furnishings:

Radio.....()	washing machine.....()
cassette.....()	'frig.....()
record player()	Hoover.....()
TV.....()	Turkish carpet.....()

24. What sort of accommodation did you have in Turkey?

- a) 1. Own house.....()
 2. Parental home.....(,)
 3. Rented accommodation.....()

b) Type of accommodation:

1. Village house.....()	5. WC: inside.....()
2. Shantytown house....()	outside.....()
3. Flat.....()	6. With bath.....()
4. House.....()	without bath.....()

c) Furnishings:

Radio.....()	washing machine.....()
cassette.....()	'frig.....()
record player.()	Hoover.....()
TV.....()	carpet.....()

25. Accommodation you will live in on your return to Turkey:

- A. a) As previously.....()
 b) In a new house.....()
- B. a) 1. Own accommodation.....()
 2. In home of parents or relations.()
 3. In rented accommodation.....()

b) Type of house:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Village house.....() | 5. WC: inside.....() |
| 2. Shantytown house....() | outside.....() |
| 3. Flat.....() | 6. With a bath.....() |
| 4. House.....() | without a bath....() |

c. Furnishings:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| radio.....() | washing machine.....() |
| cassette.....() | 'frig.....() |
| record player.....() | Hoover.....() |
| TV.....() | carpet.....() |

26. Number of Job Changes in FRG and Reasons:

<u>a) Work Place</u>	<u>b) Type of Work</u>	<u>c) How did you find it?</u>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
<u>d) Time Spent There</u>	<u>e) Reason for Change</u>	<u>f) Distance from Previous Job</u>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

27. Number of Accommodation Changes and Reasons:

<u>a) Location of House</u>	<u>b) Type of House</u>	<u>c) How you Found it</u>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
<u>d) Time Spent There</u>	<u>e) Reasons for Change</u>	<u>f) Distance from Previous House</u>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

28. Do you find life here expensive?

Yes.....()

No.....()

29.A. What are your present monthly earnings?.....

B. How much do you save per month?.....

C. How do you intend to use your savings?

a) Buy a house in Turkey.....()

b) Buy some land in Turkey.()

c) Take a car back to Turkey.....()

d) Establish a business in Turkey.....()

Kind of business:.....

.....

D. How much do you intend to save before you return to Turkey?

.....

30.A. If you had enough money and/or legal permission, where would you want to establish a business?

a) In FRG.....()

b) In Turkey.....()

c) Where exactly?.....

d) Reasons:.....

.....

B. If you cannot save enough in a short while, do you intend to stay here for a longer period, e.g. until retirement?

a) Yes.....()

b) No.....()

c) Reason:.....

.....

C. Was this your intention when you first left Turkey?

a) Yes.....()

b) No.....()

c) If no, when and why did you change your mind?.....

.....

31. In your spare time what do you do?

a) Visit friends and relatives.....()

b) Go to the cinema.....()

c) Walk around the city.....()

d) Other.....

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32. Do you read the papers regularly? Yes.....()
No.....()

Which papers? a) Tercüman.....()
b) Hürriyet.....()
c) Milliyet.....()
d) Others.....

33. Do you regularly.....

A. Watch TV? Yes.....()
No.....()

Which programmes? a) News.....()
b) Films.....()
c) Others.....

B. Listen to the radio? Yes.....()
No.....()

Which stations? a) Turkish broadcasts from Cologne....()
b) Voice of Turkey.....()
c) Others.....

C. Listen to cassettes? Yes.....()
No.....()

What kind of music? aa) Turkish folk music.....()
b) Turkish classical music.....()
c) Other.....

34. How do you spend your annual holidays?

a) Working in FRG.....()
b) Going to Turkey.....()

How do you go? 1. By plane.....()
2. By own car.....()
3. By bus.....()
4. By train.....()

35. a) Do you belong to a Trade Union here in FRG? Yes.....()
No.....()

b) When you were in Turkey did you belong to one? Yes.....()
No.....()

36. Which Turkish associations are there in your area?

a) I don't know.....()

b)

c) Are you a member of one? Yes.....()
No.....()

If no, why not?.....
.....

37. a) Do you know the aims of the Turkish associations in your area?

Yes.....()

No.....()

b) Do you approve of these aims? Yes.....()
No.....()

Reason:.....

c) Do they function according to these aims? Yes.....()
No.....()

38. When you first came to FRG, what difficulties did you encounter?

a) None.....()

b) Language difficulties..()

c) Others.....
.....

39. What sort of complaints do you have now?

a) None.....()

b) Language difficulties.....()

c) Others.....
.....

40. a) What do you think of Germans?.....

.....
.....
.....

b) What do you think of their behaviour towards Turks?.....

.....
.....
.....

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