

TURKISH WORKERS IN WEST GERMANY : A CASE STUDY *

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The history books of the west have been constantly reporting during the last 400 years about the threats, wars, gains, failures of the Ottoman empire, the stereotyp about the «terrible Turks» having doubtless influenced the thinking of the uninvolved man in the street. All these value judgements were partly justified due to the fact, that the Ottoman empire followed a policy of territorial hegemony and was trying to foster its power structure by way of conquest and annexation. After the decline of this world empire and the rebirth of the Turkish nation in form of the Turkish Republic, a new type of Turkish invasion took place. This invasion is no more attached to any military strings, it is a purely individual choice, motivated by economic and social pressures. Thus this peaceful invasion is no more considered within the context of diplomatic history or international relations, but within the framework of labour force on the move. Today we are talking about Turkey's migration quota. This new phenomena shapes the problem under a quite different light. It means the emergence of a basically different cultural group within a highly industrialized western country, its adaptation to new techniques and ways of life, their legal status and protection as a temporary settled ethnic group, their chances of accumulating knowledge and their aspirations in regard of the future. The fact that Turkey's ambitious new generations are now seeking on an individual and economic basis, new chances in life, creates a quite different situation. Migration so far in Turkish society has never been a popular solution for the fulfillment of unsatisfied expectations. But with the

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relative ease to cross the national frontiers, the fast economic upheaval of Western Europe, migration, whether short-term or not, became also in Turkey one of the most attractive short-cut solution to solve pressing conditions, such as unemployment, frustration, lack of promotion, excessive social pressure in regard of the use of individual liberties. Thus with the promulgation of the new constitution of 1961, which guarantees the freedom of travelling to every Turkish citizen, the sporadic attempts of a small group of daring young workers, suddenly turned into a large-scale exodus toward Europe. Today the stretch has even reached a continent as far as Australia.

The present day migration movement is largely due to the demographic explosion. Since a decade the population of Turkey increases at a rate of 3 %, in absolute figure (1) 800.000 a year. In 1965 the Turkish population exceeded 30 million and its active population (age 15 - 64) of 13.240.000 is divided up to 77 % in rural and only 10.4 % in industrial sector. According some statistics of the trade unions, the number of disguised unemployment reaches at the peak of the dead season 5 million. The official figure of unemployment is 1,5 million.

Thus the first Five Year Plan envisaged four major measure to overcome this demographic pressure :

- 1 — Introduction of family planning methods,
- 2 — Creation of new jobs in industry,
- 3 — Encouragement of short-term migration,
- 4 — Special efforts to employ more workers in certain sectors (2).

The proportional change of Turkish migrants among the total of labour force during the last 10 years is indeed spectacular. In 1961 there were a total of 2.700 Turks officially registered as workers in Federal Germany, seven years later this figure was 152.887 in Sept. 1968, after having reached in 1966 a peak of

(1) The population increase in Turkey (in millions) has been as follows :

1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
27.7	28.5	29.3	30.1	31.0	31.3

Development Plan, First Five Year (1963 - 1967), 1965 Annual Programme, Ankara 1964, State Planning Organization, P. 21.

(2) *Development Plan, First Five Year, Table : 11, P. 23; Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 568, P. 363.*

161.000 workers. Thus roughly speaking the Turkish labour colony increased 48 times its preliminary size.

Table : 1 Major Foreign workers in W. Germany (1960-68)³

	Italian	Greek	Spanish	Turk
1960	121.000	13.000	9.000	
1961	218.000	44.000	51.000	2.700
1962	276.761	80.719	94.049	18.558
1963	286.968	116.855	119.559	32.962
1964	296.104	154.832	151.073	85.172
1965	372.297	187.160	182.754	132.777
1966	391.291	194.615	178.154	160.950
1967	266.801	140.306	118.028	136.309
1968	287.440	136.336	111.982	139.336

In 1968 the following five European countries officially recorded the presence of 162.846 Turkish workers. This was exceeded with 200.000 prior to the economic regression in Federal Germany. The distribution is as follows :

Switzerland	720
Austria	5.595
Belgium	7.266
Holland	10.283
Federal Germany	139.000 (4)

The major reasons for this very rapid and large scale exodus can be analyzed under three headings :

(3) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, Erfahrungsbericht bis Ende Juni 1968, Hrgb. Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung u. Arbeitslosenversicherung, Nürnberg 1968, P. 13.

(4) It is worthwhile to compare these figures with the overall characteristic traits of migratory movements in Europe. According to the 1966 experts OECD report the total number of migrant workers employed in Europe at the end of 1965 divided up as follows :

1. Turks, Greeks, Italians, Spanish and Portuguese	4.200.000
2. Migrant workers of other nationalities living in France, West Germany and Switzerland	700.000
3. Migrant workers of Scandinavian origin employed within the Common Market of Scandinavian countries	200.000
4. Migrant workers belonging to Ireland and other countries of the Commonwealth, living in the United Kingdom ...	1.200.000
5. Migrant workers belonging to Algeria, Africa, Antilles and Comores islands living in France	700.000
	7.000.000

Rapport préliminaire sur les problèmes de migration, OECD, 5/9/1966.

a) **Economic factors :**

- a) Large scale unemployment and instability on the labour market,
- b) The incapacity of the demands on the domestic market and the uneven structure of consumption,
- c) The lack of capital and the scarcity of savings,
- d) The ambition of benefiting from foreign techniques and capital,
- e) Weak productivity,
- f) Low national income level.

b) **Social factors :**

- a) Larger job opportunities within the countries of the Common Market,
- b) Higher standard of living,
- c) More modern working conditions.

c) **Personal factors :**

- a) The desire of getting acquainted with the world beyond the national border,
- b) The demand for learning a foreign language,
- c) The ambition of acquiring new skills and knowledge in an industrial society,
- d) The desire of changing profession (5).

But not only are we witnessing a steady increase in the exodus of Turkish workers toward West European countries, the number of applicants who are placed on a waiting list at home also have reached astronomic proportions. Already in 1966, 625.295 men and

(5) ABADAN, Nermin. *Bati Almanya'daki Türk işçileri ve sorunları*, DPT *Economic Growth - Essays presented to Maurice Dobb*, Ed. by Feinstein, Cambridge University Press, 1967, S. 267.

yayını Ankara 1964, Başbakanlık matbaası, P. 26 + 47; this survey represents the findings of a comprehensive survey carried out on behalf of the Turkish State Planning Organizing to find out about the problems of Turkish workers in West Germany. The survey was based on a sample of 500 workers. A team of six interviewers carried out the field work in Germany within 58 cities and 83 firms.

12.238 women, thus a total of 636.532 unemployed were waiting anxiously any confirmation of their demands. Among these applicants 495.539 were completely unexperienced, unskilled workers. Since than this figures have been constantly raising. This development is mostly due to a high population growth, a rapid drive from the villages toward the cities and the inability of Turkey's development plans to furnish sufficient new vacancies within the newly created industrial sectors.

Another interesting aspect of the increase of Turkish workers can be traced down in regard of sex distribution. Although Turkey represents the only community which embraces a religion, namely Islam, professing the rightness of discrimination among sexes, the quota of Turkish female workers has constantly increased in absolute figures as well as percent. Here again the quota rose from 13.4 % (1965) to 19.4 % (1967) (6). However the ranking gives a different picture. In 1967 the Greek women workers represented with 58.300 the strongest female group, followed very closely by the Italians with 57.900, the Spanish 42.400, the Yugoslavs 32.000 and the Turkish women with 25.500 in 1968 34.264 (7). Thus the non-permissive character of the Islamic way of life, becomes evident, since during the regression period of German economy in spring 1967, most of the continued demands for the labor market were directed toward female manual workers from Turkey. The demands for women workers especially in regard of the rather complicated, high skill and light finger touch requiring performances of electronic industry are significant.

Since the German employers are qualifying Turkish workers generally as highly obedient, disciplined, fitted with a remarkable quality of adjustment, the Turkish workers community in Germany is still in the process of growth, where as in regard of duration of employment, especially in regard with the Italians a certain saturation can be noticed, or rather it can be stated, that the short-term migration of the Italians has changed into a certain form of quasi-permanent residence and employment. Nevertheless the priority for employment acknowledged through the membership of Italy in the Common Market, continues to increase the size of the Italian workers community.

(6) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, op. cit., P. 13 .

(7) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, op. cit., P. 10.

Distribution of Turkish workers according industrial sectors

After having shortly looked over the sudden and rapid rise of Turkish workers in Western Germany, some information about their distribution within various industrial sectors seems appropriate. Accordingly the iron, steel industry takes the lead with almosy 50 % of the Turkish workers (Metallurgical industry : 48.469), the second place is followed by the manufacturing industry (32.823), thirdly building and construction comes (22.660) and fourthly mining (10.517). Interesting enough the service sector is not very much attractive for Turkish workers.

The weight within each of these four sectors can be pointed out as follows :

- 1 — Within the iron and metallurgical industry the automobile industry, electronics, machine construction, iron and steel machinery has attracted most of the Turks.
- 2 — In the realm of the manufacturing industry the preference goes for textile, carpentering, ready made clotking and food industry (8).

Thus it can be stated that every 2 Turks out of 5 employed in Germany works probably in front of an automobile assembly line, the third is likely to be employed in textile or chocolate factory, the fourth helping to construct over or under the ground and the fifth to work in a mine. The cities with the most dense Turkish workers population are Köln and Munich. The breakdown in the major industrial sectors according nationalities is as follows :

Social mobility

In regard of social mobility a rather peculiar phenomena can be traced down among the sample interviewed in 1963

(8) The breakdown in the major industrial sectors according nationalities is as follows :

	<i>Iron and metallurgical industry</i>	<i>Manufacturing</i>	<i>Sonstruction</i>
Italian	26.3 %	29 %	41.3 %
Greeks	19.4	18.6	—
Turks	16.6	13.4	18.3
Spanish	12.9	13.8	—
Yugoslavs	—	—	14.5

all over Federal Germany. As far as intergenerational social mobility goes, there has been a noticeable tendency between fathers and sons to move from unqualified to qualified manual work or from manual to non-manual work already before migrating abroad. For inst. 39 % of the fathers of the respondents were peasants, but only % 9 of their sons continued this occupation before they went abroad (9). Thus a strong tendency toward fast urbanization and industrialisation within Turkey seems to be a distinctive feature of the Turkish migrants.

However once these respondents were able to go abroad, this rapid upward mobility - under certain conditions such as in the case of teachers of technical crafts - gave place to a downward mobility. With other words the attractiveness of life in a modern environment sometimes induced workers to descend the ladder of mobility. Thus 21 % of the respondents, who formerly were engaged as salemen, clerk or had acquired special skills such electricians, etc. moved over to the pure labour category. They gave up their white job for better paid, but more standardized jobs.

Another interesting feature of Turkish migration is the regional belongingness of the applicants. The 1963 survey has proven that migration toward foreign countries has actually been the second phase of an internal migration. To illustrate the point: although 40,5 % indicated İstanbul as their last domicile, only 17 % were born there. This trend does not change remarkably, in 1966 again İstanbul and Thrace turned out 41 %, Center Anatolia only 18 % of all Turkish workers going to Germany (10). Never-

(9) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 70, Table: 48.

(10) For more details see TÛMERTEKİN, Erol, *Internal migrations in Turkey*, İstanbul University Publication No. 1371, Geographical Institute No. 54, İstanbul 1968, TÛMERTEKİN confirms this trend accordingly which in no Black Sea region province, with the exception of Zonguldak and Samsun, the migration percentage has gone higher than the average 11 %. Most of Turkey's in-migration provinces are located West of the line which can be drawn between Samsun and Hatay. (P. 109) Turkey's population flows more specifically to İstanbul, Ankara, Zonguldak, Samsun and in the South Adana, Mersin and Hatay.

Thus apart from Ankara one can clearly observe the formation of rather regularly spaced centers of population attraction around the «edge» of the country. The number of vilayets (provinces) in Turkey, which cast off population is much more than those who acquire population. (P. 143-154).

theless the share of smaller cities and villages providing fresh labour forces has increased over the years. Since from the beginning on no attempt to orientate or train these workers has been officially undertaken, their adaptation is de facto carried out by their countrymen already settled in Germany as well as the various Turkish workers associations.

In view of this fast growth of short-term migration, which actually might be converted at least partly into a real immigration, what has been and still are the major problems of the Turkish workers?

Motivation of working abroad

An important aspect of short-term migration is connected with the prevailing opinions among the migrants themselves. The first question to be tackled are the expectations toward the new country. Here one can detect an interesting dichotomy: residents from European industrialized countries are expecting more individual freedom, better opportunities to shape their life in oversea countries; however residents from a country, passing through a transitional area of economic development are rather attracted by the high wages and saving opportunities of the host country. Investigations are showing that migrants from Holland have chosen to change their working places for personal reasons, however most of the migrants from Italy, Spain, Turkey were rather attracted by the economic opportunities. Our survey of 1963 confirms these general observations. 46 % of the respondents had a concrete goal in mind (to buy a car, house, equipment, make savings), 23 % adopted a more ambiguous goal such as guarantying the future, finally 29,7 wanted to acquire more knowledge and see the world (11).

There is a clear correlation between those with a concrete goal and their personal satisfaction.

(11) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 212, Table: 222.

Table : 2**Success and failure (12)****Reasons for satisfaction**

Satisfying wages and large savings	49 %
Perfectionment in the profession and the German language	24 %
Acquisition of a car	7 %
Getting to know the world, finding a job	12 %
Without response	8 %
	<hr/>
	100 %

Reasons for deception

Wages lower than expectation	20 %
Impossibility of saving	18 %
New arrivers	17 %
No opportunity for training	11 %
Are employed outside of their profession	9 %
Hoping to reach their goal	8 %
No answer	16 %
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	100 %

It must be pointed out, that lacking opportunities for a well rounded up, satisfactory information about the jobs through the agency of recruitment (Turkish and German joint commission as well as Turkish Labour Recruitment Office), accompanied with a lack of professional skill or education, very often leads already at the start toward serious disillusion. Our survey has proven that the opportunity to investigate the scope and content of a working contract, which obliges the worker not to change his working place during his first year abroad, is not more than 20 minutes for a group of about 10 applicants.

(12) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 213, Table : 224, 225; the social integration of the migrant remains one of the primordial task of all host countries. For more detail about the overall aspect of the problem, see P. GRANDJEAT, *Les migrations de travailleurs en Europe*, Cahiers de L'Institut International d'Etudes Sociales, 1966, Cahier 1. For the Belgian approach consult, *L'integration sociale de l'immigrant en Belgique*, Liège, 12/12/1964, Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation.

Lodging, adjustment toward the job, earnings and savings

The second important phase concerning all migrants workers presents itself after their arrival in the host country. Four major areas are imposing serious challenges :

- 1 — The lodging of the workers,
- 2 — Problems concerning the reunion of families or its breaking up,
- 3 — Earnings and savings of the workers,
- 4 — Psychological attitude by the migrant toward his job, his superior and his environment.

The problem of housing presents serious aspects since every newly arrived contingent has the tendency of establishing close contacts with the same ethnical group, if possible live in the same area and adopt the attitudes of their experienced countrymen. These tendencies of course have reinforcing impact of increasing the feelings of alienation, exploitation and isolation.

In case of the Turkish workers, the great majority is housed in collective lodging or communal living quarters on the condition of not bringing with them their families. This is due to the general labour policy of the Federal Republic, which is anxious not to be confronted with hardpressing demands for family houses, to be shared with the rest of the local population. On the other side collective housings, built for the special purpose of serving as substitute homes, remained after the regression of 1967, partly unoccupied. For inst. from the 96.000 beds made available with the help of federal loans, only 60 % were fully used in 1967 (13).

Concerning the housing conditions in 1963, very great variations were noticed : 65 % evaluated their lodging as comfortable, sunny, clean where as 20 % qualified them as cold, neglected, dark, run down (14).

It must be made clear, that the contract stipulated requirements for the Turkish workers not to bring their family with them, leads openly to support a policy of separation or breaking

(13) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967, P. 19; for further details see PSARAS, *The effects of of the housing problem on the psychology of migrant workers and their adjusment to the social environment of the host country*, Conseil d'Europe, Strassbourg 1963, RS 48 (1963).

(14) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 107, Table : 86.

up families. This seems to present especially for Turks a serious dilemma : on one side the legally imposed prohibition of reuniting family members, on the other side, the lack of enthusiasm on behalf of staunch, traditional oriented peasants, afraid to transplant their culturally completely bewildered spouses. It should not be overlooked, that the bilateral agreement signed between Germany and Greece, has adopted a quite different approach and has not only accepted the conditions of recruiting married couple together, but also accepted to secure both partners a job in the same city. These contradictory conditions are complicating the status of Turkish workers.

Table : 3

Distribution of male workers according their marital status (15)

	Married		Total	Bachelor
	With Wife	Without		
Italians	28	39	67	33
Greeks	51	24	75	25
Spanish	30	36	66	34
Turks	16	62	78	22
All other foreigners	53	13	66	34

This table openly indicates that especially in the case of the

- (15) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967, P. 19; national and international, governmental and voluntary organizations concerned With this problem in both migration and immigration countries agree, that as far as possible, the breaking of family ties should be avoided. Two of the arguments put forward in support of this view deserve particular attention — The first is concerned with the moral, social and economic consequences of prolonged separation from an important member of the family, — The second is the idea, shared to some extent by experts in social psychology, that assimilation of the migrant is facilitated by the presence of his family in the host country.

On the other hand such specialists as Borrie, Taft and Robbins believe that the presence within the family group of individuals of different sexes, ages often causes internal conflicts likely to hamper the immigrant's assimilation. Advisory Committee of Council of Europe, Special Representative for National Refugees and Overpopulation in Europe, *Introduction to a Study of the Psychology of Migrant Workers and their adjustment to the social environment of the host country*, Strassbourg 1963, RS 43 (1963), P. 19, 20.

Turks (total of 84 % living as bachelor) the possibility to reunite the family is legally excluded, thus discriminatory.

During the last official trip of the Turkish Minister of Labour (Ali Naili Erdem), to Germany the minister confirmed the fact, that in spite of repeated interventions on behalf of the Turkish Embassy and Consulates 30 % of the workers have cut off completely their relations with their families (16). On the other side some of the workers who are obliged to live separated from their families have shown signs of deep psychological disturbance leading toward insanity.

Among those Turkish families who were able to live together 71 % were able to find a normal housing, the average rent being 51 - 100 DM; 59 % of these families had their children with them (17).

The allocation for children is principally only paid for families living with their families in the Federal Republic. However bilateral agreements concluded with Greece, Spain, Turkey and Portugal enables those guestworkers, who are separated from their families, to receive this allocation which begins with 25.- DM for the second child and climbs up to 70.- DM for the fifth or more child. In practice various difficulties have emerged in this regard :

- 1 — Turkish civil registers are mostly not indicating the day and month of birth of a child only the year, thus leading to a refusal of German authorities to make the payment.
- 2 — The absolute constitutional guaranty for each person on his earnings, render it impossible to make an arrangement with them employers in order to send the children allocations directly to the remaining part of the family in Turkey. Thus in case of many workers, these children allocations are constituting an unjustified, additional income, while the family itself lacks all kind of support.

The earnings of Turkish workers, though creating mostly at the beginning criticism, are without doubt much higher than at home and give the workers quite a large opportunity for saving. The transfer of these foreign currency has become especially

(16) İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu No. 49, *Avrupa memleketlerinde Türk işçileri ve sorunları*, Ankara 1968, İkinci kitap, P. 95.

(17) *Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967, P. 20.

during the last years one of the major pillars, which helps to close the deficits in Turkey's balance of payment.

During the 1963 survey, the average living costs of a worker were calculated as following (18) :

Average monthly rent	34.—	DM
Average monthly food	157.—	DM
Average monthly expenses	76.—	DM
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	267.—	DM

Having calculated under the distribution and earning conditions of 1963, the average earning represented the sum of 517.— DM, which enabled each worker to put aside the sum if approximately 250.— DM. Accordingly the savings in 1963 represented a total sum of 20 Million \$ (19).

Since that year the contributions to the Turkish economy have been remarkably high and are encouraged by the acceptance of a special rate of change. In addition the savings of the Turkish workers, which have reached a ceiling of 600 Million DM last year, constitutes also for the German economy a serious benefit. This last point has been developed in detail by Prof. Baade, expert of the Turkish economy.

Table : 4

Transfer of guestworkers earnings abroad (in DM Million) (20)

	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Total	1.22	1.561	2.193	2.529	2.177
Italy	568	630	858	962	766
Spain	173	253	347	385	314
Turkey	78	150	280	360	399
Yugoslavia	80	104	130	191	219

(18) The abandonment which a family frequently suffers when its principal breadwinner goes abroad, together with the latter's virtual impunity due largely to legal obstacles to effective prosecution has become since 1963 a special field of investigation so far not settled yet. For further details see : Advisory Committee of Council of Europe, Special Representative for National Refugees and Overpopulation in Europe, *Introduction to a Study on the Maintenance obligations of migrant workers*, Strassbourg 1963, RS. 39, (1903).

(19) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 86.

(20) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967, P. 5.

This table clearly shows that at the peak of employment rate of the Turkish guestworkers, a yearly foreign currency stock of almost 100 million Dollars, which falls hardly short of the long term credit amount granted by the OECD sponsored consortium was secured through Turkish labour force.

At the beginning, the delay in regard of the acceptance of a special exchange rate, caused the sudden eruption of various, dubious commercial forms, all dealing in blackmarket change. After 1964 this business slowed down, mostly due to the favourable official change and the facilities shown by the Sparkasse and the PTT services. However since 1968 the unofficial rate has again began to rise and new measures seems to be necessary to attract these funds home.

The problems concerning adjustment to the working place are easily overcome after a rather short orientation period. Our survey revealed that 69 % did not find any difficulty and adjusting themselves to their job, 40 % were able to master their duty in a time span of one hour to one day. 93 % confirmed they were able to adapt themselves to the working speed. This same survey also indicated that 47 % of the workers estimated physical strength as the most important requirement for a fast adjustment. Since 41 % of the sample did not use a single strument and 25 % any machine, it can be easily stated, that most of the migrant workers are employed at monotonous jobs, requiring one or two different physical movements, jobs requiring no special skill (21). This tendency confirms a general trend, reasserting that within highly industrialized societies the children of the labour class are trained for complex, highly specialized jobs, where all performances heeding no special knowledge or left untouched by automation, are turned to a new class of the so to speak, «voluntary international proletariat».

Turks have no major problems concerning group moral, they are able to collaborate without friction with their colleagues (78 %), they prefer to work with their peer-groups (46 %), their preference goes after their Turkish colleagues to the Germans (63 %). It also should be cited that in 1963, 81 % of the workers evaluated their direct superior (Meister) as just, protective, minded, morally high standing person (22).

(21) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 114, Table : 96.

(22) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 138, Table : 132; for further details see K. W. Herbst, So bemüht man sich um sie, Ausbildungserfolg haengt

From our survey it has been proven, that due to lack of proper communication and correct knowledge of the authority to which complaints and grievances can be adressed a relative high percentage of working accident is happening. The average accident rate in Turkey is about 12 %, where as this rate has reached 24 % among the Turkers workers in Germany. Looking over the various professional groups, the peasant group is ranking by far ahead of all others with 100 % accident rate; with other words, every worker, who came directly from a rural background, passed through an accident (23). This situation should not be surprising since the transition from an openair, rural environment to a highly complex, closed and industrial milieu has doubtless been too fast sometimes. (Especially in the mines).

Next to the high rate of work accidents a second problem presents itself in form of the coverage and application degree of the Turkish - German Social Security agreement, signed on April 30, 1954. Although the agreement provides for a mutual coverage of the workers family members abroad and at home, these provisions are not fully carried out in Turkey. Another source of grievances is the refusal of permitting handicapped workers to prolongue their stay in Germany.

Summing up it can be said, that during the second phase the speed, ease and willingness of adjustment within a totally different environment is surprisingly high. This fact is acknowledged and higly praised by all German official authorities and employers. With other words, the degree of adaptability toward a mechanized, industrialized world, is not correlated with the socio-economic structure of the workers countries. Fitting into an utterly rational operated, precalculated, planned, setting, can be done with relative ease. However feelings of professional déclasserment, lack of tenacity to follow the language courses, difficulty of promotion, creates many time very deep resentments. Thus opportunities for training in service as well as facilities concerning language teaching and social promotions represents the heart of the matter.

The rightness of this point of view has been confirmed by the constant effort of the German government to develop appropriate

von Sprachkenntnissen ab, *Der Arbeitgeber*, Zeitschrift der Bundesvereinigung Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbaende, 20/3/1966, No. 6, P. 149 - 151.

(23) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 148, Table : 146.

new language teaching methods for adults. With help of the Bavarian Broadcasting Co. a film named «Guten Tag» has been produced and multiplied. The Federal Organization of Employment has taken up the expenses of supplying free the teaching material, attached to it. Nevertheless it has to be noted, that due to the average low educational level of Turkish male workers, - the 1963 survey indicated that 52 % of the male workers finished only first grade school - (22) the acquisition of a new technical vocabulary becomes difficult due to a rather narrow frame of reference. However these handicaps can be surmounted at the cost of longterm efforts.

At this point the problem of alimentation and nutrition deserves special mention. It should not be overlooked, that for individuals with limited educational background, habitual nutrition represents a pacifying psychological factor. Unability to meet these attitudes, if paired with religious attachments and or its absence, might lead to very severe physical and mental disturbances.

The deep attachment of Turkish workers to their traditional way of feeding themselves, places food habits at the top of unchanging attitudes. This become evident when obedience toward religious rules like fastening is compared with eating pork.

Table : 5

Fastening during Ramadan (23)

Fastens all through the Ramadan period	23	%
Intends to fasten regularly	6	%
Fastens sometimes	3	%
Fastening is uncompatible with modern life	40	%
Others	28	%
	<hr/>	
	100	%

Here almost half of the respondents realizes the difficulty of combining a deliberate refusal of eating and drinking with the exhaustive fast and tiresome speed of modern industry. However on the subject of nutrition this rather objective evaluation leaves its place to an emotional rationalization.

Table : 6

Attitudes concerning pork eating (24)		
Eating	20	%
Not eating	80	%
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	100	%

Investigating the reasons, the non-national basis of this approach becomes even more evident.

Table : 7

Reasons for not eating pork (25)		
Contradictory to Islam	78	%
Sin	4	%
Disgusting	12	%
Could not get accustomed	5	%
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	99	%

Thus it becomes evident that it is far easier to loosen one's religious habits, such as less praying, more seldom fastening, than to adopt deliberately a different attitude toward food. On the other side innumerable surveys in the field of social psychology have been proving that minority groups are usually nursing their inherent tendencie for more orthodox religious allitudes in order to magnify the importance of their existence and claims.

Regardless of how the problem is evaluated, nutrition remains even today a major source of grievances. The fact that due to refusal of building up segregated cafeterias, etc. only 14 % of the workers were benefitting of the heavily subsidized, cheap, warm lunch served in almost all German enterprises, most of the Turkish workers are cooking for themselves (26). Their diet consists

(24) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 207, Table : 216, 217, 218.

(25) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 208, Table : 218.

(26) A number of medical-anthropological studies in migrant labour environment revealed the fact that most of the causes of gastro-intestinal disfunctions are not due to the lack of pasta sciutta, but mostly to psychosomatic and vegetative genesis. A survey carried out on 64 cases of stomach complaints revealed with help of X-rays that only 9 of these cases were based on organic disorder. For more details see in Hans STIRN, *Auslaendischer Arbeiter im Betrieb*, Ed. Frechen/Köln 1964, NESSWETHER, Wilhelm, *Der auslaendische Arbeiter in arbeitsmedizinischer Sicht*, P. 104.

rather of eggs, noodles, much of bread and cheese. This unbalanced diet - promoted through the lack of knowledge in cooking a variety of dishes - results in a heavy carbo-hydrate, protein poor nutrition, which under circumstances has instigated a relative high percentage of tuberculosis.

These food problems are repeatedly brought up by the workers association at the occasions like official visits of Turkish cabinet members or MP 's. Their persistence over the years is a serious indication of irredicable, deep rooted attitudes, which under certain circumstances, are lowering the morale.

Another problem, which is not yet fully tackled and carried out to a satisfactory solution, is the matter of equipping the workers with further technical knowledge and know-how. The German Federal Employment Organization did carry out a survey in 1966. The sample size was 7.500 out of 975.000, the total figure of all foreign workers at that period in Federal Germany (27).

The results are pointing out that the professional promotion is mostly taking place in form of ascension from unqualified worker to qualified worker. However the survey stipulates that due to poor language knowledge, preference of over time work for saving purposes and limited residence, many guestworkers are not willing to spent their leisure time for additional technical teaching and relativity speaking few migrants have been able to pass examinations required for specialized jobs. In 1966 among the male workers of the four largest national contingents 35 % were employed as unqualified, 49 % as qualified, 15 % as specialized workers. Among the Turkish workers the highest upward mobility is noticeable among unqualified workers. The following table is revealing this fast ascension :

Table : 8

Mobility among Turkish workers (28)

	Unqualified	Qualified	Specialized	Employee
At the time of first employment	69	14	14	—
September 1966	33	48	16	—

(27) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967. This subject has been substantially been studied and recommendation given. See for further details, *L'Assistance sociale aux travailleurs migrants*, Mont Pélerin - 7/10/1963, United Nations, Geneva, 1963.

(28) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967, P. 17.

These figures are showing that a rather high percentage of workers have been able to change their jobs in the direction of certain qualifications. These shifts are depending to a large extent to a reduced amount of fluctuation. At the time of the survey almost 50 % of the Turks were employed less than a year and only 21 % did remain more than two years at the same firm.

In this regard a tentative experiment carried out in Italy with common funds of the Italian government and German firms, seems to offer a more satisfactory solution. This experiment realized in Milan covered the setting up of a training center for selected industrial jobs and enabled a group of Italian workers to increase their knowledge at home before migrating abroad. The major reason of not continuing this project has been the fact, that almost half of the workers have been snatched away by the Italian industry itself.

Nevertheless it seems to be certain that whether trained at home and then send abroad or left to their own initiative, the decision to return to their home country and set up some new enterprises depends largely of the accumulated knowledge. Thus it seems imperative for all host countries to consider in a very detailed way to what extend could technical aid be converted in a multifaced training program for short-term migrant.

As far as the Turkish workers concerns in 1963 their belief in potential promotion was largely connected with technical training or rather the inability of receiving such a training. Indeed 48 % did not believe in the chance of getting any promotion.

Table : 9

Reasons for not getting promotion (29)

Objective reasons

1) Lack of language knowledge	24 %	
2) No possibility for specialization	8 %	
3) Professional schooling requires extended stay	5 %	37 %

Subjective reasons

1) Foreigners are looked down	15 %	
2) Turks are given heavy jobs	18 %	
3) Others	23 %	34 %
No answer		29 %

(29) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 152, Table : 151.

These figures shows that the lacking opportunities for further training represents the largest source of grievance.

Attitudes toward German society

Members of a cultural milieu which is based upon segregation of sexes certainly could not easily adapt themselves to a fast changing, modern society. Thus Turkish workers, while displaying through their remarkable zeal, discipline hard work and intelligence an amazingly fast adjustment to the industrial world have deliberately isolated themselves in the societal context. On the other hand, both the employer and the worker are tending to consider their private life as a sacred, unaccessable private zone. This reinforces the isolated social life of guest workers, proven by the fact that 77 % of them never visited a German family (30). Their value judgements concerning German social life has been resting upon the superficial impressions gained during short stays in beerhalls, restaurants, etc. and is reinforced by magnified stereotypes. The evaluation of German family life was 34 % positive and 30 % negative (31). The most frequently cited criticism concerned the so-called low morality and looseness of women. However the criteria used hereby does not extend many times a simple friendship or innocent comradeship between men and women. Nevertheless a young Anatolian peasant, coming from a traditional oriented village, judges honesty and decency solely according absolute obedience to segregation. These one sided apprehensions very often conducts the workers to commit crimes.

Rate of criminality

Offenses against the law among migrants have been increasing over the years. The proportion of foreigners being charged with an offence was 4.3 % in 1963 in Federal Germany and has raised

(30) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 175, Table : 178.

(31) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 200, Table : 208; the attitudes of moslem Turkish men toward women of Norther European countries becomes more understandable, when compared with similar male cultural reactions of the Meditteranean bassin, such as in the case of Italians. For more detail see, Giacomo MATURI, *Arbeitsplatz: Deutschland, Wie man südlaendische Gastarbeiter verstehen lernt*, Krausskopf-Verag, Mainz, 1964. NIDERER, Arnold, «Unsere Fremdarbeiter-volkskundlich betrachet», *Wirtschaftspolitische Mitteilungen*, Jhrg. XXIII, Mai 1967, No. 5, P. 5.

to 6 % in 1967. Compared with other nationalities the Turkish workers are now occupying the third place.

Table : 10

Rate of criminality according countries (32)

	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Italy	19	16	17	21	19
USA	19	18	17	14	13
Turkey	3	6	9	11	11
Yugoslavia	10	11	11	10	11
Greece	8	9	9	9	9
Spain	4	4	4	4	3

This table indicates that the proportion of law offencing Turks has grown almost 4 times more since 1963. Comparing these figures with other countries we might conclude, that in contrast to Italy, USA and Yugoslavia, which are showing a stable proportion, Turkey has been constantly increasing its rate of criminality.

An analysis carried out by the Faculty of Economics in İstanbul, on the criminal rate of 1960 - 65, gives a clear breakdown according sexes. This breakdown clearly shown that the great majority of all offences are committed solely by men (33).

Offences committed solely by men: Insult, Violence, Agression of domicile, Carrying of weapon, Sexual offences.

Offences committed both by men and women	Women Men	
	Women	Men
Homicide	1	99
Aggression (physical)	10	90
Fraud and smuggling	3	97
Theft	28	72
Breaking of trafic rules	1	99
Unpermitted residence	4	96

(32) İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, No. 49, *Avrupa memleketlerinde Türk işçileri ve sorunları*, 1968, P. 39.

(33) TUNA, Orhan, Raportör : ÖKTEM, Bengü, *Türkiye'den F. Almanya'ya işgücü akımı ve meseleleri*, III. Rapor, F. Almanya'da çalışan Türk işçilerinin işledikleri suçların tahlili, Table IV, P. 37.

As this distribution indicates the most common crime among women is theft and homicide. Speaking in absolute figures the breaking of traffic rules (71 %) represents a total of 2450 cases. Indeed the temptation of acquiring and driving a car not only brings the workers in conflict with the law, but also causes a high proportion of fatal accidents. The shortage of legal advisers as well as the slowness of the administrative mechanism aggravates many times the situation. (Difficulty of transport of funerals, social security arrangements of the dependents).

Another interesting feature concerning the criminal records of workers concerns their regional belongingness. Deeprooted local customs prevail even in alien industrial surroundings, such as the Mediterranean habit of carrying on vendetta. Thus the Black Sea area coast people represent with 38.5 % the highest proportion in regard of homicide and weapon bearing. Age, profession does not seem to be a significant determinant. From the overall distribution pattern it can be stated without contest that male workers are much more predisposed to break the law, their ability to conform in social life to the prevailing social code and behaviour creates serious disturbances. This situation deserves special attention on behalf of all organizations connected with the workers.

Role of trade unions, workers association :

The major motive for employers to introduce foreign workers in any enterprise is to overcome a quantitative shortage of labor force without which the objectives of the production cannot be met.

The same problem does not look as simple for the trade unions. The problem here is a twofolded one the arrival of foreign workers enables the local workers to quit jobs requiring no qualification at all or which represents by their nature unattractive, repulsing aspects. This reshuffling of jobs creates in midst of an industrial labour class, a so-called labour aristocracy. In other words, the native worker gets relieved to large extent of being employed in all unagreeable, low-prestige, dirty and unpleasant duties.

Nevertheless the bureaucracy of trade unions has to cope with certain deeprooted rooted convictions and assumptions. To begin with, the defence of the national labour force is strongly

tied up with the notion of political economy, according which the labour market has to share the existing openings with the new comers. Secondly, the assumption that the rigidity of wages inevitably leads to a reduction of salaries also creates considerable worries inmidst of the trade union milieu. Finally recently some trade unions have developped the theory that «an army of industrial reserves» creates a surplus load upon the labor market, which by its sheer existence diminishes the contractual forces of the engaged labour force.

In order to eliminate all these possibilities national and alien workers are granted without difference all legal guaranties as well as wage levels achieved through collective bargaining. Although the national trade unions are not deploying any special effort for the protection of the newly arrived contingent of workers, nor do they attempt to integrate them in the trade union movement, their constant effort to equalize the wage level, deprives de facto the employers of exploiting volunteering cheap labour. This situation indirectly contributes to the rapid economic upheaval of the short-term migrant.

The relationship of the Turkish workers with the DGB fits in this general framework. To begin with, due to the social background of the Turkish workers, only a very small group had any knowledge or experience with trade unions. In 1963 only 15 % had joined any trade unions. The big bulk explained their refusal with lack of information (22 %), no necessity (23 %), lack of language (30 %), lack of opportunity (21 %) (34). Among the German trade unions, the Metallurgical Trade union has the largest amount of registered Turkish members and is publishing a

(34) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 161, Table 165. Toker DERELİ in his extensive study en Turkish trade unionism attracts our attention to an important point. He maintains that Turkish society is basically authoritarian oriented, the average Turk identifying himself with his goverment and the armed forees. Thus the attitude of many Turks toward «conflict» is bad and undesirable per se and it necessarily leads to ogressive behavior which the parties must try to avoid at all times. DERELİ also points to the fact that the philosephy of management and of industrial relations are anthipathetic to the present activities of trade unions. For more details see, Toker DERELİ, *The Development of Turkish Trade Unionism, A Study of Legislative and Socio - Political Dimensions*, İstanbul Universitesi yayını, No. 1348, 1968, P. 49, 51, 53; also see Robert W. KERWIN, «Türkiye'de işletme İdarecilerinin bugünkü durumu», *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları*, Vol. 9, 10, 11, P. 56.

monthly Turkish leaflet. To facilitate Turkish workers to join the trade unions and to participate in the election of the «enterprise council» (Betriebsrat), to provoke a stronger interest and activity on behalf of Türk - İş, the Turkish Federation of Trade Unions, seems to be the right approach. In order to realize this approach a much more active policy has to be followed. According the 1963 survey, 34 % of the Turkish workers denied all value of their working contract, 25 % ignored all source enabling them to safeguard their professional interests (35).

Aside of trade unions, two different bodies are closely cooperating with the Turkish workers. The first body **Türk - Danış**, is supported by the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, which again is subsidized by the German government with the function of extending all kind of personal assistance in form of guidance, consultation and advice as well as organizing various kinds of leisure time activity. The second body is the Federation of Turkish Workers Association created in almost every major German cit. These later one are solely supported by membership dues. There exists a certain rivalry between these two bodies, which from time to time has taken the form of political controversy. A more harmonious collaboration among these organizations, together with clear-cut division of functions seems to be the answer to channelize human effort and material goods into constructive purposes.

Religious assistance

The role of religious communities dealing with migrants has grown substantially since several governments have decided to support comprehensive programs of social assistance and guided leisure time activities through the mean of church organization such as Carita, etc. Indeed the activity of religious bodies effects the foreign worker at different stages of his adjustment. At the very beginning representatives of respective churches are helping the new comer to overcome the feelings of isolation. Later they can extend help such as the location of a low-rent housing, carrying out administrative formalities, etc. Finally after being established they can offer the migrant certain kinds of organized leisure time activity.

The effect of these various religious activities are interpreted in contradictory ways. For some circles they are the major vehicle

(35) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 142, Table : 138.

for a speedy adjustment and a conservation of the original culture. For other they constitute a real handicap for a full integration, even leading to some extent to a proselitism of the church itself. In regard of the Moslem community, the problem presents a different aspect. Given the fact that no established church in Germany represented any counterpart for an Islamic community, the Turks as a religious group were left on their own, the social part of this type of government supported guidance being taken over by the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, a side-organisation of the German Social Democratic Party. At the beginning the Turkish community elected among themselves some overzealous sect leaders. Later the government decided to detach a number of formally educated imam to provide for spiritual leadership. However the lack of a hierarchical set-up within Islam is still creating among the Turkish workers in Germany some ideological competition. Nevertheless the designation of a number of governmental subsidized imams has at least provided the necessary framework for the carrying out of the most necessary religious functions, such as praying at funerals, etc.

Intention to return home

The intentions of short-term migrants to return in their home country and make use of their savings as well as acquired new skills, carries no doubt a paramount importance both for the sending as the recipient country. Our survey of 1963 indicated that 12 % of the workers were nursing concrete intentions to return back home, another survey carried out by the university of İstanbul about a year later, gave a much lower rate (% 1) (36).

(36) ABADAN, Nermin, op. cit., P. 220, Table : 237; a very important point has been raised within a recent OECCD report, according which regardless of the personal aspirations of migrants, most of the highly advanced European countries do have to account with the fact that a large number of temporary migrant workers will change over toward a status of «Permanent temporary employment». The classic clearcut distinction between *emmigration* as a process «by which an individual or a group voluntarily leaves one culture for the purpose of settling elsewhere» (C. F. Ware: *Emmigration*, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. V, P. 488) and *immigration* as the «entrance into an alien country of persons intending to take a full active part in the life of the chosen community» (C. F. Ware: *Immigration*, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. V., P. 587) seems to become obsolete. The presence of semi-permanent foreign workers in highly advanced industrial societies requires new definitions.

In 1963 the expectations concerning the location of a job after returning home were relative high - 57 % saying it would be easy - At this time the majority of the workers wanted to be independent, only 17 % wanted to continue their former employment and 19 % wanted to work as qualified labour. The setting up of small business and entrepreneurship plays an important role in the thinking of the workers in Germany (31 % wanting to set up a small business, or become a taxi/truck driver) (37).

It might be assumed that the intentions of returning home have not increased over the years, the economic regression of 1967 caused a reduction in the size of the Turkish workers community in Germany. This fluctuation lead to a shrinking of about 21.000 workers, which presumably must have been either came back to Turkey since spring 1967 or migrated elsewhere. However no substantial study has been carried out so far to locate the repatriated workers. These workers can be considered under 3 major headings: Peasant workers, small town workers and big town workers (38).

a - Peasant workers

Going directly from a village to work abroad is now facilitated and encouraged by the government through the mean of setting up cooperatives. Villages forming a cooperative with at least 100 participants are getting a priority in the list of employment opportunities. Yet, so far the impact of of these cooperatives can not be assessed since most its members are still abroad. Returning peasants, so far it has possible to detect them on a non-representative basis, are partly buying land, but prefer to live in the nearest city. It is hard to say whether the import of tractors and harvesters by these workers have helped them to improve their agricultural methods. The likeliness that the returnee prefer to

The OECD report attributes this tendency mostly to the facts, that presentday workers being unskilled or halfskilled can not find employment at home, the average being relatively very young, most of them coming from the least developed rural regions Europe. For more detail see OECD 1966 report, II, The international mobility of labour force, P. 87-102.

(37) ABADAN, op. cit., P. 22, Table: 240, 241.

(38) NEYZİ, N. H., *Experience with emigrants returning to the home country*, International Management Seminar on Emigrant workers returning to the home country, Athens, 16-21 October 1966, OECD Social Affairs Division, P. 9.

play the role of a kind of absentee landlord, interrupted by frequent supervision, seems more plausible to careful observers of the rural scenery in Turkey. However it might be said that this group did not change very much their living and eating habits, they seem to have shifted their role from the landless traditional orientated peasant to a moderate wealthy, but still traditional bound peasantry. The most important impact seems to be the attention and importance devote to the education of their children. Our survey of 1963 indicated that 69 % of the workers in Germany desired a university education for their sons, 21 % wanted for them a secondary technical training (39).

b - The small - town workers

The small town workers have usually acquired a car to be used as a taxi, a movie projector or a milling machine. They have changed their way of living and dressing, but have a nostalgia for the big city.. Their usual complaint is lack of electricity. They are on the verge of moving to a larger town, but hesitate to risk their present position. If they go into retailing, such as opening a grocery, operating a restaurant, there is a great likelihood, that they will loose their savings. Their stay is usually motivated by family reasons or dreaming of going once more abroad and this time farther, such as Canada, Australia, the United States.

For both peasant and small town workers, their coming back to their original parental environment creates negative attitudes. The social pressure of small communities, the restrictive men-women relations, the lack of entertainment facilities all begin to be felt after the return. It might be said, that the difficulties of

(39) NEYZI, N. H., op. cit., P. 9; a survey on agricultural development and changes in values and attitudes in the south of Turkey (Adana region) has indicated very much like among the Turkish workers in Germany coming from rural areas, a very high enthousiasm on higher education. Indeed in two selected villages, the desire for higher education on account of their sons was 76.2 %, respectively 70.6 %. These figures remind once more that in Turkey education is the most important channel of mobility, but mobility though education characterizes urban rather than rural settings. With other words the type of education provided or desired has no direct functional relationship to conditions in villages. Mübeccel B. KIRAY, «Values, Social Stratification and Development», *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1968, P. 91.

readjustment to a traditional milieu is more painful than the breaking away of it (40).

c - The city workers

This group represents rather skilled workers, who have held a high position in their factories. They are bringing back many household articles, have definitely raised their standard of living and are those with the greatest likelihood of getting readapted into the national scenery by establishing a small business, workshop, repair shop etc. (41).

Joint investment venture

The most significant development of the last years is the creation of various engineers and workers founded companies. The oldest of these companies, has been established in Köln; TÜRKSAN meets today a large variety of paper print such as copybooks, etc. as well as wall paper. Two other companies, İŞBİR and BİRSAN are in the process of organization and set-up. The government in order to encourage labour investment has reserved 10 % of the shares of two founded automobile companies, FIAT and VOLVO for potential investment intentions of the migrant workers abroad. The most interesting development is the merger of TÜRKSAN with HASTAŞ, the largest public holding (42).

Summing up

Going over the distribution and ranking of Turkish workers over the years, it has to be underlined that the Turks, who so to speak entered the race as last, proved their adaptability within complex, highly specialized technical units as well as unattractive industrial sectors such as mining and construction. Their success has been to such an extent that the Turkish contingent moved up within 10 years from the last place to the second place. The last distribution table now indicates that the Italians - as member of the Common Market priority marked - are retaining their dominating position as in the past. In second place comes the Turks, followed by the Greeks. This rise is also noticeable within the

(40) NEYZİ, N. H., op. cit., P. 9.

(41) NEYZİ, N. H., op. cit., P. 10.

(42) *Akşam*, 1/4/1969.

distribution proportion of all foreign migrants. Thus on June 30, 1968 the migrants in Germany broke up as following (42) :

Italian	287.440
Turks	139.336
Greeks	136.191
Spanish	111.892

In general the advantages of short-term migration are certainly outknocking their inconveniences. However the method of population exchange based purely on economic reasons, should rather be looked as a temporary solution for long-range deeprooted national problems. The assumption of being able to reduce the urgent pressure of unemployment and retardness of industrialisation by encouraging migration through governmental channels, seems to be limited by its scope and time. Thus although the benefits of Turkish workers can be summarized as follows :

- a) Getting acquainted with modern methods of production,
- b) Receiving an apprenticeship period without requiring an investment to be made in Turkey,
- c) Getting accustomed to Western industry discipline and speed,
- d) Learning a foreign language,
- e) Ability to save money for further investment,

A considerable amount of unsolved problems are waiting for solution or improvement.

These problems are as follows :

- a) Detailed comprehension of all social security rights and privileges granted to the workers; this requires a more elaborate staff.
- b) Larger and more generous coverage of professional training and training in service courses,
- c) Facility for full social integration and more channels of participation in the social life of the host country,
- d) Consideration of special conditions effecting Turkish workers health and physical security,
- e) More knowledge and technical help for future investment projects.

(43) *Auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1967.