

TURKISH IMMIGRANT COAL MINERS IN THE RUHR DISTRICT, WEST GERMANY

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Resume

In November 1974, I prepared questionnaires for Turkish immigrant miners staying at the dormitories of the Dortmund District Office of the Ruhr Coal Mining Company in West Germany, to follow-up the interviews done in September of the same year with some forty miners. An unlucky accident made it impossible for me to control the way questionnaires were distributed and the way people were instructed to fill them out. As a result, I found myself faced with a set of questionnaires of rather limited value. Given this situation, I could apply only the simplest methods of analysis to the questionnaires.

In spite of the limited value of the survey, however, it is possible to draw some basic conclusions. The characteristics showed by this sample are similar to those found in Turkish migrant workers in West Germany as a whole, but more extreme. This sample shows a stronger concentration of the younger generation than among Turkish immigrants in Westphalia. The ratio of married to single men in this sample is also higher than among Turkish migrant samples surveyed by other researchers. Most of the sample answering my questionnaire is from rural districts in Turkey, and the ratio of rural to urban persons is much higher than among other Turkish migrant samples, and the degree of school education is low, compared with the national mean.

Thus, it becomes clear that the economic, social and cultural differences between my sample and West German workers are larger than those existing between ordinary Turkish workers in West Germany and the latter.

Finally, I describe my hypothesis about regionalization partly based on my survey. The larger the economic, social and cultural differences between the host nation and the emigrating nation are, the stronger the forces pulling the people of these two nations apart are, and a kind of polarized region is formed, the principle of which is contradiction.

I am beholden to all of the Turks and Germans who helped me in my survey. Were it not for their kind and effective help, I could never have made this survey at all.

* * *

Coal production in the Ruhr district is almost exclusively done by the

Ruhr Coal Mining Company, which was established in order to overcome the so-called coal crisis in the 1950's. Foreign workers comprised 16% of the total number workers of the company in September 1974. More than 100 dormitories have been built by the company for single workers or those unaccompanied by their families. In October 1974, I was given the opportunity to obtain information through questionnaire survey of the Turkish miners staying in the dormitories of the Dortmund District Office of the company.

I Turkish Migrant Workers in West Germany

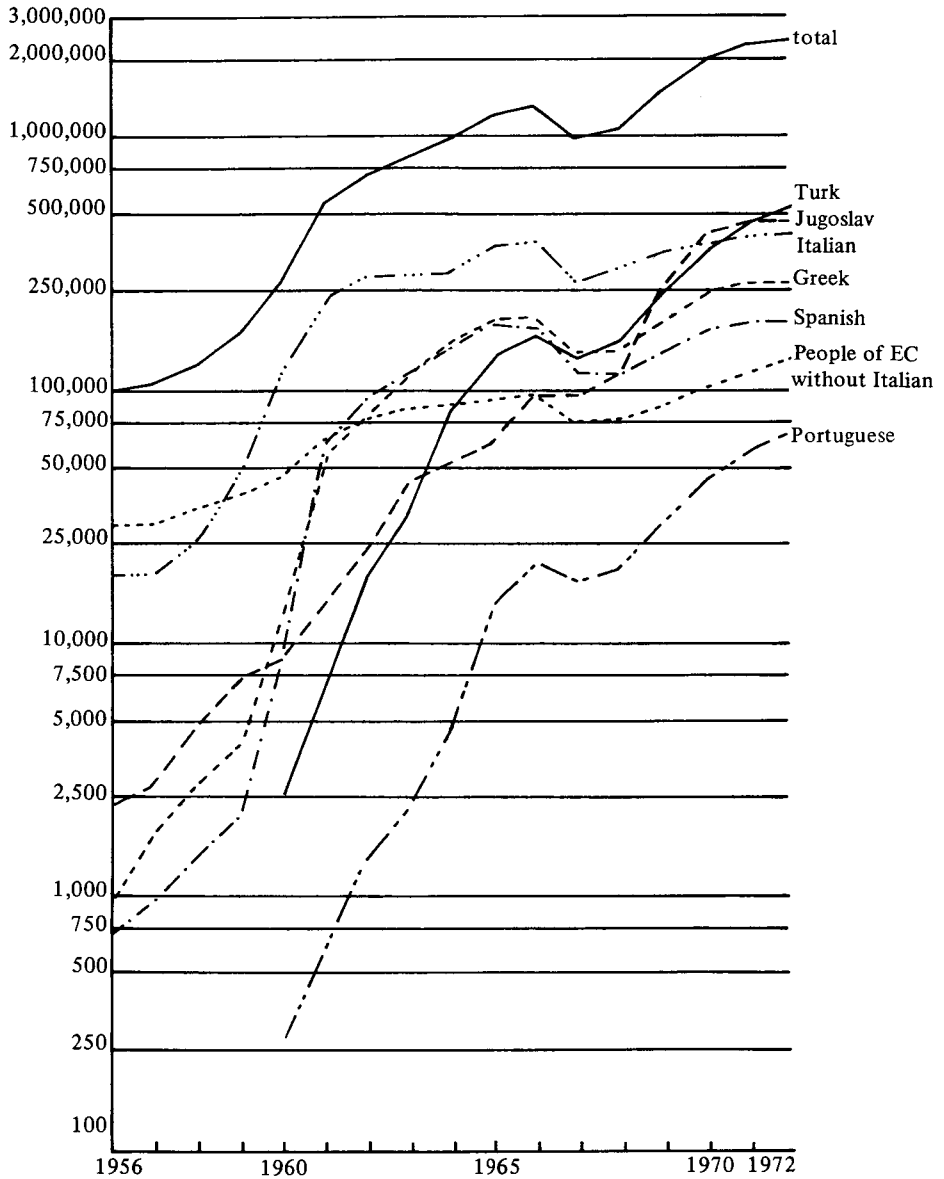
I-1 The History

A good number of refugees and repatriates flowed in West Germany after the Second World War when Germany was divided, so there was almost no room for foreigners to immigrate and work in West Germany at that time (Böhning 1972, p. 38). However, the agreement of December 20, 1955 between West Germany and Italy, which arranged for Italian workers to come to West Germany, opened the door to foreign workers. In the beginning, the Italian workers brought in were engaged mainly in the agricultural sector (Klee 1972, SS. 104, 105). The north-west European countries (including West Germany), which were beginning to suffer from labor shortages as their economic growth began, accepted Italy's demand for free movement of her labor force within the EEC, and inserted new articles (48 and 49) in the Treaty of Rome of 1957. Restrictions were gradually loosened until, in 1968, the final restriction was abolished (Böhning 1972, p. 10, and Salt & Clout 1976, p. 95). As fig. 1 shows, the numbers of Jugoslavs and Turks, both from Mediterranean nations, grew until finally they exceeded the numbers of Italians, who were more and more in demand domestically as the Italian economy developed. In 1973 West Germany was the largest importer of foreign workers among west European countries, importing 2,500,000 persons, while France imported 2,300,000 in the same year (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 82). As table 1 shows, the highly industrialized west European countries have extended their labor recruiting into the Mediterranean area. Forming a remarkable contrast with Britain, where immigrant workers are mainly permanent residents from remote areas of the Commonwealth, immigrant workers in West Germany and other west European continental countries are temporary residents mainly from the Mediterranean countries (Castles & Kosack 1973, p. 462).

I-2 The General Situation of Turkish Migrant Workers in West Germany

Why do workers migrate? Generally speaking, the phenomenon of migrant workers can be ascribed to differentials existing in the world economy today. It has been pointed out, however, that the low level of workers' income and security in the countries exporting workers are more direct factors. Usually, the pressures of rapid population growth, high unemployment rates, and imbalances between urban and rural areas are regarded as the major reasons for emigration. But, in

Fig. 1: Number of migrant workers in West Germany
persons by nationality (1956-1972)



Sources: H. Shalowsky und G. Schiller: Ursachen und Auswirkungen der Ausländischerbeschäftigung. Deutsche Industrieverlags-GmbH, Köln, 1972, S. 11. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Daten, Fakten 73, Nürnberg, 1974, S. 11. MORI Hiromasa: Shihonshugi to Imin Rodosha, Kenkyu Nempo, Vol. 11, Hosei Daigaku Tankidaigaku Gakkai, 1977, p. 37

Table 1: Number of migrant workers in West Germany by nationality (1956–1972)

years	total	People of the EC except Italian	Italian	Spanish	Portuguese	Greek	Jugoslav	Turkish
1956	100.0	29.5	18.8	0.7		1.0	2.3	
1957	100.0	27.6	17.7	0.9		1.7	2.6	
1958	100.0	27.1	20.2	1.2		2.2	3.8	
1959	100.0	23.6	29.3	1.3		2.5	4.4	
1960	100.0	16.5	43.6	3.4	0.1	4.7	3.2	0.9
1961	100.0	11.8	40.9	11.3		9.5		
1962	100.0	11.2	38.9	13.3	0.2	11.3	3.3	2.6
1963	100.0	10.3	34.6	14.4	0.3	14.1	5.4	4.0
1964	100.0	9.0	30.0	15.3	0.5	15.7	5.4	8.6
1965	100.0	7.6	30.6	15.0	1.2	15.4	5.3	10.9
1966	100.0	7.3	29.8	13.6	1.6	14.8	7.4	12.3
1967	100.0	7.6	26.9	11.9	1.8	14.2	9.7	13.2
1968	100.0	7.0	27.9	10.6	1.8	13.3	10.9	14.0
1969	100.0	5.8	23.2	9.5	2.0	12.7	17.7	16.3
1970	100.0	5.3	19.6	8.8	2.3	12.4	21.7	18.2
1971	100.0	5.3	18.2	8.3	2.6	12.0	21.3	20.2
1972	100.0	5.7	17.4	7.6	2.9	11.4	19.8	22.5

Source: same as fig. 1

the Turkish case at least, few unemployed workers can be found among the emigrants, so the reasons usually pointed out cannot apply in the Turkish case.

Other direct factors encouraging emigration may be found in the host country. These include a high level of workers' incomes and a general decrease in the size of the labor force and a specific decrease in number of indigenous workers engaged in socially low-ranking jobs. The decrease in the number of indigenous workers has been brought about by a decline in the birth rate of the host nation, an extension of the years spent in school, a lowering of the pension age, etc. Further, the shortening of working hours has the same effect as is decrease in the number of the workers (Böhning 1972, p. 105). The resulting situation is one in which workers are imported even while many indigenous workers in West Germany and in other west European countries are unemployed due to lack of suitable jobs. At the same time, there is unemployment due to a simple excess of workers in the countries exporting migrant workers.

In the sixties, West Germany began to suffer from a labor shortage. Before she had been supplied a foreign labor force by other EEC countries, but then she had to conclude several bilateral agreements with non-EEC countries for the recruitment of foreign workers. West Germany concluded such agreements with Spain and Greece in 1960, with Turkey in 1961, with Portugal in 1964, with Tunisia in 1965, with Morocco in 1966 and with Yugoslavia in 1968. (The agreement with Italy had been much earlier, in 1955) (Mc Rae 1971, S. 9). Further,

West Germany concluded an agreement with Turkey in 1972 for the reintegration of repatriating Turks (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 99).

By law, the recruitment of foreign workers is done by the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*. There is a branch office of the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* in Istanbul, called the *Deutsche Verbindungsstelle in der Türkei*, which cooperates with the Turkish Employment Service in selecting Turkish applicants for emigration to West Germany. In this office an applicant is interviewed by an official of the Employment Section. If he has declared himself to be a skilled worker, he has to take a test to prove it. After that he is medically examined on 12 points. If he passes the examination, he is brought back to the Employment Section to make a contract, after which he is directed to the Transport Section, and sent to Munich, West Germany, in a reserved section on a train or on a chartered airplane. In Munich, he is received by the Receiving Section of the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*. Finally, he is delivered to his place of work, where he will work under a one year contract. In his place of work, he will be trained vocationally within six months and will take a two or three months German language course. By the way, illiterates are not selected. Aside from this strictly prescribed channel, family members of workers who are qualified to have their families with them (cf. Castles & Kosack 1973, pp. 209, 210, and Paine 1974, p. 70), and workers who has been in Germany but returned to Turkey temporarily for military service may be allowed in (statement by Mr. von Harrasowski, head of the *Deutsche Verbindungsstelle in der Türkei*, January 1, 1975 in Istanbul). Actually, however, most wives of Turkish migrants do not go to West Germany in the category of family members, but rather as workers themselves in most cases. Compared with men, for whom it takes sometimes as long as ten years to receive permission to go to West Germany, women have less trouble being admitted (Paine 1974, p. 71, Castles & Kosack 1973, pp. 209, 210). Children who enter illegally are often not able to attend school (*der Spiegel*, 27. Juli 1973, S. 26). The main difficulty immigrants have bringing family members to West Germany is the high cost of adequate housing (Castles & Kosack 1973, p. 209).

Turkish applicants have first to be interviewed by an official of a local office of the Turkish Employment Service. The applicant has to wait until his application meets a vacancy in West Germany. Usually, unskilled male applicants, over age 25, have to wait more than ten years (Paine 1974, p. 67).

An example of a written application is as follows:

To the Kütahya Branch Office of the Turkish Employment Service:

My legal residence is at No. 11, Çamalan Village, Tavsanlı, Kütahya. I am a son of Ahmet, born in 1949 and have already served in the army.

I can read and write. As I am willing to go out to any foreign country as a miner or as a worker employed in any job, I implore, paying my respects to you Messieurs, to be put on the waiting list.

My present address: No. 17, Kayalar Quarter, Ulucami, Tavsanlı.

Halil Kocaaga
signature

Enclosed is an envelope on which my name and address are written and on which a 200 piastre stamp is affixed. [I believe] this is necessary for the registration of my present address.

(the original Turkish text was transcribed by me in Kütahya, Turkey, on January 20, 1975).

There are several kinds of illegal immigrants: immigrants who work without permission after entering on tourist visas, immigrants who had been legal immigrants but who illegally extend their stay, and so on (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 100). The ratio of illegal immigrants to the total number of Turkish immigrant workers is estimated to be from 5 to 27% (Paine 1974, p. 60).

It is hard even for a legal Turkish emigrant, most of whose moving expenses are covered officially, to manage the necessary of emigration, most of which is the cost of a trip to Istanbul, the final emigrating point. A. Aker, who made a survey in Turkey from 1970 to 1971, calculated that the average expense for an emigrant came to 960 Turkish Lira, while 74% of employed persons in villages with populations of less than 2000 earned less than 2000 Turkish Lira *per annum* (Paine 1974, p. 88). Thus, O. Tuna, who made his survey in 1966, and the Turkish State Planning Organization, which conducted another survey in 1971, regarded persons who leave home to work as richer than those who stay home (Paine 1974, p. 86). It is reported that the ratio of skilled to unskilled Turkish workers is higher than that of any other nationality staying in West Germany (Mehrländer 1969, S. 43). This can be partly explained by the fact that only Turks with some financial advantage can emigrate.

As for the regional differences within Turkey, it can be said that the ratio of emigrants to total inhabitants is higher in the relatively developed regions of the country. In order to interfere in this regional trend, the Turkish Government gives one year priority to applicants on the waiting list from less developed regions, and two year priority to those from the least developed regions (Paine 1974, p. 67). This policy has had some limited effect (see figs. 2a, 2b). 60.4% of legal Turkish emigrants from 1963 to 73 were from the relatively developed regions. The real regional differences in emigration are illustrated in fig. 3. The average number of emigrants per province is 23,480 persons in the relatively developed, 8,750 in the less developed, and 4,926 in the least developed regions.

Not only Turkish migrants but migrants in general are young, strong, single or unaccompanied, and employed at low wages (Paine 1974, p. 10). Further, they comprise a non-seasonal fluid labor force: they do not usually stay permanently, and there is a fairly high rate of turnover every year (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 81). As the rate of this turnover is much influenced by the trade cycle of the host country, foreign workers are often called *Krisenpuffer*. Fig. 4 illustrates how effectively the Turkish migrant workers were utilized as buffers for the trade cycle in 1967 when West Germany faced a recession.

Fig. 2a: Regional differentials in the emigrating ratio
 – regional share of annual workers in the national total (1964-1966 mean)/
 / regional share of population in the national total (1965) –

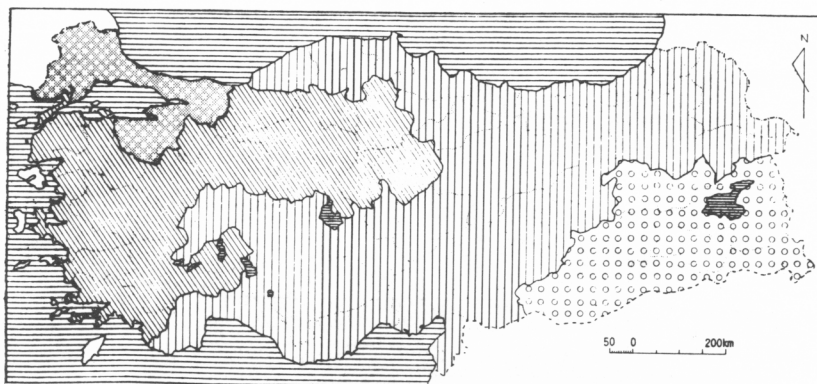
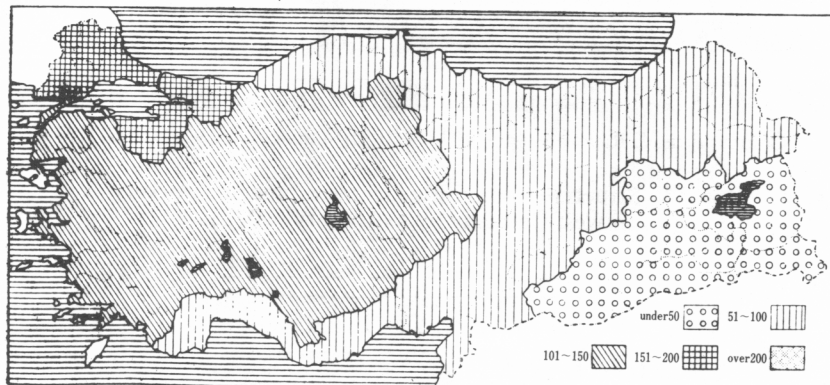
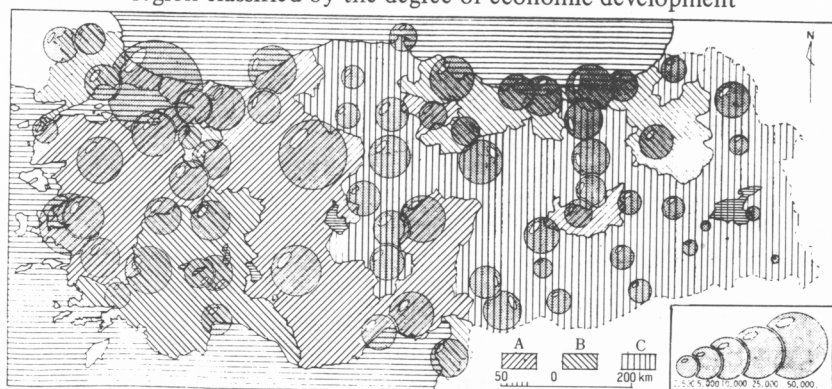


Fig. 2b: Ditto –1969-1970 / 1970 –



Sources: S. Paine: Exporting Workers: the Turkish case, Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 73

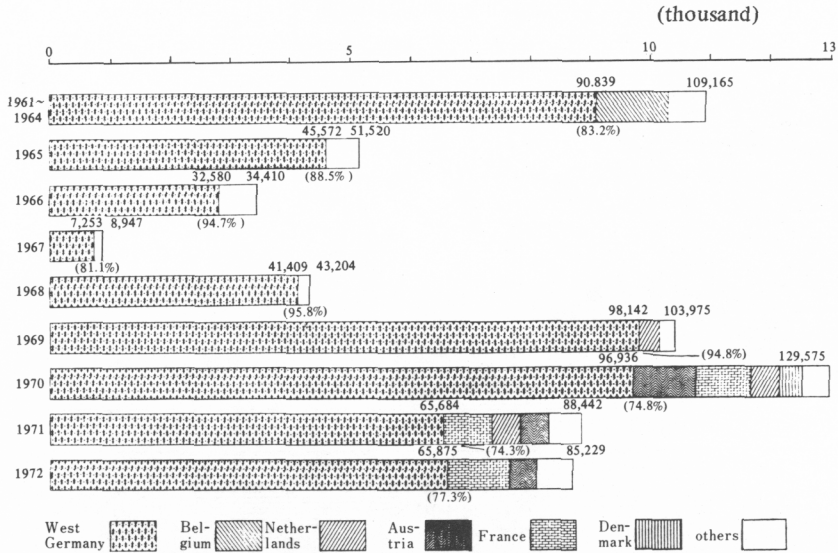
Fig. 3: Number of Turkish emigrants by prefecture (1963-1973) and region classified by the degree of economic development



Note A: Developed region, B: Less developed region, C: Least developed region

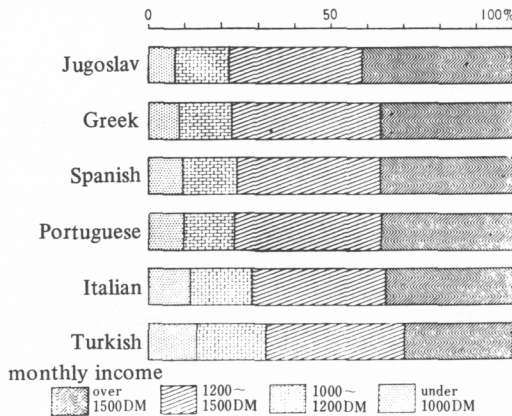
Source: İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu: Yurt Dışındaki Türk İşçileri ve Dönüş Eğilimleri, İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü Yayını No:114, Araştırma, Ankara, 1974, ss. 4-6

Fig. 4: Number of Turkish workers emigrating annually and country of destination (1961-1972)



Source: İktisadî Rapor, Ankara, 1972, s. 103 [Starchenkov 1974, CT p. 122]

Fig. 5: Structure of monthly income of migrant workers in West Germany by nationality (1972)



Source: Repräsentativuntersuchung 72, Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nürnberg, 1973, S. 93.

The income level of Turkish workers is the lowest of all the foreign workers in West Germany (fig. 5). Legally admitted foreign workers are indeed fairly treated in a way comparable to indigenous workers, but only within the limits of the industrial laws of West Germany. Turkish immigrant workers do not have the right to move freely that workers of the EC countries have. Further, even compared to Spanish, Portuguese, Greek and Yugoslavian migrant workers, Turks are

at a disadvantage in not being able to bring their family members without demonstrating that they can provide suitable housing for them; and although Turkish migrant workers pay taxes, family allowances are only paid if the children are actually resident in the host country (Paine 1974, p. 70). According to Dr. E. Zieris, an expert on foreign workers, Turkish immigrants work very hard in order not to be fired. When they become unemployed, they have to leave Germany, whereas workers from the EC countries are not so constrained (statement by Dr. E. Zieris, November 14, 1974 in Düsseldorf). Thus, it may be said that the intensified

Table 2: Migrant workers in West Germany by industrial branches (1960-1973)

Industrial branches	1960	1966	1973
metal industry	25.6%	33.2%	35.7%
other industries	19.7	26.2	24.1
construction	25.7	18.8	16.6
trade	5.4	4.6	6.3
social service	2.9	4.1	5.9
private service	7.5	4.6	5.4
mining	7.9	4.9	3.0
traffic	2.2	2.4	2.2
agriculture	3.1	1.2	0.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0

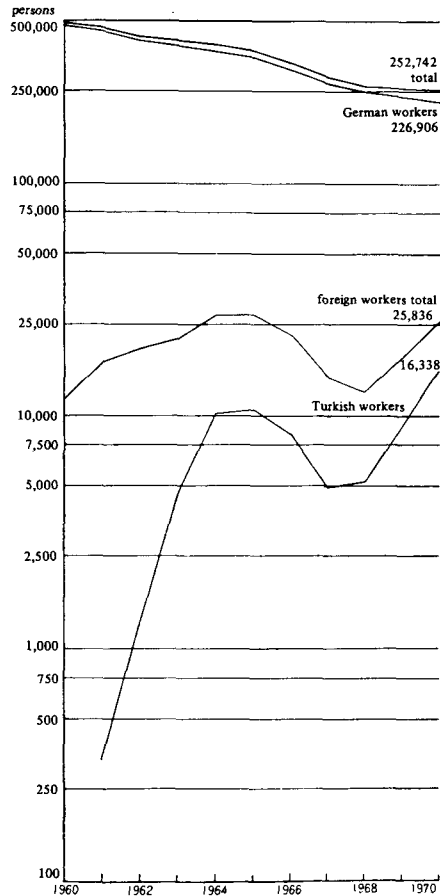
Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer 1972/73*, S. 13. J. Salt & H. Clout, *Migration in Post-War Europe*, Geographical Essays, Oxford University Press, 1976, p.85

Table 3: Regional distribution of Turkish workers in West Germany (at the end of January, 1973)

region	Turkish workers	foreign workers total
Schleswig-Holstein-Hamburg	5.1%	4.3%
Niedersachsen-Bremen	8.1	6.6
Nordrhein-Westfalen	29.1	28.9
Hessen	10.1	11.7
Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland	4.1	4.5
Baden-Württemberg	20.0	24.3
Nordbayern	6.5	4.8
Südbayern	10.0	11.4
Berlin (West)	7.0	3.5
Bundesgebiet	100.0	100.0

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Ausländische Arbeitnehmer 1972/73*, Nürnberg, 1974, SS. 17, 21

Fig. 6: Decrease in number of German miners and increase in number of Turkish ones in the West German coal mining industry (1960-1970)



Source: Aufschlüsselung der in der Zeit von 1960 bis 1970 im Steinkohlenbergbau beschäftigten ausländischen Arbeitnehmer, Essen, den 21. April 1972, Ma/De

Table 4a: Migrant workers in the coal mining industry in West Germany by nationality (1960–1970)

years	people of the EC including Italian	Spanish	Greek	Jugoslav	Turkish	Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian	Korean	others	migrant workers total (persons)
1960	46.2%	1.8%	11.2%	7.4%	—	—	—	33.4%	11,902
1961	36.1	19.0	16.4	5.0	2.0%	—	—	21.5	17,260
1962	25.9	21.6	21.7	5.4	6.6	—	—	18.8	19,617
1963	18.9	14.6	19.9	7.0	21.3	4.3%	—	13.9	21,682
1964	13.0	10.0	9.9	6.6	37.6	9.0	3.9%	10.0	27,134
1965	12.4	8.7	6.3	7.8	39.1	8.5	8.0	9.3	27,241
1966	13.1	6.7	5.3	10.6	36.9	8.3	9.1	10.0	22,720
1967	15.2	5.6	4.9	11.9	33.6	7.0	7.6	14.1	14,610
1968	15.2	4.8	4.7	10.5	41.1	5.4	4.0	14.2	12,712
1970	6.7	2.1	2.2	10.1	63.2	3.8	5.4	6.4	25,836

Table 4b: Migrant workers in the coal mining industry in West Germany by nationality (1973, 1974)

years	Italian	Spanish	Greek	Jugoslav	Turkish	Moroccan	Korean	others	migrant workers total (persons)
1973	3.0%	1.8%	1.4%	4.9%	72.9%	2.0%	7.1%	6.9%	25,387
1974	2.8	1.7	1.4	4.9	73.9	2.0	7.0	6.3	27,763

Table 4a source: same as fig. 6

Table 4b Source: Statistik der Kohlenwirtschaft E. V. Rundschreiben Nr. S. 17, Essen, den 4. November 1974

labor of Turkish immigrants is supported by the legal structure in West Germany. As table 2 shows, the ratio of foreign workers employed is higher in the branches of the economy where the wage level is low (Salt & Clout 1976, pp. 85, 86). Turkish migrant workers are strongly concentrated in the mining, steel, automotive, electrical and textile industries, and particularly in the mining industry, where Turkish workers comprise 46.0% of the total work force, by far more numerous than any other nationality (*ibid.* p. 112).

Turkish workers are concentrated particularly in North Rhine-Westphalia, which is the most industrialized area in West Germany (table 3) and a center of the mining industry. The ratio of Turkish workers in North Rhine-Westphalia to the total number of Turkish workers in West Germany is 29.1%, while that of foreign workers as a whole is 28.9%. Foreign workers as a whole are concentrated in the most industrialized areas (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 104).

In January, 1973, 46% of all foreign workers employed in the mining industry are Turks (to be precise, this figure also includes Kurds), making them the highest "national" concentration in the industry (tables 4a, 4b). Such a high degree of national concentration cannot be seen in any nationality in any branch of industry. As the numbers of German miners have quickly decreased, the numbers of Turkish miners quickly increased (fig. 6). It should be noted that half of the new immigrant foreign workers who entered West Germany between 1969 and 1972 were employed in the mining industry. The concentration of Turkish immi-

grants in the mining industry means a concentration of Turkish workers in the Ruhr Coal Mining Company, the sole coal mining enterprise in West Germany today, and of course also means a concentration of Turkish workers in the northern Ruhr district. One of the reasons why Turkish workers are concentrated in coal mining, which German workers have become increasingly unwilling to be employed in, is that, for a Turkish applicant on the waiting list, the quickest way to come to West Germany is to show a willingness to be employed in German coal mines. And the basic reason for their willingness is the economic differential between Turkey and West Germany, which is bigger than that between any of the other countries sending migrants to West Germany. For a Turkish migrant worker, who has to leave Turkey because of the lack of suitable employment there, and who must emigrate if he is ever to be able to save any money, it seems necessary and not impossible to endure the strain of hard work in West Germany. However, the bigger the economic differential, the greater the social and cultural distance. Thus, it is with pain and conflict that a Turkish migrant works and lives in West Germany. Paradoxically, one can say that it is because the contrasts between Turkey and West Germany are so serious that Turks are powerfully attracted to and strongly related with West Germany, but at the same time one can also say that it is because they are related to West Germany that the potential contradictions between Turkey and West Germany have surfaced.

As mentioned above, Turkish immigrants work very hard, but this subsequently brings them into a contradiction. Turks are more welcome than Italians or Greeks as employees. Turks are said to be more tractable and easier to handle because of their homogeneity, compared to Yugoslavs, for example (statement by Dr. Zieris, November 14, 1974 in Düsseldorf). Turkish migrant workers are preferred by German employers indeed, but only as low class workers. The more Turkish workers are preferred by German employers, the more disliked by German colleague workers they become. Turkish workers, with a weaker position than any of the other migrant nationalities, are possibly being "used to undermine the strength of working-class organizations in struggles for better wages and conditions" (Castles & Kosack 1973, p. 480). Turkish immigrants are less likely to join trade unions, less demanding and more disciplined than other nationalities (Paine 1964, p. 64).

Turkish immigrants are not only isolated in their place of work, but also in their living place. Their advantages on the job become disadvantages in their free time (statement by Dr. Zieris, November 14, 1974 in Düsseldorf). Thus work hard in order to save as much money as possible in a limited time, and for the same reason they spend little. They prefer to live in cheap housing and they spare little money for clothes. Thus, they are apt to be looked down on by the host people. This circumstance forces them to stick together. It may not be justified to regard their strong sense of compatriotism as the cause of their isolation. For example, when some well-intentioned people in a district office of the Ruhr Coal Mining Company tried to have a coffee party for both German and Turkish women, in order to increase mutual understanding, the Turks did not at all want to attend (statement by Mr. Çetiniç, September 9, 1974 in Lünen). But the fact that they

did not want to attend cannot be fully explained in terms of the social habits of Moslem women; at least partly it was due to the difference in status between them and the German women. Neither can the appearance of Turkish ghettos in West German large cities be explained as Turkish cultural isolationism, without considering the close connection between land speculation and the mechanism of ghettoization (*der Spiegel* 1973, S. 28); the owner of flats makes no additional investment after he finds "an invasion" of Turks; when the flats are ruined and no longer usable, they sell the land at a good price.

Even Turkish immigrants adapt to West German society to some extent. The adaptation has contradictory effects upon the immigrants, however. These effects are particularly marked in the case of children; as they adapt to West German society far more quickly and better than their parents, some disharmony in their family life occurs, and when they return to Turkey and face reintegration, they are no longer genuine Turks. They belong to neither German nor Turkish society.

As for the host nation, German have a rather colonialistic attitude towards the migrant workers they co-exist with (Castles & Kosack 1973, p. 481). For example, the fact is that foreign workers commit fewer crimes than do indigenous people, considering age composition and so on (Ansary & Gessner 1974, S. 219), however, Germans stubbornly believe that foreign workers commit more crimes than themselves.

Although much of the activity of voluntary organs to integrate Turkish immigrants into West German society has been ineffective, serious efforts by German trade unions to overcome the contradictions brought by the importation of foreign workers, including Turkish, should not be overlooked.

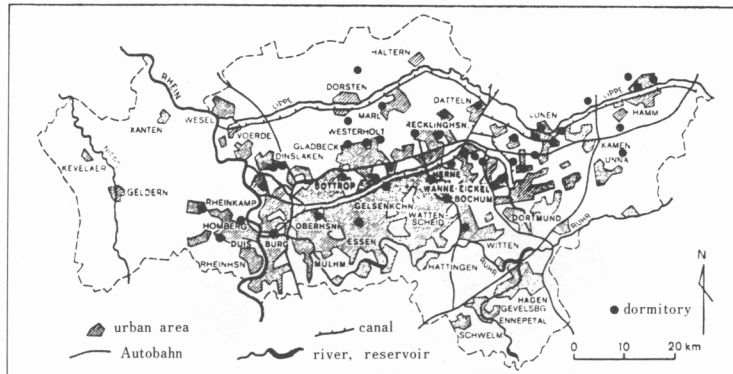
II Brief Result of the Questionnaire Surveys

II-1 The Process of Preparing the Questionnaire and the Nature of it

When I was interviewing Turkish miners staying in the dormitories of the Dortmund District Office of the Ruhr Coal Mining Company at Datteln, Huckarde, Lünen and Castrop-Rauxel, all located around Dortmund, I was given a further chance by the company to circulate a questionnaire to the Turkish miners staying in all the dormitories belonging to the Dortmund District Office. When I finished writing the questionnaire with the help of both Germans and Turks, I assumed that I would be able to give some oral instructions to the Turkish interpreters, who would then help the Turkish miners fill out the questionnaire properly. The meeting for this orientation was to be organized by Mr. Çetiniç, the chief interpreter and one of the housemasters. Unfortunately, just before the meeting was to have been held, Mr Çetiniç became sudden ill and had to enter the hospital. The questionnaires had to be circulated without any instructions about how to fill them out. I had intended, for example, to have the interpreters avoid the appearance of an opinion leader, which often happens among Turkish respondents when they sit together to fill out questionnaires. I had also hoped that the housemasters would not be present in the rooms where the miners were filling out the

questionnaires, in order to avoid any feeling of pressure upon the respondents. All of my intentions were in vain. And I had no more time to do it all over again. I believe that most of the questionnaires were filled out by December 1974, but I cannot be sure even which questionnaire was filled out when or where. Therefore I cannot hope that the answers or my conclusions drawn from them will be very reliable.

Fig. 7: Location of dormitories of the Ruhr Coal Mining Company



Note: Two or more neighbouring dormitories are marked by a single dot.

Source: Turkish Consulate in Essen, September, 1974. Base map is after W. Dege: Das Ruhrgebiet, Vieweg, 1969, S. 1.

About 450 Turkish miners were staying in the dormitories belonging to the Dortmund District Office in the autumn of 1974, of whom 334 persons perfectly or imperfectly filled out the questionnaire (and it is possible that of this number a few were Turkish miners not staying in the dormitories).

II-2 Outline of the Answers

i: Age Structure

With 331 answers, 330 were effective, for the question "How old are you?" The youngest was 16, the oldest 48, and the average 30.5. The 24–25 age group occupied the highest percentage of 17.9%, followed by 35–36 with 16.1%, 34–35 with 14.9%, 26–27 with 14.0% and 33–34 with 13.7%. This age structure is characteristic, showing a concentration of younger people even greater than that of male Turks living in North Rhine-Westphalia in general at that time (table 5, and fig. 8).

The relation of age and the degree of economic development of the regions workers came from in Turkey is as follows: the share of under age 25 is 40.0% for the developed, 22.2% for the less developed, and 20.0% for the least developed regions.

ii: Marriage Status

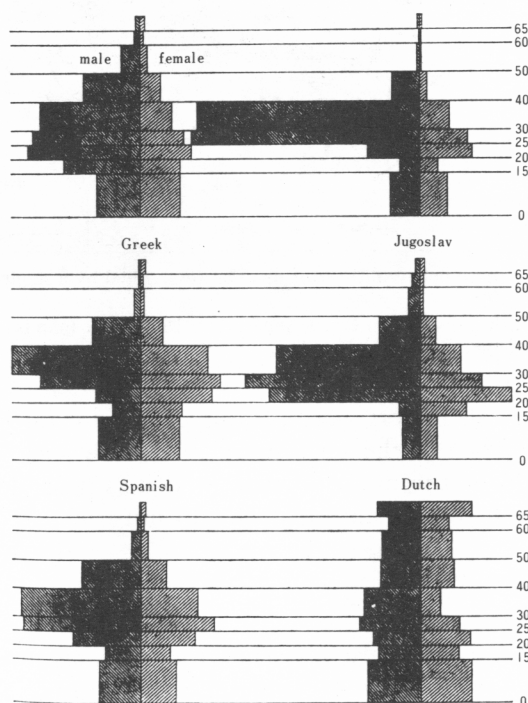
With 333 effective answers, 318 or 95.5% of the respondents said they were

Table 5: Age structure

	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-40	40-50
respondents	1.2%	12.1%	32.1%	49.7%	4.8%
male Turks living in North Rhine-West Phalia*	2.5	6.5	28.4	55.6	7.1

* May 27, 1970. The age groups under 15 and over 50 years of age are excluded for comparison with the writer's sample. Sources: 1) writer's questionnaire survey. 2) Beiträge zur Statistik des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Sonderreihe Volkszählung 1970, Heft 6, 1974, SS. 100, 101

Fig. 8: Age structure of foreigners living in North Rhine-Westphalia (May 27, 1970)



Note: This figure is reproduced from the figure in:
Beiträge Zur Statistik des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen,
Sonderreihe Volkszählung 1970, Heft 6, 1974, S. 17.

married. This may be characteristic not only for Turkish miners, but for Turkish migrant workers as a whole. "There is a clear trend towards earlier marriage in the less-urbanized areas of Turkey" (Kayser 1971, p. 121), and the Turkish miners here concerned mainly came from villages as will be mentioned again below. Another report informs us that in 1972 the average ratio of unmarried workers was 26% for the whole foreign worker population, but for Turkish workers it was

14% (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* 1973, S. 19). Turkish miners left their wives in their homeland, and had to bear separation from their families. This hardship is more serious for workers from the least and less developed regions of Turkey; the ratio of married is 92.5% for the developed, 98.2% for the less developed and 100.0% for the least developed regions respectively.

iii: Number of Children

With 320 effective answers, 10.0% have no children, 63.4% have 1–3, 23.4% have 4–6, and 3.1% have 7–10. None of the unmarried workers has any children. As the number of children Turkish workers have is large, Germans are apt to be irritated about the payment of child allowances to Turks.

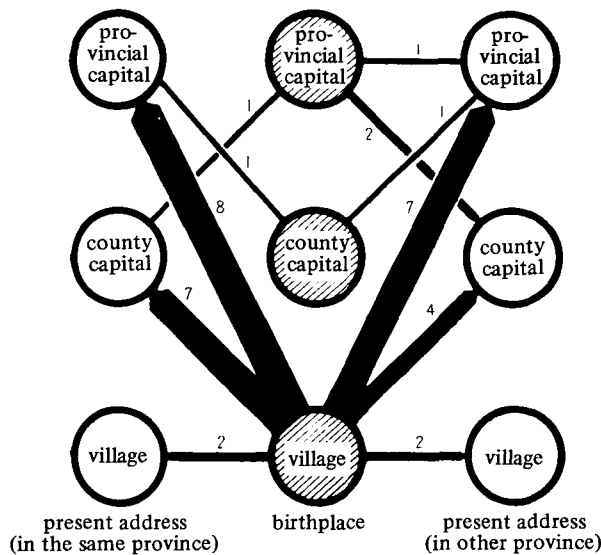
iv: Birthplace and Present Address

251 persons answered, with 243 answers at least partly usable. As for present address, 32.3% are from Kütahya, the largest lignite mining center of Turkey, and 12.0% from Zonguldak, the largest coal mining center. The clear difference between the two figures cannot be well explained with the limited information available.

Present address are classified by the degree of economic development as follows: 69% from the developed regions, 23% from the less developed regions and 8% from the least developed regions (in this case, the total number of the effective answers was 250). Rural emigrants amounted to a high 83%. This figure is explained by the Turkish situation of miners, most of whom are simultaneously part-time peasants.

Inner migration prior to emigration abroad can be observed through com-

Fig. 9: Paths of migration in Turkey prior to miner's emigration



Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

parison of the birthplace and the present address. In cases in which a respondent moved from his birthplace but then returned, this method of measuring becomes ineffective, but such cases are not at all frequent. It is well known that Turkish emigrants do not often go abroad directly from their residence in rural areas, but instead they migrate first from rural areas to urban, and then abroad (Salt & Clout 1976, p. 132). This direction of migration, from rural to urban does not only apply to emigrants abroad but is general for most inner migrants. It is not common in Turkey for a migrant to move from a rural to an urban area, and then back again to a rural one (cf. Tümertekin 1968).

85% of the answers show a coincidence of birthplace and present address. Of the answers that showed no coincidence, 53% migrated within the same province. As shown in fig. 9, the direction of inner migration is overwhelmingly towards larger and larger population centers. As for the miners who have continued to migrate outside of Turkey, each move within Turkey brought them into closer and closer relations with capitalism until they reached the West German mines.

v: *Job Prior to Emigration*

294 persons answered, of whom 37.1% were peasants. There was no provision on the questionnaire for the classification of peasants into full-time and part-time.

Peasants were followed by miners who made up 34.7%. There is a problem with this figure: It is necessary for a Turk to be a miner for at least several months in Turkey in order to be employed as a miner in West Germany. On this questionnaire, one person may declare himself to be a miner, while another says he is a peasant, when both have been employed as miners for a short time just prior to their emigration. Further, as mentioned above, a miner is often simultaneously a peasant, so it is not clear whether he is really a miner or not when he called himself a miner. But, at least, it is clear that 34.7% of the effective respondents regard themselves as miners.

9.2% of the total are workers, and in this case too, the situation is not clear, as a miner is a kind of worker.

According to a survey taken from August to December, 1967, 25.0% of emigrants answered "peasant" when asked the job held just prior to emigration from Turkey. The equivalent figure was 34.5% for Greek, 27.4% for Italian and 25.4% for Spanish emigrants (cf. Mehrländer 1972, S. 24). The figure for Turkish emigrants was lower than those of these other nationalities, and it is also lower than the 37.1% figure taken from this questionnaire.

72.2% of all the effective respondents have had some experience in the job of miner in Turkey, and the percentages engaged in different sort of mine are as follows: 81.8 in coal and lignite, 9.8 in non-metallic, and 8.4 in metallic mines.

vi: *Reasons for Coming to West Germany*

For this question, respondents had nine choices, and more than one choice were admitted. The total number of answers was 860. Firstly, 35.4% of the total wanted security for the future (27.7% for his family, and 17.7% for himself). Secondly, 23.1% wanted to get out of debt (13.0% for himself, 8.8% for his family,

and 1.3% for relative). 19.1% wanted to earn more money. 9.3% wanted professional progress. It is interesting that 2.0% marked that they wanted to see Germany. Some persons may have misunderstood and thought that they should choose only one reason, so it is not possible to analyze the answers closely. Still, it is interesting to see that some people came to West Germany in order to clear off even his relative's debt.

vii: School Education

There were 222 effective answers. 2.5% have had no schooling, 11.2% left primary school before finishing, 77.6% graduated from primary school.

When this sample is compared to the general population of the same age structure in Turkey, one finds that the level of schooling of this sample is lower than the national average. Looking at graduates of primary and secondary schools, this sample shows 96.2% and 3.8% respectively, the national figures are 86.8% and 13.2% respectively. Generally observed, the level of education of Turkish migrant workers as a whole is higher than the national average in Turkey, and the sample here concerned shows a reverse trend.

viii: Did Anyone Induce to Come to West Germany?

Out of 304 effective answers, 78.6% came to West Germany without being induced by anyone. Those who felt they had been induced, can be divided into two groups depending on the father's role as an inducer. Among the 33 persons induced by someone who had had experience working in West Germany, 18.2% were by the father; on the other hand, among the 32 persons induced by someone who had had no experienced working in West Germany, 93.8% were by the father.

Even in patriarchal Turkish society, the father's authority does not come to the front when there other effective factors exist.

ix: By What Channel Did You Come to West Germany?

Out of 287 effective answers, 97.3% came by way of the Turkish Employment Service. The other 2.7% entered on tourist visas.

It is not unreasonable to assume that there may be a large proportion of persons who entered on tourist visas among those who declined to respond to this question.

x: Length of Stay

The length of stay is calculated, based on the answers for the question about the date of entry. The questionnaires were filled out in November, 1974, or so I have assumed. With 324 effective answers, the distribution of the length of stay is shown in table 6.

The distribution shows some seasonal concentration among the months within the same years, but more important is the concentration in years.

Note first the small number of workers who have stayed 7 and 8 years. This phenomenon means that Turkish migrant miners play a role as buffers against recession in the West German economy. As shown in table 7, fewer Turks entered West Germany in 1966 and 67, when the West German economy was in recession, and West Germany received few Turkish immigrant workers as a whole in those

Table 6: Distribution of length of stay (persons)

years	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	total
months													
0				3	4	10		1			4		
1		10	1	2	6	3	1				6		
2	1	42		28	10	1	1			5			
3		1		2		2				1	1		
4		2	2	5	16	1	2			1	2	1	
5		7	1	3	7	1	1		1				
6		1	1	6	4	3		1			1		
7		2	1	2	1	1					1		
8		27	1	2	5	1							
9		18	2		4	1				1			
10	2	16		2	3						3		
11		5	1	4								2	
total	3	131	10	59	60	24	5	2	1	8	18	3	324

Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

Table 7: Length of stay

	writer's sample (West Germany, 1974)	DPT (Turkey, 1970)	Paine (Turkey, 1971)
under 6 months	0.3%	7.7%	9%
from 6 months to 1 year	0.6	13.3	14
from 1 year to 2 years	40.4	29.3	27
from 2 years to 3 years	3.1	24.4	22
from 3 years to 4 years	18.2	13.6	15
from 4 years to 5 years	18.5	6.5	7
from 5 years to 6 years	7.4	2.2	4
from 6 years to 7 years	1.5	1.8	2
more than 7 years	9.9	1.2	1
mean	3 years and 7 months		2 years and 4 months

Sources: Given in text.

years as shown in fig. 4

Secondly, it can be said that the respondents here are staying longer than other samples supplied by the State Planning Organization (DPT 1974, s. 67) and Paine (Paine 1974, pp.89, 90 & 201) (cf. table 7). Generally, migrant workers staying in west European countries come and return year by year. Thus, their length of stay is fairly limited. Considering this nature of migration, the length of stay of my sample is characteristic.

As seen in table 8, people in the two higher income groups tend to stay longer. This proposition, however, cannot be insisted upon when the lowest group is included. It may be reasonable to consider that, within the lowest group there exist a good number of persons who cannot achieve their purposes (for example, the purchase of a car) and cannot return home. It is popularly said that emigrated Turks cannot come back home without something valuable to show (for example,

Table 8: Correlation of monthly income and length of stay

length of stay in years	monthly income			total number of respondents
	under 1,000DM	1,000-1,500DM	over 1,500DM	
over 10 years	17%	6%	9%	23
from 7 years to 10 years	0	3	5	11
from 4 years to 7 years	17	21	42	85
under 4 years	67	69	44	186
total number of respondents	12 (100%)	191 (100%)	102 (100%)	305

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

a car, a tractor, or a shop opened in Turkey) their neighbours. It is also said, by the way, there are many Turks living in Istanbul or other large cities of Turkey, who are hiding there instead of returning home where their failure to achieve their purpose would be exposed. Without success, one cannot go home without being laughed at as an idle or shameless fellow (statement by Mr. Öztürk, January 22, 1975 in Kütahya). For those unlucky migrant workers who suffer illness or unemployment during their stay in West Germany, indeed, it is not easy to save enough money to be able to go home.

Table 9: Distribution of length of service

length of service in years	under 1 year	1 year	2 year	3 year	4 year	5 year	8 year	9 year	10 year	11 year	12 year	total
number of persons	85	112	11	37	37	14	1	2	8	1	2	310
percentage	27.4	36.1	3.5	12.0	12.0	4.5	0.3	0.6	2.6	0.3	0.6	100.0

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

Table 10: Correlation of monthly income and length of service

length of service in years	monthly income			respondents total
	under 1,000DM	1,000-1,500DM	over 1,500DM	
over 10 years	1 (4.3%)	15 (65.2%)	7 (30.4%)	23 (100.0%)
from 7 to 10 years	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)
from 4 to 7 years	0 (0.0%)	20 (40.0%)	30 (50.0%)	50 (100.0%)
from 1 to 4 years	4 (2.6%)	102 (6.67%)	47 (30.7%)	153 (100.0%)
under 1 years	7 (9.0%)	53 (67.9%)	18 (23.1%)	78 (100.0%)
respondents total	12 (3.9%)	192 (62.7%)	102 (33.3%)	306 (100.0%)

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

xi: Length of Service

The distribution of the length of service among the effective answers is shown in table 9. Compared with the results of another survey, in which the average length is 1 year and 8 months (Paine 1974, p. 92), my sample shows a length of 2 years and 5.4 months. I have no information about Turkish miners not living in dormitories, and this may account for such different results.

It should be pointed out that Turkish miners tend to reach the upper limit in salary within their job category, but without possibility of being promoted. Table

10 shows this situation; in the group with monthly incomes of more than 1,500 DM, the length of service tends to be 4 to 7 years. Few Turkish miners reach monthly income levels of more than 1,500 DM, accompanied with promotion. When I interviewed Turkish miners in September, 1974, I often heard complaints of their dissatisfaction in being under-valued.

xii: Linguistic Ability, Accessibility to Information

My personal experience has taught me that Turkish migrants commonly tend to reply "average" when they are asked about their ability to speak German, even when they can speak only very limited German. So it is necessary to ask something other than "How well do you speak German?"

Of 290 effective answers for the question asking the frequency of listening to German radio broadcasts, 49.0% do not listen at all, while only 7.9% listen every day. On the other hand, when asked about Turkish radio broadcasts, among 308 effective answers, 54% listen to the Ankara short wave broadcast every day, 33% listen occasionally, and only 1% never. I was astonished when I was informed by almost all of the Turkish miners I interviewed that they had learned of the landing of Turkish military troops in Cyprus at daybreak on July 22, 1974, within two hours, directly or indirectly through the Ankara short wave broadcast.

As this demonstrates, Turkish migrant miners are tightly connected with their home country in respect to language, information and culture. The more tightly they are connected to Turkey, the more weakly to West Germany. As for their daily lives in the dormitories, they do not usually come out to the common dining room to eat, but rather take their meals in their own rooms (statement by Mr. Stavrow, the housemaster of the dormitory Pestalozzi-Dorf, September 12 in Castrop-Rauxel), and so they have few chances for contact with Germans in their daily lives. It is pointed out that the residents of company-owned dormitories are disadvantaged in learning the language of the host society (Castles & Kosack 1973, p. 263). This certainly is true for the Turkish miners I observed.

It is very interesting to know that many Turks listen to radio broadcasts from the socialist countries of East Europe, as Turks, particularly rural Turks, are known to have strong anti-communist feelings. Nevertheless, 59% of the effective respondents listen to East European radio broadcasts, 13% every day. S. Paine wrote, "in view of the anti-communist political climate, it is most striking that 36% of the total (almost half of the rural sample) admitted to listening to Eastern European broadcasts and 13% to continuing to do so after their return. But the significance of this should not be over exaggerated. The most likely explanation is that the lonely workers abroad listened to all available broadcasts in their native language, and continued out of habit on return "(Paine 1974, p. 109). It should be added that the programs they listen to are mostly of music. Turkish immigrants seem completely unable to enjoy Western music, while the musical programs on the Turkish broadcasts from Eastern European radio stations have the oriental tone so familiar with Turks.

There were 313 effective answers for the question asking about desire for more Turkish programs on West German radio stations. 3.5% show no such desire. This may be explained by the fact that the Turkish radio programs in West

Germany are regarded by the Turkish migrants as being too German. Further, it may not be far wrong to assume, when it is wondered why 21 persons did not answer, that it was because they regarded the question as absurd. Many of my Turkish friends in West Germany expressed this sentiment personally.

xiii: Comparison of Turkey with West Germany

Though Turks are noted for their remarkable patriotism, there were only 55 affirmative answers for the question of whether Turkey is absolutely better than West Germany. (It should not, of course, be naively understood that even those who replied affirmatively really believe that Turkey is absolutely better than West Germany in every respect.)

The aspects in which West Germany is regarded as superior to Turkey are shown in table 11. For this question, more than one response were admitted.

Table 11: Aspects in which West Germany is regarded better than Turkey

aspect	number of answer "yes"
Possibility of earning more money	168
Performance of officials	158
Establishment of social security	123
Progress of science and technology	114
Social rights	112
Public cleanliness	109
Individual freedom	58
Others	7

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

xiv: Income and Savings

Of 307 effective answers to the question about monthly income, 15.3% received under 1,000 DM, 73.3% received 1,000–1,500 DM, and 11.1% received 1,500–2,000 DM. The correlation between income and savings is shown in table 12. The mode of the ratio of saving is about 50% as shown in table 13.

The amount of monthly remittance to Turkey was asked, but the answers cannot be highly meaningful, because some people do not trust banks and instead have their money brought back to Turkey by their friends when they return home. The amount of money thus cannot be calculated by the month. Others do not remit their money during their stay abroad, putting it in banks to get interest in foreign currency.

xv: Expected Date of Return

272 answers are effective for the question asking the time of return. Only 2 or 0.7% show an intention to reside in West Germany permanently. 270 or 99.3% say that they still consider themselves migrants, but, most of them do not intend to return home for 5 or 6 years (table 14). This character of Turkish migrants,

Table 12: Correlation of income and savings

monthly income	monthly savings									
	0 DM	under 200DM	200-400DM	400-600DM	600-800DM	800-1,000DM	1,000-1,200DM	1,300DM	1,500-1,600DM	2,000DM
under 1,000DM	0	3	<u>5</u>	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1,000-1,200DM	4	7	11	<u>50</u>	22	4	0	0	0	0
1,200-1,400DM	2	3	8	17	<u>35</u>	15	0	0	0	0
1,400-1,600DM	0	0	0	14	27	<u>31</u>	4	1	0	0
1,600-1,800DM	0	0	1	1	3	<u>6</u>	1	1	0	0
1,800-2,000DM	0	0	1	0	0	<u>4</u>	0	0	2	0
3,000DM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<u>1</u>

Note: Underlining shows the maximum value within each income class.

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

Table 13: Distribution of ratio of saving

monthly income class	average ratio of saving	mode	number of respondents
900DM	37.0%	55.6%	6
1,000	43.5	50.0	34
1,100	51.3	45.5	14
1,200	47.0	58.3	52
1,250	56.6	48.0	7
1,300	48.6	53.8	39
1,400	49.4	57.1	33
1,500	55.1	66.7	62
1,600	55.5	62.5	12
1,700	49.6	52.9	7
1,800	52.8	55.6	5
2,000	48.6	50.4	7
			total 278

Note: Income classes in which there were fewer than 5 respondents are excluded in order to show only the principal tendency. The average ratio of 292 of effective answers is 50.0%.

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

showing their intention to return but not immediately, is not only true for my sample, but for Turkish migrant workers in general. This intention may be explained by the pessimistic views of Turkish migrant workers about the possibility of finding work on return. In the early 1960's their views were optimistic (Abadan 1964, s. 222), but they turned thereafter (Paine 1974, p. 112).

xvi: Intention to Bring Family Members and to Have Their Children Educated in West German Schools

55.3% of 253 effective answers show an intention to bring family members to West Germany, and the other 113 show no intention. As is easily calculated, as many as 81 miners did not answer this question. Why so many did not answer may be partly explained by their lonely mentality; they have been isolated from family for many years, and perhaps supposed that even if they marked the affirmative choice, meaning intention to bring their family members, their wives or children would not come to West Germany in reality, and they would only come to feel worse.

146 or 53.1% were affirmative among the 275 effective answers to the question about intention to have their children educated in West German schools. But

Table 14: Intended time of return

	no intention of return	not yet decided	within 1 year	1 year later	2 years later	3 or 4 years later
number of respondents	2	30	1	13	32	46
percentage	0.7	11.0	0.4	4.8	11.8	16.9

	by 1980 (within 6 years)	by 1985 (within 11 years)	by 1990 (within 16 years)	20-22 years later
number of respondents	79	47	11	11
percentage	29.0	17.3	4.0	4.0

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

even though more than half say they want their children to attend school in West Germany, almost all of their children are still in Turkey. So, those who have affirmative intentions have no real experience of sending their children to school in West Germany. If the Turkish miners had really sent their children to West German schools, they may possibly have had different, more negative feelings, considering the serious problems the child so educated would have to face, both in the family and at school, both in West Germany at the present and in Turkey in the future (some valuable information about this was given by some German and Turkish teachers in the Weingarten Primary School, Dortmund, November 12 and 18, 1974).

xvii: Real Estate and Other Property Purchased Since Emigrating

There were 282 effective answers.

- 1) Newly-Built House 129 46%
- 2) Farmland 64 23%
- 3) Land in Urban Areas 42 15%
- 4) Tractor 17 6%
- 5) Flat to Rent Out 16 6%
- 6) Flat for Own Use 14 5%

(Planning to buy a house in the future 103)

Other surveys also show the high proportion of persons purchasing houses or land for housing (cf. Paine 1974, p. 118). It is impossible for me to calculate the proportion of money spent for houses or land for housing out of the whole amount spent on property by all the Turkish miners, since the total sum of their disposable personal income had not yet been determined at the time of my questionnaire survey. But it is quite certain that the proportion spent on housing is large. In Pain's study, about one third of the returned migrants surveyed by the State Planning Organization in February 1971, listed work-related expenditures. Half of these spent their savings to buy land or farm stock in order to set themselves up as small farmers (*ibid.* pp. 117, 118). Compared with this, the proportion

of respondents who marked farm-related expenditure was higher (may be because the high ratio of rural emigrants) in my sample.

Concerning with the purchase of land in urban areas, Paine pointed out that, "there is little doubt that the additional demand from returned workers has contributed to the very high rate of land prices in urban areas." (*ibid.* p. 138).

In general, the savings of the migrants do not tend to be directed towards encouraging production industries in Turkey. The same tendency was observed in my survey.

xviii: Desired Work on Return

As multiple answers were admitted, the number of effective answers amounted to 590, as follows:

1) Self-employed	15%	6) Farmer	11%
2) Tradesman	13%	7) Shop keeper	11%
3) Landlord	13%	8) Taxi driver	
4) Joint manager		(self-employed)	7%
of a factory	13%	9) Truck driver	
5) Worker	11%	(self-employed)	6%
		10) Others	1%

Compared with the ratios of jobs they held prior to their emigration, in which 37% were peasants, and 44% were miners or workers, it is striking to find out how many want to enter tertiary industries upon return to Turkey. Migrant miners are just as desirous of finding jobs in the field of tertiary industry as other Turkish migrant workers (cf. *ibid.* p. 111).

As mentioned above, most Turkish migrant miners do not intend to return home soon. The reason is closely related to the difficulties of employment on their return. "No priority is given to applications from returnees insofar as the job placement services are concerned (Gendt 1977, p. 42), and in fact, Turkish industrial employers are not willing to employ ex-migrants, because of the lack of the kind of production line with which ex-migrants are familiar in their factories, because ex-migrants have higher wage expectations, because of they might be interested in trade unionism, and so on (cf. Paine 1974, p. 133). Abadan believes that "emigrating has raised these workers to a new social status, which alienates them from the wage-earning class" (Kayser 1972, p. 36). This tendency is partially explained by something an ex-migrant employer told Abadan in Ankara in 1971: "I would certainly have earned more in Germany, even as a simple employee, than as an employer here" (*ibid.* p. 38). I myself was told by Mr. R. Ertav, the head of the Kütahya branch office of the Turkish Employment Service, in January 20, 1975: "This morning," he said, "a waiter, an ex-migrant asked me to look for a better restaurant for him to work in, and a bricklayer, an ex-migrant too, also asked me to find a better factory for him to be employed in. Both of them could have bought houses with the money they saved in West Germany. They have surely improved their social positions."

xix: Problems Requiring Consultation at the Turkish Consulate at Essen

The labor attaché in the Turkish Consulate in Essen is in charge of the prob-

lems of the Turkish workers I studied.

There were 296 effective answers to the question asking whether the person had ever talked anything over with the labor attaché, of which 146 or 49% were affirmative. Dr. Özdoğan was in the position at that time, and he was especially noted for his intimacy with the Turkish migrants. Whereas in previous years, few Turkish workers had been acquainted with the labor attaché.

The kinds of problems brought up for were as follows;

1) Information	19%	8) Laws of Turkey	7%
2) Work permission	12%	9) Conflict with employer	4%
3) Law applying to foreigners (in West Germany)	11%	10) Labor accident	3%
4) Child allowance	10%	11) School affairs (in West Germany)	3%
5) Provisions of insurance	10%	12) Fraud	3%
6) Translation	9%	13) Traffic accident	2%
7) Customs	8%	14) Others	1%

xx: *Problem of Sex*

There were 267 effective answers. As almost all of the migrant Turks here concerned are married but unaccompanied by their wives, the problem of sex, how to control sexual desire, is remarkably serious for them. The responses were as follows:

1) Living with wife	43	16.1%
2) Have sex with a girlfriend	9	3.4%
3) Have relations with prostitutes	129	48.3%
4) No relations with anyone	79	29.6%
5) Have sex with a girlfriend, and also have relations with prostitutes	7	2.6%

Among the wives, 4 are German.

The correlation between sexual behavior and the degree of economic development is shown in table 15. Regional characteristics seem clear; miners from the least developed regions seem less free to have girlfriends on the one hand, but they also seem unable to have no contact with woman on the other hand. As a result they have relations with prostitutes.

Table 15: Correlation of pattern of sexual behavior and regional type of economic development

regional type	pattern of sexual behavior				total
	together with wife	together with girl friend	relations with prostitute	no contact at all	
developed regions	19.9%	4.1%	43.8%	32.2%	100.0
less developed regions	16.3%	2.3%	46.5%	34.9%	100.0
least developed regions	25.0%	0.0%	66.7%	8.3%	100.0

Note: Number of effective answers was 201.

Source: Writer's questionnaire survey (1974)

Afterword

To briefly summarize, most of the people from whom I obtained information were peasants or miners of rural origin, were married and unaccompanied, and had little schooling. It is considered that there is a greater economic, social and cultural gap between Turkish migrant workers as a whole and their host nation than exists for any other migrant nationality in West Germany. For the Turkish migrant miners treated here this gap is the most extreme.

The larger the gap, the greater the possibility and the greater the rewards of saving and remitting money, and the more tightly the migrant workers are bound to the host countries. Thus Turkish society has become closely linked to West German society through the migrant workers. At the government level, the Government of the Republic of Turkey wants to strengthen relations with West Germany, in hopes of thereby making up its large international payments deficit, and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, also wants to strengthen relations, recognizing its continuing need for cheap labor for the further development of the West German economy.

Close relations when such remarkable differentials exist lead to equally remarkable contradictions. Close relations are perhaps always accompanied by contradictions, but the case of Turkey and West Germany is extreme.

Classic geography found its principle of regionalization in the concept of harmony. This was the case with C. Ritter who insisted on the existence of geographical individuality, with F. von Richthofen who established "Chorology", with F. Ratzel who developed his theory of national organisms, and with Vidal de la Blache who illustrated the modes of life.

Within such frameworks, it is not possible to grasp the actuality of region, regionalized by the intertwinement of the confronting – at least to some extent – interests of several social groups in a region. The theoretical framework of classic geography basically reflects reality in precapitalistic times, when districts were isolated from each other because of the lack of networks of regional divisions of labor. But, it is not possible to grasp present-day societies, with their networks of worldwide regional divisions of labor, within the outmoded framework of classic geography.

In many of the post industrial societies, not only does capital maintain itself by exploiting indigenous workers, and the indigenous working class maintain itself by offering its labor, with the result that the region as a unit of society maintains itself by its indigenous factors, but also, capital maintains itself by exploiting immigrated workers, the working class maintains itself by struggling against the foreign workers brought in, and as a result the region maintains itself by having contradictory relations with the regions exporting workers to it. In this situation, firstly, internationally polarized regions appeared, the result of contradiction caused by exporting and importing workers. An example of this kind of polarized region is the Turco-German one, of which the pole exists in West Germany. Secondly, each of the countries exporting and importing workers is regionalized internally by the contradictions caused by exporting or importing of migrant workers. This is certainly the case in Turkey. Turkey has become a region strongly

influenced by the West German trade cycle, and a region in which intersubregional economic differentials have become larger and larger.

The subject with which I am dealing is related to the principle of socio-economic regionalization as I have very briefly sketched above.

Acknowledgements

First of all I wish to express my deep thanks to each of the people who helped me in West Germany and Turkey in the years 1974 and 1975. To the Institute of Geography of the Ruhr University Bochum, headed by Prof. Dr. Peter Schöller, I am much beholden for invaluable help, including effective discussions. My thanks go to Miss Gisela Fischer, Ex-Assistant of Geography of the Higher Normal School in Dortmund, in particular. If I were not helped by her, my survey could never have gotten off the ground. With some principal parts of my survey, she ought to be called my collaborator. If I list the names of all the other persons to whom I wish to express my special thanks, these lines of acknowledgements will never end.

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SUPPLEMENT

Questionnaire

(Translated from the Turkish text)

1. How old are you? years old

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 2. | Are you married? | Yes . . .
No . . . |
| 3. | If you are married, where does your wife live? | In my hometown . . .
In Germany with me . . .
In Germany not with me . . .
In Turkey not in my hometown . . . |
| 4. | How many children do you have? | |
| 5. | Where were you born? | Province . . .
County . . .
Village . . . |
| 6. | Where is your home in Turkey now? | Province . . .
County . . .
Village . . . |
| 7. | What is the occupation of your father? | Farmer . . .
Miner . . .
Shopkeeper . . .
Tradesman . . .
Others |
| 8. | What was your main occupation in Turkey? | |
| 9. | Were you employed in Turkey for a short time in mining in order to be able to come to West Germany? | Yes . . .
No . . . |
| 10. | If you were employed | In which mine? . . .
Where?
In what kind of mine? . . . |
| 11. | What is the reason you came to West Germany? | To earn more money . . .
To secure the future of my family . . .
To pay off my debts . . .
To pay off my father's or my brother's debts . . .
To pay off another relation's debts . . .
To secure my own future . . .
To make progress in my profession . . .
To travel and see West Germany . . .
Others |
| 12. | (Please translate into German as best you can)
How many years have you | |

- attended school? years
13. How much education do you have? Primary school . . .
Secondary school . . .
High school . . .
Higher education . . .
14. Who induced you to come to West Germany? My father, who worked in West Germany . . .
My brother, who worked in West Germany . . .
My friend, who worked in West Germany . . .
My father, who has not worked in West Germany . . .
My brother, who has not worked in West Germany . . .
My friend, who has not worked in West Germany . . .
I decided myself to come to West Germany .
15. How did you get permission to stay and work? Through the Turkish Employment Service in Turkey . . .
In West Germany after I entered the country with a tourist visa . . .
16. When did you come to West Germany; 19 . . .
(month) (year)
17. When did you come to your present job? 19 . . .
(month) (year)
18. How well do you speak German? I speak as much German as I have learned in the German course at the mine . . .
I speak as much German as is necessary for working and shopping . . .
I speak enough German to be understood by Germans . . .
I speak German with no difficulty in my daily life . . .
Sometimes I interpret for my Turkish colleagues . . .
19. Do you want to increase your knowledge of German? Yes . . .
No . . .
20. How often do you read Turkish newspapers? Every day . . .
Once or twice a week . . .

21. How often do you listen to Radio Köln?
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
22. How often do you listen to Radio Ankara?
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
23. Do you listen to the radio-broadcasts of communist countries, for example, Radio Sofia or Radio Budapest?
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
24. Do you watch Turkish programs on German television?
 Frequently . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 When I have enough time . . .
 Never . . .
25. Do you want more Turkish programs on German television?
 Yes . . .
 No . . .
26. How often do you read German newspapers?
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
27. How often do you listen to German radio programs?
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
28. How often do you watch German television programs?
 Every day . . .
 Once or twice a week . . .
 Sometimes . . .
 Never . . .
29. What are the differences

between Turkey and West Germany in your opinion?

Turkey is better than West Germany without doubt, because Turkey is my motherland

...

West Germany is better than Turkey, though she is my motherland . . .

Turkey is better;

but, there is a good possibility of earning much more money in West

Germany . . .

but, there is much social security in West Germany . . .

but, there are more social rights in West Germany . . .

but, West Germany is more developed and she has more developed sciences . . .

but, West German officials perform their works more quickly and more reliably . . .

but, there is more individual freedom in West Germany . . .

but, West German society attaches more importance to public cleanliness . . .

but, in West Germany

(Please translate into German as best you can)

30. How much do you earn monthly on the average? DM (in spendable earnings)
31. How much do you save monthly on the average? DM (net)
32. How much money do you send monthly on the average to your family in Turkey? DM (net)
33. How much of the money you send does your family in Turkey spend monthly on the average? about DM
34. When do you intend to return to Turkey? 19 . . .
I never intend to return to Turkey . . .
35. Have you bought any real estate or made other big investments in Turkey since emigrating?
I have built a house in my village . . .
I bought or built a house to rent out . . .
I bought a flat in urban area . . .

- I bought farmland in my village . . .
 I bought a plot in an urban area . . .
 I bought a tractor . . .
36. Do you intend to bring your family to West Germany?
 Yes . . .
 No . . .
37. Do you intend to have your children educated in West German schools?
 Yes . . .
 No . . .
38. What do you intend to do after your return to Turkey?
 Continue working as a worker . . .
 Continue working as a farmer in my village .
 Do business on my own . . .
 Be a shopkeeper . . .
 Be a tradesman . . .
 Buy a car and be a taxi driver . . .
 Buy a truck and engage in the transport business . . .
 Buy or build a house and live there . . .
 Buy or build a house and rent it out . . .
 Establish a factory and be a joint manager . .

- (Please translate into German as best you can)
39. What do you think should be done by the Turkish Government for Turkish migrants in West Germany?
 I wish that the Turkish Government would for us.
- (Please translate into German as best you can)
40. Are you personally acquainted with someone among the officials of the Turkish Consulate or the Office of the Labor Attaché in Essen?
 Yes . . .
 No . . .
41. If yes, with whom are you acquainted?
 I am acquainted with
42. Did the Office of the Labor Attaché in Essen arrange any meeting for you?
 Yes . . .
 No . . .
43. Have you been helped by the Turkish Consulate or the Office of the Labor Attaché

in Essen with any of the problems listed?

- Translation . . .
- Information . . .
- Conflict with employer . . .
- Law for foreigners (in West Germany) . . .
- Child allowance . . .
- Work permission . . .
- Insurance . . .
- Labor accident . . .
- Traffic accident . . .
- Fraud
- Laws of Turkey . . .
- Customs . . .
- School affairs of West Germany . . .
- Others

(Please translate into German as best you can)

44. How are you dealing with the problem of sex?

- My wife is with me . . .
- I have sex with a girl friend . . .
- Sometimes I visit a brothel . . .
- I do not have sex with anyone . . .

45. Is your wife German?

- Yes . . .
- No . . .