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TURKISH WORKERS IN WEST GERMANY : A

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The history books of the west have been concerned during the last 400 years about the threats, wars of the Ottoman empire, the stereotyp about the having doubtless influenced the thinking of the urban the street. All these value judgements were partly to the fact, that the Ottoman empire followed a policy of hegemony and was trying to foster its power through conquest and annexation. After the decline of the empire and the rebirth of the Turkish nation in form of the Republic, a new type of Turkish invasion took place. This invasion is no more attached to any military strings but is an individual choice, motivated by economic and social factors. Thus this peaceful invasion is no more considered in the context of diplomatic history or international relations.

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

The present day migration movement is large demographic explosion. Since a decade the population increases at a rate of 3 %, in absolute figure (1) 8 1965 the Turkish population exceeded 30 million population (age 15 - 64) of 13.240.000 is divided rural and only 10.4 % in industrial sector. statistics of the trade unions, the number of disemployment reaches at the peak of the dead season 5 million figure of unemployment is 1,5 million.

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

- 1 — Introduction of family planning methods
- 2 — Creation of new jobs in industry,

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

Table : 1 Major Foreign workers in W. Germany

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

In 1968 the following five European countries ded the presence of 162.846 Turkish workers. This with 200.000 prior to the economic regression in Fe The distribution is as follows :

Switzerland	720
Austria	5.595
Belgium	7.266
Holland	10.283
Federal Germany	139.000

The major reasons for this very rapid and lar can be analyzed under three headings :

a) **Economic factors :**

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

b) **Social factors :**

- a) Larger job opportunities within 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 a higher education

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12.238 women, thus a total of 636.532 unemployed. They are anxiously any confirmation of their demands. Among the applicants 495.539 were completely unexperienced, unskilled. Since then this figures have been constantly raising. The unemployment is mostly due to a high population growth, migration from the villages toward the cities and the inability of the development plans to furnish sufficient new vacancies for 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 based on 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 has risen from 13.4 % (1965) to 19.4 % (1967) (6). However the picture is a different picture. In 1967 the Greek women workers numbered with 58.300 the strongest female group, followed very closely by the Italians with 57.900, the Spanish 42.400, the Yugoslavs and the Turkish women with 25.500 in 1968 34.264. The non-permissive character of the Islamic way of life is not so evident, since during the regression period of Germany in spring 1967, most of the continued demands for labor in the market were directed toward female manual workers. The demands for women workers especially in the textile industry are rather complicated, high skill and light finger touch. The performances of electronic industry require a high degree of

Distribution of Turkish workers according indu

After having shortly looked over the sudden Turkish workers in Western Germany, some of their distribution within various industrial sectors. Accordingly the iron, steel industry takes almosy 50 % of the Turkish workers (Metal 48.469), the second place is followed by the manufacturing (32.823), thirdly building and construction companies fourthly mining (10.517). Interesting enough that not very much attractive for Turkish workers.

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

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

Thus it can be stated that every 2 Turks out of 3 in Germany works probably in front of an automobile, the third is likely to be employed in textile or in the fourth helping to construct over or under the ground fifth to work in a mine. The cities with the most

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

However once these respondents were able to move to West Germany rapid upward mobility - under certain conditions - was possible. In the case of teachers of technical crafts - gave place to a new type of mobility. With other words the attractiveness of life in the new environment sometimes induced workers to descend to a lower level of mobility. Thus 21 % of the respondents, who were engaged as salesmen, clerk or had acquired special skills as electricians, etc. moved over to the pure labour market and gave up their white job for better paid, but more physically demanding jobs.

Another interesting feature of Turkish migration is the regional belongingness of the applicants. The 1950 census has proven that migration toward foreign countries has been the second phase of an internal migration. To illustrate this although 40,5 % indicated İstanbul as their last place of residence 17 % were born there. This trend does not change

theless the share of smaller cities and villages labour forces has increased over the years. Since nothing on no attempt to orientate or train these workers officially undertaken, their adaptation is de facto through their countrymen already settled in Germany as well as Turkish workers associations.

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

Motivation of working abroad

An important aspect of short-term migration is the prevailing opinions among the migrants themselves. The question to be tackled are the expectations towards the host country. Here one can detect an interesting dichotomy. European industrialized countries are expecting freedom, better opportunities to shape their own countries; however residents from a country, particularly a transitional area of economic development are attracted by the high wages and saving opportunities of the host country. Investigations are showing that migrants from developing countries chosen to change their working places for permanent

Table : 2

Success and failure (12)

Reasons for satisfaction

Satisfying wages and large savings
Perfectionment in the profession and the German la
Acquisition of a car
Getting to know the world, finding a job
Without response

Reasons for deception

Wages lower than expectation
Impossibility of saving
New arrivers
No opportunity for training
Are employed outside of their profession
Hoping to reach their goal
No answer

It must be pointed out, that lacking opportuni
rounded up, satisfactory information about the job

Lodging, adjustment toward the job, earnings and

The second important phase concerning all migrants presents itself after their arrival in the host countries. These areas are imposing serious challenges :

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

The problem of housing presents serious aspects. The newly arrived contingent has the tendency of establishing contacts with the same ethnical group, if possible living in the same area and adopt the attitudes of their experience. These tendencies of course have reinforcing impact on the feelings of alienation, exploitation and isolation.

In case of the Turkish workers, the great majority live in collective lodging or communal living quarters or do so of not bringing with them their families. This is the general labour policy of the Federal Republic, which is now to be confronted with hardpressing demands for family housing to be shared with the rest of the local population. On the other hand, collective housings, built for the special purpose

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

Table : 3

Distribution of male workers according to their marital status (15)

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

This table clearly indicates that the Turkish workers are the most

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

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

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

The allocation for children is principally only for children living with their families in the Federal Republic. According to bilateral agreements concluded with Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal enables those guestworkers, who are separated from their families, to receive this allocation which begins with the first child and climbs up to 70.- DM for the second child and up to 140.- DM for the third child. In practice various difficulties have emerged.

- 1 — Turkish civil registers are mostly not indexed by year and month of birth of a child only the year of birth is recorded. This leads to a refusal of German authorities to make

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

During the 1963 survey, the average living cost
were calculated as following (18) :

Average monthly rent	34.—
Average monthly food	157.—
Average monthly expenses	76.—
	<hr/>
	267.—

Having calculated under the distribution and c
tions of 1963, the average earning represented the
DM, which enabled each worker to put aside the su
mately 250.— DM. Accordingly the savings in 1963
total sum of 20 Million \$ (19).

Since that year the contributions to the Turkish
been remarkably high and are encouraged by the ac
special rate of change. In addition the savings o
workers, which have reached a ceiling of 600 Million
constitutes also for the German economy a serious
last point has been developped in detail by Prof. Ba
the Turkish economy.

Table : 4

Transfer of guestworkers earnings abroad (in DM

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

At the beginning, the delay in regard of the official special exchange rate, caused the sudden eruption of dubious commercial forms, all dealing in black market. After 1964 this business slowed down, mostly due to the official change and the facilities shown by the Special PTT services. However since 1968 the unofficial market began to rise and new measures seems to be necessary to bring these funds home.

The problems concerning adjustment to the new environment are easily overcome after a rather short orientation. A survey revealed that 69 % did not find any difficulties in getting themselves to their job, 40 % were able to move in a time span of one hour to one day. 93 % confessed to be able to adapt themselves to the working speed. The survey also indicated that 47 % of the workers estimated physical strength as the most important requirement for a job. Since 41 % of the sample did not use a single structural tool or any machine, it can be easily stated, that most Turkish workers are employed at monotonous jobs, requiring different physical movements, jobs requiring no special

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From our survey it has been proven, that due to communication and correct knowledge of the authorities, complaints and grievances can be addressed a relative rate of working accident is happening. The average in Turkey is about 12 %, where as this rate has increased among the Turkish workers in Germany. Looking at different professional groups, the peasant group is ranking first of all others with 100 % accident rate; with other workers, who came directly from a rural background 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 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 of the Turkish-German Social Security agreement, signed on 30, 1954. Although the agreement provides for a maintenance 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 last few years the speed, ease and willingness of adjustment within the new environment is surprisingly high. This fact is widely known and highly praised by all German official authorities.

new language teaching methods for adults. With the Turkish Broadcasting Co. a film named «Guten Tag» was produced and multiplied. The Federal Organization of German Workers has taken up the expenses of supplying free the necessary materials attached to it. Nevertheless it has to be noted that the average low educational level of Turkish male workers. A survey indicated that 52 % of the male workers have not completed grade school - (22) the acquisition of a new technology becomes difficult due to a rather narrow framework. However these handicaps can be surmounted by longterm efforts.

At this point the problem of alimentation deserves special mention. It should not be overlooked that individuals with limited educational background, who are influenced by these attitudes, represents a pacifying psychological factor. If these attitudes, if paired with religious attitudes, in the absence, might lead to very severe physical and mental diseases.

The deep attachment of Turkish workers to their traditional way of feeding themselves, places food habits as unchanging attitudes. This becomes evident when traditional religious rules like fastening is compared with

Table : 6

Attitudes concerning pork eating (24

Eating	20
Not eating	80
	<hr/>
	100

Investigating the reasons, the non-national 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
	<hr/>
	99

Thus it becomes evident that it is far easier to change religious habits, such as less praying, more seldom to adopt deliberately a different attitude toward the other side innumerable surveys in the field of sociology have been proving that minority groups are usually characterized by an inherent tendencie for more orthodox religious alliance to magnify the importance of their existence and

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

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

Another problem, which is not yet fully tackled, is the matter of providing a satisfactory solution, is the matter of training workers with further technical knowledge and knowledge. The German Federal Employment Organization did carry out a survey in 1966. The sample size was 7.500 out of 975.000, that is, 0.7% of all foreign workers at that period in Federal Germany.

The results are pointing out that the professional training is mostly taking place in form of ascension from unskilled worker to qualified worker. However the survey shows that due to poor language knowledge, preference of overtime work for saving purposes and limited residence, many migrants are not willing to spend their leisure time for additional education, teaching and relatively speaking few migrants have not passed examinations required for specialized jobs. In the male workers of the four largest national companies, the

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

In this regard a tentative experiment carried on common funds of the Italian government and Germany to offer a more satisfactory solution. This experiment in Milan covered the setting up of a training centre for industrial jobs and enabled a group of Italian workers to gain their knowledge at home before migrating abroad. The reason of not continuing this project has been that almost half of the workers have been snatched by the Italian industry itself.

Nevertheless it seems to be certain that whether workers stay at home and then send abroad or left to their own decision to return to their home country and seek employment in enterprises depends largely of the accumulated knowledge. It seems imperative for all host countries to consider in a detailed way to what extent could technical aid be provided by a multifaced training program for short-term migrants.

As far as the Turkish workers concerns in 1970, their potential promotion was largely connected

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

Attitudes toward German society

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

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

Table : 10

Rate of criminality according countries (32)

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

This table indicates that the proportion of Turkish criminals has grown almost 4 times more since 1963. Comparing these figures with other countries we might conclude, that Turkey is not far behind Italy, USA and Yugoslavia, which are showing a stable situation, Turkey has been constantly increasing its rate of criminality.

An analysis carried out by the Faculty of Economics at Istanbul, on the criminal rate of 1960 - 65, gives a clear picture according to sexes. This breakdown clearly shows that the majority of all offences are committed solely by men.

As this distribution indicates the most common crime among women is theft and homicide. Speaking in absolute terms, breaking of traffic rules (71 %) represents a total of 71 %. Indeed the temptation of acquiring and driving a car brings the workers in conflict with the law, but also represents a high proportion of fatal accidents. The shortage of public transport as well as the slowness of the administrative mechanism exacerbates many times the situation. (Difficulty of transport and lack of security arrangements of the dependents).

Another interesting feature concerning the behaviour of workers concerns their regional belonging. In the Black Sea area local customs prevail even in alien industrial surroundings. As the Mediterranean habit of carrying on vendetta, the Black Sea area coast people represent with 38.5 % a high proportion in regard of homicide and weapon bearing. This profession does not seem to be a significant determinant of the overall distribution pattern it can be stated with confidence that male workers are much more predisposed to break the law. The inability to conform in social life to the prevailing behaviour creates serious disturbances. This situation requires special attention on behalf of all organizations representing the workers.

Role of trade unions, workers association :

The major motive for employers to introduce

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ties up with the notion of political economy, according to which the labour market has to share the existing openings with other competitors. Secondly, the assumption that the rigidity of wages inevitably leads to a reduction of salaries also creates a great deal of worries in the midst of the trade union milieu. Finally, the fact that trade unions have developed the theory that «an armament of industrial reserves» creates a surplus load upon the labor market, and by its sheer existence diminishes the contractual force of the engaged labour force.

In order to eliminate all these possibilities national trade union workers are granted without difference all legal guarantees, such as wage levels achieved through collective bargaining. However, since the national trade unions are not deploying any specific measures for the protection of the newly arrived contingent of workers, when they attempt to integrate them in the trade union movement, through their constant effort to equalize the wage level, depriving the employers of exploiting volunteering cheap labour, the situation indirectly contributes to the rapid economic upturn of the short-term migrant.

The relationship of the Turkish workers with the trade union movement in this general framework. To begin with, due to the lack of information on the ground of the Turkish workers, only a very small group has acquired knowledge or experience with trade unions. In 1963, only 10% had joined any trade unions. The big bulk explained their lack of interest with lack of information (22 %), no necessity (23

monthly Turkish leaflet. To facilitate Turkish workers to join trade unions and to participate in the election of a works council» (Betriebsrat), to provoke a stronger interest on behalf of Türk - İş, the Turkish Federation of Workers seems to be the right approach. In order to realize this, a much more active policy has to be followed. According to a survey, 34 % of the Turkish workers denied a written working contract, 25 % ignored all source of information, and 15 % safeguard their professional interests (35).

Aside of trade unions, two different bodies are working with the Turkish workers. The first body is the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, supported by the German government with the function of providing a kind of personal assistance in form of guidance, advice as well as organizing various kinds of leisure activities. The second body is the Federation of Turkish Workers, created in almost every major German city. This body is solely supported by membership dues. There exists a rivalry between these two bodies, which from time to time has taken the form of political controversy. A more intensive collaboration among these organizations, together with a clear division of functions seems to be the answer to channel their effort and material goods into constructive purposes.

Religious assistance

for a speedy adjustment and a conservation of the old culture. For other they constitute a real handicap for adaptation, even leading to some extent to a prosélitism on their own part. In regard of the Moslem community, the problem is seen from a different aspect. Given the fact that no established Islamic community in Germany represented any counterpart for an Islamic community among the Turks as a religious group were left on their own. The official part of this type of government supported guidance was taken over by the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, a side-organisation of the German Social Democratic Party. At the beginning of the 1960s the community elected among themselves some over-zealous leaders. Later the government decided to detach a number of formally educated imam to provide for spiritual leadership. Despite the lack of a hierarchical set-up within Islam is not a problem among the Turkish workers in Germany some ideological differences exist. Nevertheless the designation of a number of government subsidized imams has at least provided the necessary basis for the carrying out of the most necessary religious duties such as praying at funerals, etc.

Intention to return home

The intentions of short-term migrants to return to their home country and make use of their savings as well as their acquired skills, carries no doubt a paramount importance for the sending as the recipient country. Our survey of 1964 showed that 12 % of the workers were nursing concrete intentions to return back home, another survey carried out by the

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

It might be assumed that the intentions of the workers have not increased over the years, the economic recession has caused a reduction in the size of the Turkish workforce in Germany. This fluctuation lead to a shrinking of the Turkish workers, which presumably must have been either returned to Turkey since spring 1967 or migrated elsewhere. A substantial study has been carried out so far to locate the Turkish workers. These workers can be considered under the following headings: Peasant workers, small town workers, and city workers (38).

a - Peasant workers

Going directly from a village to work abroad is encouraged by the government through the establishment of village cooperatives. Villages forming a cooperative with many participants are getting a priority in the list of opportunities. Yet, so far the impact of these cooperatives

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

b - The small - town workers

The small town workers have usually acquired some skills, used as a taxi, a movie projector or a milling machine. They have changed their way of living and dressing, but have not moved to the big city.. Their usual complaint is lack of employment. They are on the verge of moving to a larger town, but have not left their present position. If they go into retailing, such as 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, some time farther, such as Canada, Australia, the United States.

For both peasant and small town workers, their main motivation is to improve their living conditions.

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

c - The city workers

This group represents rather skilled workers, holding a high position in their factories. They are bringing modern household articles, have definitely raised their standards and are those with the greatest likelihood of getting out of the national scenery by establishing a small business, a repair shop etc. (41).

Joint investment venture

The most significant development of the last decade is the creation of various engineers and workers founded companies. The oldest of these companies, has been established in 1954. **TÜRKSAN** meets today a large variety of paper products, copybooks, etc. as well as wall paper. Two other companies, **İŞBİR** and **BİRSAN** are in the process of organization. The government in order to encourage labour investment has reserved 10 % of the shares of two founded automotive companies, **FIAT** and **VOLVO** for potential investment in migrant workers abroad. The most interesting development is the merger of **TÜRKSAN** with **HASTAŞ**, the largest steel plant in the country (42).

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1968 the migrants in Germany broke up as followin

Italian	287.440
Turks	139.336
Greeks	136.191
Spanish	111.892

In general the advantages of short-term migr
tainly outknocking their inconveniences. However
population exchange based purely on economic re
rather be looked as a temporary solution for lang-
ted national problems. The assumption of being a
the urgent pressure of unemployment and retardne
alisation by encouraging migration through gover
nels, seems to be limited by its scope and time.
the benefits of Turkish workers can be summarize

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

A considerable amount of unsolved problems a
solution or improvement.