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Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo- Emancipation of Turkish Women

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In many underdeveloped Mediterranean countries with few occupational opportunities, external migration during the two decades from 1955-1975 became a matter of governmental policy, frequently regulated by international bilateral agreements. As such, external migration began at this time to represent a typical future of the post-war development. This migration was distinguished, however, by a predominantly non-individually motivated, yet highly administratively organized character.

The highly industrialized West European countries were the main targets for these migrant workers. These countries exercised full employment policies and extended vocational training, which resulted in a more facile upward mobility and in a large number of employment vacancies in the socially undesirable, tiresome and dirty jobs. Initially, these employment factors led to the export of a significant portion of the male population. Later, however, as industry continued to employ out-of-date industrial equipment and lower wages, there was a rising demand for the employment of female migrant workers, particularly in the manufacturing, iron and metal industries. More specifically, female workers were concentrated in the sector of electronics, automotive industry, textile, chemical production, food processing and packaging as well as cleaning services.

In Federal Germany, after the recession of 1966-1967, there actually appeared a limitation of new job offerings for men, in which the demand for female workers continued. This produced a situation whereby traditionally trained, non-migratory motivated women were strongly urged by their fathers, husbands, or other relatives to take up industrial jobs in foreign countries by which they could secure lucrative positions with higher income possibilities for their male relatives. Thus, countless Turkish women entered urban jobs without knowing what constituted city life, highly disciplined working hours, or production norms.

This paper, then, endeavors to sketch briefly the status of Turkish women workers employed abroad in the industrial and informal sectors. It shall contrast the intended and the unintended migratory moves of

women in an effort to discern the link between the migrant workers who have taken up semi-permanent residence abroad and their impact on the female family members left behind in terms of the latter's emancipation or pseudo-emancipation. As such, the entrance of women workers into new jobs, will be received as a contribution to the far reaching social and economic changes in the home region of the migrants in rural and urban areas.

GROWTH OF TURKISH MIGRATION

Turkey, unlike many of the Mediterranean countries, has maintained no continuing migratory tradition. This tendency is reflected in Dr. Lerner's analysis on the empathy among citizens of Middle Eastern countries. This antipathy toward geographical mobility has changed drastically in the last two decades. The primary cause for this change may be found in the structural change taking place in the Turkish economy. Since the early 1950's, the introduction of modern technology, cash cropping and increased indebtedness for transportation and marketing, has resulted in a rapid de-peasantization of this rural population forcing the peasant to turn to non-agriculturally based income sources. In urban areas, the sudden surge of the informal sector also induced a large number of employed people to seek their livelihood abroad. These elements, when coupled with the impact of rising expectations and the desire for better educational opportunities, led to the constant growth in the number of potential candidates for external migration. The proportion of women workers at the beginning of the large scale Turkish exodus, that is, during the first decade of 1956-1966, was relatively low. After 1966-1967 statistics indicated that while new offerings were limited for men, a continuous demand for women workers was registered. This date also marks the heavier migration of women directly from rural areas. After 1966, many employees preferred the recruitment of women workers, who were earning relatively low wages and who were predominantly inactive in trade union activities.

These women, mostly of peasant origin and frequently unwilling to migrate, were coaxed by their husbands or fathers to take up industrial jobs in foreign countries. For most, this trip was equivalent to a military service which, from the beginning appeared to be temporary. The major reason for this insistence on behalf of the men, was that the legal provisions applicable to foreign manpower in Europe, according to almost all bilateral agreements, authorized family reunions and issued legal working permits according to the employment of one of the spouses. This economically justifiable option totally reversed the role of the

breadwinner. Women, even if they were personally and mentally unprepared for a new life in an alien environment, were catapulted into urban jobs with the assumption that their entrance into a foreign labour market would be temporary and simply designed to obtain lasting employment for the male spouse. Women, however, who did undertake new urban jobs remained with their new employment while deep structural changes affected their family life. Before analyzing these changes in terms of emancipation, a brief statistical assessment must be presented.

Table 1 indicates the growth in the number of women workers in Federal Germany, the major recruiting country for Turkish women. Table 2 embraces all other foreign countries, including Australia, where Turkish women have been officially placed through the Turkish Employment Service.

TABLE 1

GROWTH OF TURKISH FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN FEDERAL GERMANY, 1960-1975

Years	Absolute Figures of Women	Absolute Figures of Men	Percentage of Women %
1960	173	2.527	6.8
1961	430	6.370	6.7
1962	1.563	17.283	9
1963	3.569	29.395	12.1
1964	8.045	77.127	10.4
1965	17.759	115.018	15.4
1966	27.215	133.735	13.4
1967	25.456	105.853	16.9
1968	34.257	118.648	19.4
1969	53.573	190.762	22.4
1970	77.405	276.493	21.9
1971	97.358	355.787	21.5
1972	100.763	348.913	20.2
1973	128.808	399.606	20.4
1974	159.984	457.547	25.9
1975	143.611	409.606	26

SOURCE: *Auslaendische Arbeitnehmer* 1971, Nürnberg 1972, p. 19; *Auslaendische Arbeitnehmer* 72/73, Nürnberg 1974, p. 70-71; *Ämtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*, March 1976, p. 277-278.

During the period of 1961-1975: 1) There has been a large rise in the proportion of women in official migrant departures, 2) There was a marked cyclical variation in the proportion of female departures, which rose sharply during the 1967 slump and declined as the cycle picked up again, 3) The proportion of female migrant workers was still dispropor-

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF WOMEN WORKERS, OFFICIALLY SENT ABROAD BY THE TURKISH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE ACCORDING TO SKILL LEVEL AND
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1967-1974 ALL FOREIGN COUNTRIES

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Total number of women work.	3.533	11.341	20.765	20.776	14.200	18.654	27.035	1.330
% of women workers out of the total figure of workers sent abroad	39	26	19	16	16	21	19	6
Unskilled women workers in total figures	3.254	9.915	17.942	18.628	11.924	15.838	23.461	1.119
% of unskilled women workers out of the total figure of women workers sent abroad	52	31	22	19	20	16	29	8
Skilled women workers in total figures	279	1.426	2.823	2.148	2.276	2.816	3.574	211
% of skilled women workers out of the total figure of women workers sent abroad	10	11	11	6	7	9	6	2
Textile women workers in absolute figures	39	261	708	891	246	226	398	10
% of women textile workers	10	16	27	51	15	14	7	2
Women tailors in absolute figures	233	1.141	2.096	904	1.759	1.802	1.339	3
% of women tailors sent abroad	77	64	69	82	75	72	69	3

SOURCE: *Work and Manpower Bulletin*, No. 163, July 1974.

tionately low in view of their share in the economically active population, which amounted to 38% in 1965 and 37% in 1970 and the proportion of female migrant workers when compared with the share of women in Turkish non-agricultural employment, which was 8% in 1965 and 11% in 1970 still greatly exceeded the domestically employed labour force. Particularly significant is the high proportion of skilled female migrant workers. This tendency clearly reveals itself in Table 2.

In order to assess the role played by women workers abroad, it seems useful to distinguish between the first wave of women workers, recruited prior to 1966 and the second wave, which represents the larger bulk. While at the beginning, the educational level of the women was notably higher than that of the men—the Abadan survey carried out in 1963 indicates 57% primary school graduates among men against 33% among women, 14% secondary school graduates among men against 24% among women, 3% senior high school graduates among men against 10% among women—this situation changed in the second period, where not only some kind of parallelism between the two sexes in terms of educational level became noticeable, but there was a significant entrance of female workers from predominantly rural and less developed areas. A recent survey conducted in West Berlin, where there is a high percentage of Turkish workers, reveals that 70% of the women had never worked before. When broken down according to the level of development of the different regions of origin, 58% came from highly developed, 72% from fairly developed, 80% of less developed and 79% of under developed regions. This same survey indicated that contrary to the first phase, the educational level of workers went down, 7.5% had a schooling period of 1-5 years.

EMANCIPATION AS A RESULT OF MODERNIZING PROCESSES: URBANIZATION,¹ INDUSTRIALIZATION, MIGRATION

Emancipation of any kind is closely related to the process of modernization. Modernization refers to change both in the socio-demographic aspects of societies as well as the structural changes of social organization. In order to develop a set of criteria to evaluate emancipation² it would

¹ An excellent list of items to be included in the Modernism Indices have been compiled under the headings such as Mass Media, Extended Family Relations, Nuclear Family Role, Structure, Religiosity and Environmental Orientation in the article of A. Schnaiberg, "The Modernizing Impact of Urbanization: A Causal Analysis", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Oct. 1971, P. 103.

² A. Schnaiberg has used four measures in order to evaluate the impact of urbanism: place of longest residence (1) before the age of ten, (2) between age ten and the time of marriage, (3)

seem necessary to scrutinize briefly the impact of major modernizing processes on the status of women.

Industrialization leads to 1) increased participation of women in economic life and in economic life external to family enterprise, 2) disappearance of the family as a unit of labour (Goode, 1963), 3) increased geographical mobility to industrial areas, 4) occupational mobility, 5) family fragmentation. Physical segregation of women from the rest of the society becomes more and more difficult, and women are more directly affected by social events and political decisions.

Urbanization under given circumstances exercises its greatest impact on family life. The changing nature of the social environment and social control mechanisms, the opening and intensification of relationships of family members with the society at large and the decline in the degree of economic dependence of family members, the changing patterns of settlement, the new structure of services and the communication in urban setting all affect intra and interfamilial relationships. The development of the concept of companionship between husband and wife or man and woman, unless certain city dwellers are still urban villagers (Lewis and Hauser, 1965), is associated with urbanization. (Barie, 1967) Of course urbanization has to be dealt in its own proportion in terms of emancipation. As Allan Schnaiberg suggests, the primary determinant of modernism remains to be socio-economic attainment, urbanism is a less proximate factor.

Migration too appears to be an independent factor affecting both family life and the status of women: spatial mobility tears the social matrix of the family and permanent location changes disintegrate its inner unity and consensus. Migrant families become more egalitarian, their family relations become more open, more emphasis is placed on achievement and independence of children. Women also come to exert more influence in decision making (Rosen, 1973). At the same time, however, instability and divorce are increased and the authority of the parents over their children decreases. (Gonzales, 1961). The culture contact, culture shock, acculturation greatly influences the value judgements of men and women.

By combining the impact of the above enumerated factors, a given set of criteria enabling us to measure the degree of emancipation, can be developed as follows: 1) Decline of extended family relations; 2) Adoption of nuclear family role patterns; 3) Fragmentation of family structure; 4) Entrance into a wage earning production process; 5) Increased mass

between the time of marriage and interview and (4) the place of current residence. A. Schaniberg, "The Modernizing Impact of Urbanization: A Causal Analysis", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Oct. 1971, P. 82.

media exposure; 6) Decline of religious practices; 7) Increasing belief in egalitarian opportunities of girls and boys in terms of education; 8) Adoption of consumption oriented behaviour and norms.

However, temporary adjustment to all or some of these changes as well as intensive focusing on consumption oriented behaviour may also indicate the existence of pseudo-emancipatory processes. Since broadening of emancipation is closely linked together with the socialization process during early childhood, special attention has to be devoted to the first generation of international commuters. Since undecidedness about the length of stay abroad happens to be one of the most relevant characteristics of postwar intra-European migration, it can be assumed that the degree of emancipation will increase with the duration of stay of family members abroad.

WORK CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE POSITION OF TURKISH WOMEN EMPLOYED ABROAD

Adjustment to industrial work

Considering the short span of time in which a relatively high number of unexperienced women entered a number of industrial enterprises, this totally different environment would necessarily create major difficulties. The results, however, were just the opposite. The nature of prevailing, repetitive, relatively simple, monotonous jobs have not created any significant disturbances. Turkish women are concentrated in certain fields such as textile, tailoring, electronics, and food packaging. Working conditions in these industries are not physically exhaustive. The Abadan survey demonstrated that 74.5% of the women employed in FRG in 1963 were seated during production hours. The rate of industrial accidents were significantly lower for women than for men: one accident among women per three accidents among men.

The basic source of dissatisfaction among women workers seemed to be the open discrepancy of wages. According to Abadan's survey, only 36% were satisfied with their wages, the dissatisfaction climbing up with increased exposure to education. While only 44% of primary school graduates adopted critical attitudes, the rate went up to 58% among secondary school graduates. Similarly, women were slightly more critical toward their superiors, 18% of the women cited only negative attributes about the supervisors, while this percentage reached only 11% for men.

This high degree of adjustment can be partially explained by the female socialization process specifically in rural areas of Turkey. Fatma Mansur notes that a young girl is called a "guest" in popular parlance,

meaning that she will eventually leave the home of her parents. She is taught discretion, chastity and obedience and is constantly encouraged to become mentally ready for situations requiring a high degree of adjustment.

However, the female migrant workers' lack of previous working experience, personal conflict within the different social strata, together with spatial arrangements contribute to a higher degree of isolation among women. This is reflected in situation requiring mutual assistance and group integration. While 25% of the women claimed to be unable to furnish any assistance to co-workers during working hours, this proportion declined to 15% for men. Similarly, 80% of the men rated group cohesion as highly favourable, while only 65% of the women expressed the same degree of satisfaction.

The frustration encountered during working hours due to isolation is compensated by the women by increased friendship ties after work hours. While only 41% of the men met their colleagues outside of work, this rate went up to 60% for the women. Women with vocational education seem to face a higher degree of exchange of ideas and communication. Fifty percent of the workers with such a background meet their work colleagues also outside the factory.

Another interesting point is related to preferences of fraternization with other national contingents. While both men and women seem to prefer the citizens of their host countries for friendship forging, men cited Italians (9%) as their second choice, while women preferred those of Greek extraction (6%). This preference once more proves that negative stereotypes are losing their effectiveness as similar social conditions of the respondents help to create a common frame of reference.

The fact that Turkish workers are more subject to psychological than physical strain reveals itself in all situations dealing with isolation. Almost twice as many women than men (43% versus 22%) express their desire to be able to talk and exchange views with their superiors. Evidence collected, indicates that the exposure to industrial work has been instrumental for women's acquiring a given amount of new knowledge. This reflects itself predominantly on the subject of learning a foreign language, where twice as many women as men attended language courses. However, the formation of a large ghetto in many big cities of Europe, where almost all contacts can be established in the mother tongue, seems to have slowed down the willingness for this learning process.

It would seem then that the work performed by women without any industrial experience, especially by those coming from rural areas, does not generally equip them with new versatile skills. Thus, upon return, whenever this might take place, their reintegration in home industries does not occur. Often, such industrial enterprises do not even exist.

Therefore, entrance of migrant workers to new urban jobs is usually not leading to new centers of employment at home. This is particularly true for transitional societies, where women are relatively more discriminated both in terms of recruitment and in terms of social control. Nevertheless, the undetermined period of time during which these women are utilized in industrial jobs, even if menial ones, exposes them to factory work, discipline, time sense, punctuality, social security and trade unions all of which were unknown to them heretofore. Environmental conditions such as partial integration into the host country such as living in densely populated workers districts, being more exposed to mass media, etc. increases the degree of acceptance and understanding of these institutions. Furthermore the possibility of independent earnings, satisfactory income and the possibility of saving are all emancipation promoting factors. The most difficult aspect of adjustment to new urban jobs for migrant workers stems from the family and the reversal of role patterns as well as the solution of problems related to children's education.

Structural changes in family and degree of emancipation abroad

Although the model for Middle Eastern countries has always claimed to be the extended family, various studies (Stirling, 1965; Timur, 1972) have shown that more than 60% of the families have nuclear family households. This is a natural variation of the master model of the extended family and the influential role played by the male members of the older age groups can always be seen. Until migration made its impact on Turkish society, family patterns always operated in favor of males, furnishing them with greater property rights. Even today, a considerable number of the peasant women, despite their full participation in productive activities, are excluded from market transactions and therefore from the control of revenues and expenditures. (Erdentug 1959, 1963; Helling, 1966; Stirling, 1966). It is their exclusion from this aspect of home economics and their disadvantageous stand vis-a-vis property rights that make the peasant women low in social status and less influential in decision making. (Kudat, 1975; Timur, 1972).

Migration, because of its deep penetrating impact on family life, has contributed to an extension of women's emancipation while at the same time putting greater strain on both women abroad and those at home. Recent empirical research on structural change within family life indicate that migration has led to a variety of fragmented families types. Twelve combinations can be deducted from three basic situations—namely: a) Father working abroad, b) Mother working abroad, c) Both parents working abroad. (A. Kudat, 1975)

The two major reasons for disintegration have been 1) regulatory policies of European host countries, which in order to reduce the strain on social infrastructure, have discouraged family reunions in many ways, and 2) the desire to increase savings. Thus, one of the cited reasons is an endogamous while the other an exogamous one. Given these, the families involved in the migratory movement: a) accepted employment abroad, b) tried to secure employment also for the marriage partner and c) tended to leave dependents in the home country. As a result, family disintegration or fragmentation predominates. In other words, it has normatively become acceptable for a family unit to remain separated for years. In the Turkish case, this acceptance is, no doubt, a partial extension of existing traditional norms and practices. In Turkey, it is a widespread practice to trust one's wife and children to relatives during the periods of military service or seasonal migration or even during the initial phase of permanent migration. Thus, it is not unusual for a family unit to remain temporarily separated. Until recently, however, in such cases, mother and children would remain behind and live together or at a location very close to relatives. The big turn, which has been triggered by external migration, has been the acceptance that unmarried and married women without their families would be permitted to leave in order to secure jobs abroad.

Reversal of role patterns

In all cases where the wife has gone abroad first and the husband joins her later, the husband submits to his wife's protection and teaching for a long time. By the time he has also learned what to do and what not to do, their relations have changed so much that it is never the same again. In such cases where wives have migrated prior to their husbands, the wife becomes the principal breadwinner and the husband the primary child-carer.

It is interesting to note that at the start of Turkey's large external migration, constant requests addressed by Turkish workers to government representatives were focussed on the demand of prohibiting women to leave their countries for work. Such attitudes today, whenever they find expression, are rather the product of fundamentalist, traditionalist political party propaganda rather than individual spontaneous reactions.

It is obvious that the concepts of women both in cities and in the countryside have changed tremendously and will keep changing. This fast change can be detected as far back as 1963. Turkish women employed abroad looked at that time upon German families as enviable in terms of status, equal rights among spouses, equal chance to work, etc. They also considered children to be better educated because of the wife's higher

educational level (38.7%), while more than one fourth of the men regarded family structure in the FRG as decadent and worthy of utter condemnation. (27%) Those women who admired more the relationships in German families clearly realized that this superiority is due to the higher degree of emancipation of German women. Even women originally coming from small towns (29.5%) and villages (25.4%) have realized that better child care, harmonious life between men and women is linked up with the status of women within the family. It seems that, generally speaking, Turkish women adjust faster and better to unusual circumstances and hostile environments, because their traditional upbringing in the family is geared to prepare them to adjust to totally different environments.

Women's economic participation and budget control

Besides a receptivity for new values and norms, women's increased economic participation too seems to affect the household composition. While in traditional families the invitation for a short or longer stay to any person is determined predominantly by the husband, it becomes more and more accepted, that working women, with or without their husband's permission, complete the legal requirements of an invitation and bring their own parents and/or siblings to Europe. In addition, they may decide to admit different categories of people into the house in order to share rental and other costs, thus changing uncontested rules of conduct. In these cases, too, the head of the family seems to be the woman.

In Turkey among the urban, lower income groups as a rule, husbands are the principal bread-winners. Although wives are expected to participate in the production process in rural areas, the husband is the sole middleman between the household and the market. This unchallenged position becomes shakey once women migrate. A. Kudat reports that two of the major sources of dispute among working spouses is the allocation of household income, and the establishment of separate bank accounts. When employees, following the requests of the women, deposit their earnings in separate accounts, the husband's authority is shaken. The adjustment of both men and women to this change in the balance of powers does not occur easily. Disputes also arise over the use of joint savings. When husbands, following the traditional pattern, register the acquired property only in their own name, although joint remittances have been used, disputes arise.

All of these various forms of conflict lead to marital realignments. When reorganization occurs, a new type of family is created in which the woman's emancipation has contributed considerably to the increase of the wife's share in the conduct of all common matters.

Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships

Since migration by its very nature leads to a lengthy separation within the family there is a consequent exposure to a more liberal social environment and a change in the economic status of women and estrangement of the marriage partners and family members seems at first sight to be a highly probable eventuality. Already in 1963, Abadan reports that the majority of women seemed inclined to evaluate mixed friendships as acceptable and natural, while almost two thirds of the men objected to such an idea.

Kudat reports that in West Berlin, out of 15 randomly selected days in 1973, a daily average of 37 "social problems" were brought to one of the offices dealing solely with Turkish workers, 19% of which were divorce attempts grounded on adultery. Two contradicting tendencies seems to have developed towards both men and women while on the other hand adultery is no more excused when committed by men. In other words the widely accepted Mediterranean double standard operating in favour of males, seems to have lost ground.

The problem of alienation is evaluated under different approaches: while Kudat considers even the desirable changes observed among workers such as liberalization of the women, greater equality in family relations as harmful in the long run, M. Kiray does not evaluate the human tragedy of migration in terms of alienation to be as great as one would imagine.

Childraising function of teenager's

The most crucial issue of fragmented families concerns the problem of the children left either in their home countries with relatives, in foster homes or childcare centers or in the care of the eldest daughter of the family abroad. Actually the situation of large families where both parents are working results usually to the detriment of the eldest daughter, who is of school age and who due to the presence of younger sisters and brothers, is "de facto" deprived of any educational opportunities. In cases where the mother takes employment abroad or when the migrant father ceases to remit, girls over age twelve, and sometimes younger, are frequently expected to assume many of the duties previously performed by the mother. Thus, the eldest daughter of the family fulfills the "mother ersatz" function although she is neither physiologically nor emotionally ready for the task of raising children in an alien environment, which deprives her of all kinds of assistance that neighborhoods normally would provide in her home country.

U. Mehrlaender reports that among the various foreign contingents, Turkish families have the highest proportion of large families: 18% two children, 29% three children, 16% four children, 10% five children, 6% six and more children. However, until 1973, Turkish families again in comparison to other foreign manpower contingents, kept the least number of children with them abroad. In 1971 only 5% of Turkish migrant workers had three and 3% had four children living with them. This situation changed drastically, when the Federal German parliament adopted a revised tax law and entitled for family allocation only those families, both German and foreign, who kept their children living with them in FRG. This legislative amendment provoked a "childrush" especially to West Germany; together with the abrupt stop of foreign manpower recruitment following the energy crisis, the number of family reunions increased considerably. This means that more schoolage girls are entrusted with the task of childcare, thus subjected to parental discrimination. The fact that even at a time when fewer children were living with their parents abroad, Turks were the least interested group to obtain vacancies in childcare centers and kindergartens (only 19% of Turkish workers applied in FRG for their children), may serve as an index for the assertion that the prevailing pattern is childcare through minor girls, deprived of school attendance. Here, the emancipatory process of the mother, hits mostly her own daughter.

It has to be added that the existence of strictly differentiated norms concerning the working of young girls outside of the family have noticeably changed. While in Turkey, low income families prefer to have the mother perform household cleaning jobs or factory work and retain the unmarried girl at home—predominantly in order not to jeopardize her reputation (chastity) by any means, this rule was quickly pushed aside from the very day gainful employment abroad became lucrative for young women workers. Although this category of young girls/women, usually between the age of 18 and 25, is not identical with the teenagers left at home to look after small children, the important point to notice is the same: economic reasons both lead to the deprivation of schooling even in a highly literate, industrial setting and contribute to the breakdown of the rule keeping unmarried girls at home.

Since the savings of such young girls are by no means negligible many Anatolian rural families in recent years have strongly approved of the departure of their daughters abroad. Considering that some of these young women at home were almost never allowed to move around unchaperoned (the transition from a strictly controlled social environment to an anonymous one), it is not difficult to imagine that highly organized industrial setting created a great number of problems. Since

almost all unmarried young foreign women workers are lodged in the "Heim" (worker's dormitory with rather strict rules concerning closing hours and men visitors), the expectation of an individual liberation leading to a more independent character seems to be too optimistic. Collective housing and participation in industrial production no doubt changes the setting of such young women, but certainly could not, in a short period, produce a full scale emancipatory mental process.

In the case of both teenagers and young adults, basic changes in social norms are more easily accepted and validated, when open discussion channels with the family members are provided. The clash between generations, which gains in volume in sexually segregated societies becomes even greater wherever normal intrafamilial communication breaks down, because of the inability of sharing a common language. The fact, that a large number of teenagers left at home are unable to express themselves in either language—Turkish and the prevailing language of the host country—leads to severe mental blocks and psychological frustrations, even where as a rule during leisure time there could be an exchange of opinion between the family members. Migration here creates an additional obstacle concerned with personal interaction or better said blocking stones within the intrafamilial communication channels.

Saving and investment tendencies

The foregoing explanations have helped indicate that almost all actions in favour of greater independence and emancipation have been motivated by the desire to accrue more savings and to acquire the ability of undertaking individual investment. The empirical data in this direction confirms this tendency and shows, that in case of women, their foremost concern is related with self-determined spending and investment forms.

In 1970 the Turkish State Planning Organization (SPO) undertook an extensive survey on this subject, which permits to evaluate the particular options women have preferred to take. Using three categories—men of rural and urban background as well as urban women—the trend in the form of savings appeared: according to sexes, the lowest propensity to save is found among women (37%); then come urban men (50%) and rural men (57%). When considered in terms of marital status, less married women than men are saving. (40% women, 55% men). Considering age categories, women over 35 are more likely to save than women under 25. (Over 35: 53%, under 25: 32%). Interestingly the highest level of savings occurs at the lowest level of education. (Illiterate 56%, primary school graduates 53%, university graduates 30%). The tendency of women to spend more and remit less money is quite sharp: 47% women are not

sending any money back home. This group is represented among men only with 18%. Lack of confidence towards complex organizations and inadequate information on banking facilities seem to have caused situations where these people keeping high sums of savings at their temporary home. (43% women are preserving their savings with their personal belongings, while this percentage is only 31% with urban men and 17% with rural men). Women workers are spending 38% of their savings abroad on cars, while among men this percentage reaches only 13% in rural, 29% in urban areas. It would, however, be erroneous to assume that women are more eager to drive. Most probably their preference for automobiles lies in the relative facility to sell these cars and make considerable profits.

Scrutinizing the field of expenditure once returned home, contrary to the preference of men to invest in agricultural enterprises (25%) and transportation means (34%), women invest in the safest field, which is housing (10%). Their interest in obtaining quick and riskless return reveals itself in their preference to lend money against high interests provided that sufficient guarantees are shown. (8%) All these patterns of behavior indicate that women, although they are independent wage earners and theoretically capable of undertaking all kinds of investment forms, prefer to emulate safe, riskless and passive investment forms.

This tendency is reaffirmed in their utter disinterest about any joint investment into cooperatives or worker's shareholder companies. In 1970, 94% of the workers did not invest in any one of them. Among the reasons justifying this negative attitude of women workers the following were cited: lack of confidence (38%), lack of information (8%).

From the cited data, one may deduct that by and large women are more now-oriented and more egocentric. They attempt to achieve upward mobility by conspicuous consumption, which can be deducted from the relatively low amount of savings while abroad. It appears that women not only look upon a stay abroad as a better opportunity to work, or better said, the only permissible place to work and save, but also to enjoy a different life style. This is traceable in their outspoken preference for traveling as fun a tendency not noticeable among men. Independent income seems to detach women more than men from their family obligations. However, this move toward more independent behavior could not be interpreted as a cutting off of dependency relations, but rather as a mean to increase self-confidence. Basically women's knowledge about complex organizations, such as banks, trade unions, cooperatives, etc. appears to be much lower than even men of rural background. A fact which is not surprising for women who are raised in a segregated society. Thus, one could claim that their financial emancipation so far is

not conducive to further steps of social liberation, but rather axed on an imitative pattern. Provided that more extensive social institutions would guide these women toward more differentiated forms of societal participation, the experience accumulated during their stay abroad would certainly enable them to a larger degree of independence.

IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE LEFT BEHIND FAMILY MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY THE WOMEN

Migration, internal as well as external, is a consequence of a basic structural change in any given society. Especially in underdeveloped agrarian societies, the main reason for external migration is the rapid change in the pre-modern agricultural system. Thus, as noted by M. Kiray, migration today is not simply an accidental movement to gain cash for a single expenditure such as buying an ox, saving enough for bride price; it is, rather, to start a new form of life and even those who within this irreversible process are still left behind in villages and small towns are equally affected by this sharp challenge. Considered in the host country as members of a given marginal group, these migrants at home are looked upon as successful social climbers, who succeeded to change their status. According to a survey carried out in 1975 in Bogazliyan, Yozgat Turkey, and its surrounding villages, out of 127 returnees, 18% considered themselves to belong to the upper low, 44% to the middle and 18% to the upper middle strata, thus indicating that only 16% evaluated on a subjective scale their chances for mobility as nil after their exodus from the home country. No doubt that the consciousness of a changed social status affects equally well those family members, whose family is still abroad. One of the women, interviewed in the Bogazliyan survey whose two sons were employed in Holland, remarked: "Previously the grocer of our village did not even let me enter his shop. Now, if I wish, I could outbuy all his stapled merchandise!"

Current intra-European and even inter-continental migration carries an important characteristic: it denies to cut off links with the past similar to the thousands of uprooted immigrants of the past century. On the contrary postwar immigrants, mostly due to increased mobility (A. Toffler, 1970) exposure to mass media and rapid communication, maintain close links with their home country. Out of 113 returnees, who stayed 7 years or more abroad and returned to Bogazliyan 84 had taken a yearly home leave more than five times. This confirms the observation that the family of these immigrants, those new international commuters, merges out to be the most stable anchorage in society. Given this close relationship, the impact of such a permanent/temporary exodus can

easily be traced down at home, especially in small communities. Thus, it is not exaggerated to state, that in all villages and small towns with a high quota of migration, a new social division has been established: the "Alamanyali" (families with members being employed out of Turkey) and the rest of the community. The former ones can even be physically detected by their relatively large houses, usually erected on the outskirts of the villages with each wall painted in a different colour. (Pink, yellow, blue, green) and with the symbol of newly acquired property: iron fences and window bars.

Given that these new houses and a considerable number of old ones are inhabited by fragmented families, it seems again imperative to repeat our previous questions. Who lives with whom? Whose roles have changed? What is the impact of migration on fertility, child rearing, consumption, authority and decision making, emancipation?

Type of household of fragmented families in Turkey

Social scientists dealing with the composition of the Turkish rural family based either on national survey (Timur, 1972) or case studies of individual villages (Yasa, 1955; Stirling, 1965; Erdentuğ, 1959; Kiray, 1964) have shown that more than 60% of the families have nuclear households. The explanations these scholars are furnishing however are by no means concomitant. According to Stirling "the reason why such households (joint extended) are in a minority are far more psychological and ecological than social" Timur, on the other hand, shows on a national basis that the extended household can stay together only so long as its land or other wealth can support it and can offer adequate opportunities to the younger generation. In rural areas, the farmers—especially those who own more land—live constantly in extended families, whereas the landless farmworkers have the largest proportion of nuclear families. (28)

Analyzing the Boğazliyan data, where 32% of the migrants decided to move elsewhere because they did not own any land, the data confirm the above cited tendency. Fifty six percent of those family members left behind are living in form of a fragmented nuclear family (spouse and children), 29% in form of extended family (spouse, children and members of the husband's family). This distribution is not permanent and it may change almost every season. As Kiray suggests, migration rejects every rule and pattern about the family and shows that the dispersal and composition is really a kaleidoscope, where the pattern may change every year or with every vacation the man has. Yet, one significant phenomenon deserves attention. More and more independent households are

established for wife and children in spite of the fact that the parents of either the wife or the husband are living in the same village or town. This practice seems also to be prevalent in large cities although no empirical data is available thus far. No doubt the growth in size of fragmented families due to migration affects authority patterns and decision making within the family and almost forces women to act independently. Interestingly, it does not effect the fertility rate; especially in rural areas. No matter how much the mistress of their own homes, the left behind wives do feel lonely because of long years of separation from their husbands. Reunion is the only hope for both sides. One solution meanwhile is to have children with great frequency. To be pregnant or having breast-fed infants keep women emotionally satisfied.

An interview conducted by L. Yenisey in the village Çalapverdi, Boğazliyan district, with a newly graduated, 21 year old midwife, revealed that although as a rule there are one or two births each month, particularly in March, there is an abundance of births. These are the wives of the migrant workers, who come back on vacation in July and almost invariably impregnate their wives. In 1975, as many as thirty women were expecting babies in that month. According to this midwife, these women were not at all interested in birth control methods. The most common excuse for expecting children is that they have enough money and property to feed the children, so why not. Reconsidering that according to the Boğazlayan survey 65% of the left behind family members were illiterate, 11% knew only to read and write, 7% had attended primary school and only 13% had completed primary school, it is not surprising that in an underdeveloped rural setting a proper evaluation of the nature of employment abroad and its estimated duration cannot be expected from these women. Here only age seems to be relevant. Among newly married couples since 1970 on, there is some interest in birth control, particularly the pill. There are some 40-50 women in the village belonging to this category. However, they have a problem sticking to a daily schedule.

Thus, by and large, unlike the situation of the working wife abroad, who due to her economic independence was feeling free to invite relatives and friends or even tenants to join the household, the size of the household at home appears to be determined by the husband, even in those cases where the family continues to live on a fragmented nuclear basis. Nevertheless the insistence of left behind wives to be permitted to lead a semi-independent life by not joining the other relatives of the family may serve as an illustration of a process which can be defined as pseudo-emancipation.

Decision-making and Authority

Decision-making in villages usually concerns a well defined set of topics: cultivation, livestock, cash expenditure and marriage. In towns and cities educational matters are increasing in importance. Tradition until recently demanded in all types of Turkish peasant families—nuclear and extended—that the husband be granted the final word. This supremacy, which is the expression of a hierarchic order, enhances the next oldest man in the family, a first born son with the same authority in case the father is absent and this goes down the line. Migration seems to have induced a major change in this respect. Women, even if uneducated, were, so to speak, catapulted in a new world, they had not previously entered.

Women have become the major person to whom cash income is sent by mail or bank service. Money is sent to the left behind head of the family (in nuclear families, the mother) at regular intervals or left in the bank to be drawn as needs arise. Here starts a new cycle of important interactions for the woman. It consists of dealing with institutions of the society where the relationships are anonymous; such as banks, post offices, trips to town to government agencies to have documents sent abroad such as birth certificate, etc. All types of new and unforeseen activities, definitely non-existent previously, are now encountered by the wife. Furthermore, whenever there is some land left, it is the woman who decides what work is going to be done, when and by whom. In nuclear families her authority on her children is also not challenged by others, such as mother in law on husband. All such new roles for wives in the family have made her understand the importance of literacy and schooling. While in extended

TABLE 3

DECISION MAKING PATTERNS ON MONEY SENT FROM MIGRANTS ABROAD
IN PERCENTAGE BY HOUSEHOLD TYPES

	Financial decisions		Other important decisions (Education, marriage)	
	Nuclear	Extended	Nuclear	Extended
Male in household	7	34	9	43
Male out of household	7	2	29	8
Wife	68	28	50	20
Elderly female in family	5	18	6	23
Others	6	11	4	3
No answer	7	7	2	3
	100	100	100	100

families with no direct connection to the outside world, literacy might still appear as disfunctional to women, today in all communities which are confronted with the challenge of the absentee family heads, the desire for an increased learning for girls becomes evident. The most recent data collected in Boğazlayan may serve as an illustration.

As already emphasized, the size of household plays a determinant role in the management of income and decisions related to changes in family life. Interestingly, wives are acting more independently on purely financial issues and comply more to consultation with other family members in cases where mutual discussion seems appropriate and conventional such as engagements, marriages, education. Thus, once more, economic factors such as independent income seem to serve as the triggering mechanisms for more liberated behavior.

Observations of field worker L. Yenisey confirm that some capable women enjoy the freedom of movement and action in such a way, that they even do not particularly look forward to their husband's return. They complain that the men disturb the division of tasks so well organized without them.

Another important index of independent behaviour is the way of shopping. Since in all "Gemeinschaft" type communities tight social control strongly inhibits the free circulation of women, the degree of flexibility to go shopping irrespective of the pattern of consumption, deserves special attention. By itself, it becomes again an index of greater or less freedom.

Predictably, the freedom of movement depends largely from age and place of settlement. Sexual mores are strictest in small towns. Shopping is done in small towns ranging between 2.000-10.000 generally by the

TABLE 4

SHOPPING PATTERNS OF MIGRANT WIVES ACCORDING FAMILY TYPE AND AGE IN PERCENTAGE

Family type	Shop	Market	Both	Neither	
Nuclear family	86	50	76	46	
Wife with husbands					
family	14	50	16	46	
Wife with own family	0	0	8	8	
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	
Age					
19-25	5	2	19	74	100
26-30	4	2	48	46	100
31-35	9	0	59	32	100
36-40	4	3	71	22	100
41-45	5	5	70	20	100

husbands; usually married women may not buy their own clothes, but must fashion them from materials brought by their husbands. They are taken to the doctor or dentist by their husbands. What happens now if they lead an independent existence? A clearcut polarization can be observed. For those who, in spite of living independently, are not even venturing to the shops or market, it is common practice to entrust the sons of the family—a boy of seven or more—to cope with daily commands. For more elaborated shopping, resort to some trusted chaperons might be customary.

On the other side, especially with increasing age, a remarkable shift to independent action may be observed. As table IV indicates, a clearcut growth of independence appears with a given age limit. The critical point seems to be 35, an age when many married women are about to become themselves mother-in-law, thus acquiring respect within the community. It remains an undeniable fact, that in societies with great emphasis on sexual segregation, age plays the role of breaking the ice. One could assume that the daughters of the modernizers of today, might adopt in the future a more emancipated behaviour, provided that socio-economic development sustain them.

Other important areas of decision making such as choosing the proper school, voting, etc. seem to pass over to the exclusive discretion of the wives left behind. Given the fact that out of 737 family members of the Boğazlıyan area who were left behind, 293 (78%) were women, it is quite remarkable to note that only 16% turned to other relatives or neighbours for assistance in registering their children in school. Similarly the educational preferences for girls in this same group where the partly literate mothers dominate, are quite revealing:

TABLE 5

PREFERENCES FOR EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF DAUGHTERS BY LEFT BEHIND
FAMILY MEMBERS IN PERCENTAGE

Only primary school	23
Only Koran teaching	
Highschool and	
vocational schools	13
University	18
As long as the	
daughters wish	23
Girl don't need to go	
to school	1
	100

SOURCE: Boğazlıyan Survey, 1975, unpublished data

Equally interesting is the fact that only 7% of the migrant husband send their political instructions by mail at election time. 84% of the wives decide independently which political party to back.

Consumption patterns of the left behind

Economists have been repeatedly stressing that the foreign currency accumulated abroad tends to be used, wherever there is no strict control of imports to pay for imports of foreign consumer goods by the non-migrant population and by recipients of remittances. According an ILO report, "there is an increasing familiarisation with foreign consumer goods brought about by the publicity surrounding migration and by the migrants themselves. It leads in effect to a widespread disdain for domestic products and a higher value placed on foreign goods."

Actually the most visible effect of external migration in rural/urban Turkey is the high value placed on conspicuous consumption. As T. Veblen so correctly stated, "no class of society, not even the most abjectly poor, foregoes all customary conspicuous consumption" One may even be tempted to state that for a given group of women the ability to dispose independently over remittance represents for them the most relevant aspect of a new freedom. It is predominantly in this sense, that the concept of pseudo-emancipation is used here, a freedom which actually does not liberate women but serves rather as an escape mechanism. This tendency is closely related to social mobility. Migrants and their family members are extremely anxious to acquire within their communities an image reflecting their affluence and prestige. This involves purchasing new style of furniture, which results in simulated city rooms in village houses (TV's, electrical appliances, even where electricity is so far only anticipated). Together with insistence on show pieces comes a bad taste for low-price manufactured furniture and rugs. Traditional handicrafts such as rug and kilim weaving has almost completely vanished, instead tapestries brought from Europe are decorating the walls. One can even find a woven Last Supper tapestry in some Muslim homes.

Iron beds are among the first things that migrant families buy after money becomes more abundant. Again, only household heads sleep there. During the survey in Boğazlıyan, Yozgat, L. Yenisey encountered in a village household a guestroom looking rather like a shop: two electric blankets, two lamps, an electric juice maker, an electric knife, two refrigerators, one in the other room, five or six clocks, and a vacuum cleaner.

Together with conspicuous consumption there is also a tendency to

avoid more work and time consuming activities, such as the upkeep and care of sheep. Again, girls in marriageable age are still preparing their trousseau, however handicrafts have surrendered their place to synthetic fibers and manufactured goods.

Interestingly, almost identical tendencies are traceable in the change of life styles created by internal migration. D. Kandiyoti, who studied newly emerging workers' settlement, notes that their family structure and life way keep pace with the slower process of urban assimilation. This creates a rather unique blend of functions and habits such as the refrigerator, being a valued exhibit much in evidence in the living room, the traditional coffee house being used to watch television, the guest room full of the better belongings of the family being closed to the daily usage of household members in an already congested environment. In this context it is specialized space for children that becomes sacrificed. They sleep with parents, with other relatives, do their homework in a crowded sitting room. Oddly enough even in the new four coloured painted houses of migrants, usually erected at the edge of the village or town, where five or six large rooms are available, the life style has changed very little. Most of these rooms are left unused. Freedom for consumption does not always mean the liberty of choosing a different way of living.

Attitudes toward women's employment at home

One of the significant criteria enabling us to make a distinction between real and superficial emancipation, seems to be the readiness of the left behind women toward the possibility of taking up a job outside of the family. Here still traditional values and attitudes seems to prevail both in terms of the husbands willingness as well as the inclination of the women themselves.

TABLE 6
ATTITUDE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES TOWARD EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE
OF THE HOME IN PERCENTAGE

	Husbands	Wives
Nowhere	48	51
Everywhere	11	26
Under certain conditions	3	12
Only in the fields	27	
No answer	11	11
	100	100

There seems to be more women clinging to mores in terms of seeking employment outside the home than men. The paternalistic, exploitory role which condemns women to unpaid home workers, however is not accepted by women at all. None of them is anxious to toil in the fields. A problem which waits for solution if agricultural production is not to be neglected.

This trend confirms the general observation, that similar to other countries with predominant Moslem culture, the "dialogue within the family can only start on an egalitarian basis if it is preceded by an efficient dialogue on the working place. As long as entrenching socio-economic measures are not substantially resulting in structural changes, G. Tillion's remark that in Moslem countries progressive women have first to break the hostility of their own sex seems to remain partly true.

CONCLUSION

Accelerated external migration of women workers from developing countries such as the Mediterranean exodus to Western Europe has definitely created a chain reaction, affecting both the women workers abroad and those women, employed or unemployed, who belong to the close family of the migrants. The major consequences of this process are here enumerated.

The entrance of women workers from countries with chronic unemployment into urban jobs located in highly industrialized countries may not always produce anticipated symptoms of gradual emancipation. As long as this type of employment is regarded upon as an undefinable temporary status and the jobs occupied are not desired and sought after, many of the natural consequences of urban occupation might fall short.

External migration of women workers leads to a noticeable decrease of extended families and an increase of nuclear family role structures. This sharp reversal affects primarily the division of tasks concerning bread-winning, establishment of bank account, saving, investing, spending, etc. This change, due to environmental orientation predispositions favours the educational outlook for girls. It also causes a substantial amount of marital strain and conflict and quite frequently ends up with the breaking up of the family. The most handicapped actors within this framework are the elder girls of the family, who have to shoulder heavy responsibilities in order to substitute the mother's functions.

High mobility and fragmentation of family members induces men to share responsibility and decision making with women. This trend usually comes to an end after return to the home country.

Increased income induces women to take up crass conspicuous con-

sumption patterns. Promotion for equality in educational opportunities seems to be the rule, yet readiness for jobs outside of the home seems not to be widespread. This inclination for working outside the house seems to be rather a corollary function of an industrial society, rather than a consequence of change affecting the status of women.

Implementation of conventionally trained women in industry and services, especially of rural background, may under circumstances lead to isolation and the reinforcement of traditional values and attitudes. Age and opportunity for male companionship seems to play in this instance a determining role. In order to grasp modernism, socio-economic attainment has to be given priority. Urbanism is a less proximate factor and produces with its complementary processes such as migration only limited innovation.

Migration as a component of modernization is exercising a double function: promoting emancipation of women as well as creating a false climate of liberation, which actually does not surpass increased purchasing power, thus resulting only in pseudo-emancipation.

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