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International labour migration and its effect upon women's occupational and family roles: a Turkish view

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International migration: a historical perspective

Migration has been such a universal phenomenon that it can be systematically categorized and evaluated only from a long-term historical perspective. Thomlinson (1976) divides the history of world migration into three patterns: group migration, free individual migration, and restricted migration. Group migration refers to the movement of people in clusters larger than a nuclear family. When a clan, tribe, or other social group moves as a unit, both the motivations and the consequences are very different from those relating to the migration of individuals and families. Among the subtypes of group migration are displacements due to invasion, conquest, forced labour and colonization.

In contrast to the historical movements of thousands, migration in recent centuries has tended to be in small units, a single person or a married couple accompanied by their children and sometimes other relatives. This migration has been defined as 'a spontaneous movement of individuals, relatively free at its height from legal restrictions, sometimes aided by government subsidies and greatly encouraged by the land policies of some leading countries of immigration' (Fairchild, 1925).

Restrictive controlled migration, however, soon replaced free migration. In the twentieth century, especially after the Second World War, rules regulating external migration increased in number and restrictiveness. Nowadays it is policy on the part of governments to limit migration, policy which is sometimes embedded in development plans. The migratory movements of today are taking place within the framework of carefully designed bilateral agreements. Instead of individual decisions, we have government plans for 'manpower import' or 'export of excessive manpower' Thus migration becomes

an inherent element of the prevailing economic system. For the capitalist economy, it provides a new reserve of labour.

This new type of migration has also created a kind of physical 'split existence'. Migrant workers today use every opportunity to visit their home country. In contrast with the past, the relationship between those who go abroad and those they leave behind continues to be a strong bond. This illustrates the difference between the old 'immigrant' and the new 'migrant worker'.

International migration since the Second World War

Today international migration has not diminished, but it has shifted direction, flowing globally towards the highly industrialized countries—to Europe, the United States and Canada, and the oil-rich countries of the Middle East—and regionally towards the more developed countries within Africa and Latin America.

All these migratory movements are subjected to three types of migration policies: the immigrant or integration model; the guest workers or rotation model; and the selective migration model. The Turkish people, at various times, have experienced all three models.

In the *immigrant or integration model*, foreigners are invited for both economic and demographic reasons. The invitation is extended by countries that are underpopulated or confronted with sharp demographic decline. These include the United States, Canada, Australia, more recently France and the Federal Republic of Germany. Foreigners are accepted into the country not only as economically productive manpower but also as potential citizens. Efforts are therefore made to integrate migrant workers and their families into the economy and the society of the receiving country. These so-called countries of immigration are committed to integrate those they accept. They are however very selective, often on cultural and racial grounds. Most recently the criteria for selecting immigrants have been both qualitative (level of skill, education) and geographic.

In the *guest worker or rotation model*, foreigners are invited not for demographic but primarily for economic reasons. This is basically a product of the economic expansionism of the highly industrialized countries of post Second World War Europe. The countries which spearheaded this model include Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands. In the second half of the 1960s it was generally accepted by almost all EEC countries. The model evolved from the essential structural changes affecting the economies of the Common Market countries—the high concentration, centralization

and internalization of capital, and its tendency to move to peripheral areas. It is in the light of this striking economic transformation that cheap imported labour fed economic growth by holding down wages, or at least stabilizing them, and maintaining high rates of profit, investment and expansion (Abadan-Unat, 1976; Paine, 1974).

The arrival of migrants from the new 'European South', first predominantly male, later increasingly also female, coming from the Mediterranean region—Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and the Maghreb—permitted the working classes of the host countries to move up into skilled or semi-skilled jobs (Nikolinakos, 1973). Given the fact that these foreign workers were expected to be employed for a limited period of time only, and were potentially dischargeable in periods of recession, no efforts towards integration were made, and the host countries were consequently much less selective about occupational, national or racial background.

Turkish external migration was based on this model. Turkish economists and administrators who designed the first Five-Year Development Plan assumed that Turkish migrant workers would sign contracts for one year; that during this period they would acquire new skills and experiences, save money and send home remittances; and that when their contracts were completed they would return home and make way for a second group. The spirit of the bilateral agreement of 31 October 1961 between Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany reflects these ideas. However, events took another course. The demand for additional manpower in Europe was so acute and intensive in the 1960s that very soon the duration of the working contracts were extended—first to two years, and later for an indefinite period. Many migrant workers bluntly refused to return home. Employers, too, were reluctant to undertake fresh efforts, training and expense, and to waste time waiting for replacements. Finally, arguments based on human rights began to exercise pressure on public opinion, and the rotation model was labelled as unfair. These developments prepared the ground for the transition to the third model, which became dominant after the energy crisis of 1973 (Abadan-Unat, 1976; Weber, 1970).

In this, the *mixed or selective integration model*, some foreigners are invited for demographic and economic reasons and are encouraged to become citizens of that host country, while others are invited only for economic reasons and are encouraged to return to their home countries after a certain number of years. This policy was developed by France, followed by Belgium. France, for instance, encourages Portuguese and Spanish migrants to settle, but attempts to induce Africans to return home.

Following the energy crisis of 1973, all European countries stopped

any further recruitment, bringing the remnants of any rotation practice *de facto* to an end, and replacing it with the model of selective integration. This significant change of policy had most important consequences for family reunion, employment of women migrants, and the education of the second generation. It affected not only the migrant population in Europe, but also indirectly the demographic structure of some regions of extensive external migration.

Apart from these three major types of post-war migration, a new form of selective migration, applying mainly to the Middle East, deserves special attention. Migrants in this area are exclusively male and handled as 'package deals' between governments and entrepreneurs of large projects (Adler, 1975; Choucri, 1977). Instead of granting migrant workers the right to work for a given period of time, the work permit is only given until the completion of the contract.

In all cases of present-day migration the major pull factors are: expansive economic growth, unfavourable demographic situations in both sending and receiving countries, and the steady upward mobility of indigenous workers. The major push factors in the sending countries are: unemployment, poverty, economic underdevelopment and retarded industrialization (Castles and Kossack, 1973).

As Galtung (1971) points out, these processes lead to asymmetrical relations between nations and create new forms of dependency. Thus 'centre' nations tend to acquire a higher level of skill and education, knowledge and research, whereas 'periphery' nations supply new materials, markets and a surplus labour force.

Since the abrupt ending of recruitment in all EEC countries in 1973, new forms of illegal migration have emerged as a logical consequence of this asymmetrical dependency. Turkish so-called 'tourist' workers continue to enter both West European and oil-rich countries in the hope of finding some employment. Increasing requests for asylum because of alleged political persecution are creating political conflicts, since most of these demands are actually economically motivated. This desperate search for new job opportunities has resulted in further restrictive policies, such as the decision of the Federal Republic of Germany to require entrance visas from citizens of Turkey, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The trends of international migration since the Second World War have affected the lives of Turkish women, both of the women who went abroad and of those who were left behind. Turkish migration in this period falls into four major phases, each of which has had different consequences for women. The first phase took the form of predominantly single exodus, with husbands leaving wives at home. The second phase permitted family reunion under special conditions, implying a minimum term of two years' employment abroad. During

the third phase, which fell approximately within the recession of 1966–67, priority was accorded to the recruitment of women workers. This phase marked the sudden rush of Turkish migrant workers to Europe. The fourth phase, which followed the energy crisis of 1973, was marked by consolidation of the numbers of existing migrant workers, encouraged family reunion, opened up work possibilities to women migrants, and accelerated male migration to oil-rich Arab countries.

In all these phases, the migration of women posed problems very different from those arising out of internal movements—longer absences, greater distances, uncertainty of remittances, significant wage differentials, the need to master a new language, difficulties in communication with authorities, longer separations between family members, and cross-cultural conflicts. It is in the light of these special problems that we have endeavoured to analyse the impact of international migration on women, with special reference to Turkish empirical data.

Women in international migration

Contrary to prevalent opinion, significant numbers of women join the international labour-migration movements autonomously, although it also happens that they accompany their families, and join the labour force in the receiving country. Between 1960 and 1974 in the United States, women made up 53 per cent of the 1,977,400 immigrants from Latin America, 56 per cent of the 933,800 immigrants from Asia and 56 per cent of the 1,753,300 immigrants from Europe. In Africa in 1979, 43 per cent of all the emigrants leaving for residence in another country were women (Youssef et al., 1979). In 1978, the Turkish female population in the Federal Republic of Germany was 305,357. In the same year there were about 215,000 Turkish migrant women employed in Europe. Their distribution was as follows: Austria, 31,800, the Federal Republic of Germany 134,342, Switzerland 12,979, Belgium 5,175 (OECD, 1979).

During the initial phases of labour movement from one country to another, female participation is often low. It increases during subsequent phases owing both to autonomous and to dependent female immigration, but it is predominantly controlled by explicit immigration policies on the part of the host country. In 1960, prior to the signing of the bilateral agreement, there were 173 registered Turkish migrant women workers. In 1974 this figure had risen to 159,984. Thus it would be correct to state that the sudden influx of an immigrant population was initially almost exclusively male.

However, there has been a growing demand for female migrant

workers due to economic factors such as the continued use of out-of-date industrial equipment, the need for cheap labour, and a technical requirement for manual dexterity. The explicit demand for women workers following recovery from the recession of 1966–67 can only be explained by these facts. This situation produced a brand new challenge not only for Turkish women, but even more so for Turkish men. At that time, more than 1 million Turkish men were registered for work permits and contracts at the Turkish Labour and Employment Office, and the possibility of sending wives or daughters on ahead, thereby establishing legal grounds for future family reunion, was a revolutionary concept in the minds of a great number of traditional-minded Turkish men. Women from a rural background, traditionally socialized, mentally totally unprepared and to a considerable extent unwilling and unmotivated, were strongly urged by their fathers, husbands or other relatives to take up industrial or service jobs in foreign countries in order to secure for their male relatives the possibility of lucrative jobs with higher income possibilities in the near future. A great number of Turkish women therefore entered industrial jobs without knowing anything about city life, disciplined working hours or production norms.

Meanwhile new recruitment came to an end and most of the European receiving countries are now elaborating comprehensive sets of policies in order to facilitate family reunion and the integration of so-far-unemployed foreign housewives. The immigration countries in the Middle East are an exception: at present the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states have very restrictive immigration policies—for example, Saudi Arabia permits only professionals and experts, as well as the personnel of corporations with a minimum capital of 300 million dollars, to bring their families with them.

A typology of migrant women

Given that there are so many different types of international migration (seasonal, temporary, permanent), an attempt to develop criteria for a typology might prove useful. One such criterion could be based on the nature of departure from the home country. Three basic modalities exist:

Accompanying migration. In this case the woman/girl leaves her country of origin together with the male head of the family.

Induced migration. In this case the migration of predominantly married or even single women is not a result of their own decisions but is imposed upon them in order to facilitate the exodus of other male members of the family.

Autonomous migration. This type of migration represents an individual decision and should be accounted for as a product of an emancipatory process.

In relation to Turkish migrant women, induced female migration deserves special attention, although this route has been closed.

A second criterion could be based on the residential status of migrant women and the duration of stay in various settings. One could again make a threefold distinction among women migrants:

Urban background. In this case the subject has been born in a city or has had an extended stay in urban milieus prior to migration.

Limited urban background. Here migration to a town or city has been the first step in a two-phase out-migration process. Familiarization with urban structures remains extremely limited and the rural life-style has still not been shed.

Rural background. In this case the migrant has no previous urban experience in the home country. This situation represents the most abrupt transition, from peasant culture to urban culture.

Within this typology supplementary characteristics can be added. The Swedish anthropologist Ulla-Britt Engelbrektsson in her study of Turkish migrants of rural background in Sweden discusses the relevance of decision-making depending upon the social and economic status migrants held at home (Engelbrektsson, 1978). Thus the impact of social networks which link migrants at home and abroad determines their capacity to take independent decisions, and furnishes an answer to the question of whether or not they can become 'architects of their own destinies' (Magnarella, 1979). This last item is crucial to whether women of rural background are permitted to take up employment outside the home.

Another differentiating factor of major importance is related to whether the male migrant worker (a) gradually achieves family reunion, (b) prefers to let his family members live in the home country except for short visits or (c) eventually, after a longer stay, repatriates his daughters or other female members of the family. Using this criterion, a typology of women migrants based on the duration of their stay abroad or at home can be developed. Depending on the nature of questions to be analysed, one or all of the three criteria listed in connection with the different typologies can be relevant.

Characteristics of Turkish migrant women

According to statistics published in the Federal Republic of Germany, more than half of the Turkish migrant women (56 per cent) are in the 25–30 age group. Like other migrant women in Europe, 76 per cent of

the Turkish migrant women are less than 35 years old. More than two-thirds (64 per cent) of the employed Turkish women are married and 58 per cent of them live with their husbands in Europe.¹

The educational level of the migrant women shows two distinct groups. The first consists of women who have little or no schooling. The number of women migrants who have not attended school at all is slightly higher than that of men (10 per cent as opposed to 7 per cent); and a similar proportion is found among those who have attended primary school only (70 per cent of the men have attended primary school for 3–5 years, and 61 per cent of the women). The second group consists of women who have attended secondary or professional schools. In this group the ratio is reversed; more women than men have a higher educational level (38 per cent as opposed to 21 per cent). (Mehrlaender, 1974, Tables 12 and 13.)

The occupational training of the women is considerably less extensive than that of men. In 1974 16 per cent of women as compared with 34 per cent of men benefited from occupational training provided by a school or an enterprise. But Turkish women abroad are more skilled than their counterparts in Turkey.

Half of the Turkish women migrants are employed in jobs requiring no qualification. Out of 81 per cent engaged in production jobs, 26 per cent are employed in the metals industry, 19 per cent in textiles, 9 per cent in the food industry, and another 9 per cent in the chemical industry; the rest work in the service sector, and 11 per cent of these have cleaning jobs. In Scandinavian countries the majority of Turkish migrant women are employed only in part-time jobs. Turkish women workers receive perceptibly lower wages than men. In 1977, 66 per cent of women workers were receiving a monthly net income between DM 500–800, while 63 per cent of the men received an income of DM 900–1500 and over.

As a major reason for migrating abroad 55 per cent indicated the desire to join their families; the other 45 per cent indicated the desire to save money as their primary motive.

Economic activity, occupational roles and the outlook for future employment

Migration has a more positive effect for men than it does for women. Female migrants have lower occupational status, longer working

1. Statistics concerning age, marital status and number of children have been taken from Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, *Repräsentativuntersuchung '72 Beschäftigung auslaendischer Arbeitnehmer*, 1973, pp. 14–26.

hours, lower earnings and worse living conditions. Discriminatory practices are bound to affect women migrants because they are restricted from the outset in terms of the opportunities, types of work and conditions available to them.

Although migrant women in general are aware of the lower wage-scale and the limited opportunities for promotion offered them, their adjustment is not entirely negative. This is partly due to the fact that while 'female' occupations are underpaid, work in sectors with heavy female employment, such as textiles, clothing, and food packaging is not exhausting. Although the nature of the work is repetitive, simple, and monotonous, it is not particularly hazardous.

The basic source of dissatisfaction among migrant women workers seems to be the open discrepancy in wages. According to a survey in 1963 only 36 per cent were satisfied, the dissatisfaction mounting with increased education. While only 44 per cent of primary-school graduates were dissatisfied, the rate went up to 58 per cent among secondary-school graduates (Abadan-Unat, 1964). This tendency was confirmed in another comparative survey carried out in 1971: 64 per cent of the Italian, 64 per cent of the Turkish, 68 per cent of the Greek, 54 per cent of the Yugoslav, and 41 per cent of the Spanish women workers qualified the capacity of their wages to meet the cost of living as 'bad' (Mehrlaender, 1974).

Many migrant women were not able to form any opinion as to their chances for promotion, which reflects a failure to inform migrant workers about the possibilities of social mobility. This survey showed that 48 per cent of migrant women had no opinion as to whether there were any promotional chances for them, while among those who saw no chance (20 per cent), 32 per cent cited as the major obstacle ignorance of the language, 15 per cent lack of professional training, and 14 per cent prejudice and discrimination on the part of the Germans (Mehrlaender, 1974).

Lack of previous working experience, belonging to different social strata, and unaccustomed spatial arrangements in dormitories all seem to contribute to a higher degree of isolation and alienation among women than among men migrants and to prohibit the creation of an *esprit de corps*. This is reflected in situations requiring mutual assistance and group integration. In the 1963 survey, 25 per cent of migrant women claimed to be unable to extend any help to others during working hours, yet this proportion reached only 15 per cent for men. Similarly, 80 per cent of the men rated group cohesion as highly favourable while only 65 per cent of the women expressed the same degree of satisfaction (Abadan-Unat, 1964).

The frustration encountered during working hours due to isolation seems however to be compensated for by increased friendship ties

after working hours. While only 41 per cent of the men met their colleagues outside of work, the rate went up to 60 per cent for the women. Women with vocational education in particular seem to engage in a higher degree of exchange of ideas and communication.

Another interesting point is related to preferences concerning fraternization with other national contingents. Both men and women seem to prefer the citizens of their host countries as friends, though other nationalities were cited in second place. This preference once more proves that negative stereotypes are losing their effectiveness if similar social conditions help to create a common frame of reference (Abadan-Unat, 1964). This observation has been reconfirmed by a recent study in the Federal Republic of Germany, (Teber, 1980).

It is possible to conclude that the entrance of foreign women workers into the complex industrial enterprises of developed countries should not be looked upon as an unsuccessful venture. In spite of difficulties in terms of adjustment, industrial jobs—even menial ones—expose migrant women to factory work, discipline, time-sense, punctuality, trade-union activity, access to social security, all of which were unknown to them prior to their departure from their home country. Moreover, housing and improved environmental conditions, life in big cities, and increased exposure to mass media prepare the ground for further emancipatory action. This explains why unemployed migrant housewives in the Federal Republic of Germany are eagerly waiting for an opportunity to work outside their homes (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. Percentage of foreign housewives intending to enter labour market

	Yes	No	Perhaps
<i>Nationality</i>			
Greek	52	36	12
Italian	48	36	16
Yugoslav	72	16	12
Turkish	80	8	12
<i>Age</i>			
Under 25	90	10	—
25–35	48	35	17
35 and over	66	18	16

Source: Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit, *Situationsanalyse nichterwerbstätiger Ehefrauen ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der BDR*, 1977, pp. 180–1.

Occupational opportunities for migrant women

One of the fundamental characteristics of the labour market in all industrialized countries is the marked degree of segregation by sex. Women are concentrated in a limited range of occupations and

industries. Occupation or industry thus divides the male and female labour forces effectively into two different and non-competing labour markets. Hence labour-market segregation has important implications for the burden of adjustment to technological change.

The dual labour market is another frequently used distinction, in which there is a segmentation into a primary sector employing what are called 'advantaged workers' and a secondary sector employing 'disadvantaged workers'. Disadvantaged workers are employed in enterprises where wages are low, working conditions poor, employment often unstable and opportunities for further on-the-job training limited. A great many of the 'female' occupations referred to above are in the so-called secondary sector, and with technological change the situation is deteriorating.

The ILO and other specialized United Nations agencies report that the decline in female employment in particular industries such as the metal trades, clothing, leather footwear, and food and beverages, must be attributed in large part to the extent and nature of methods of modernization. Industries which have adopted a higher capital-intensive technology resulting in the displacement of labour have found it easier to displace women rather than men. They have justified this policy on the grounds that women lack skills, and are illiterate and unwilling to learn new processes. This statement refers mostly to migrant women workers who are unable to improve their qualifications because of the language barrier (Beneria, 1978; Tadesse, 1979).

In textile industries the ILO found that when new machines were installed the tendency was to substitute male for female workers, and to keep women on the older, manually-operated machinery. In postal and telecommunications services, too, new equipment resulted in the abolition of temporary or part-time jobs, which were frequently occupied by women; and it was the female staff who were most affected by the adoption of new techniques (ILO, 1977).

A recent United Nations report stresses that 'in the absence of full employment, rapid and thoughtless technological change can only exacerbate social problems, especially through the displacement of workers—particularly minorities and women who are just beginning to achieve job levels which permit them to enjoy the benefits of technology' (United Nations, 1980a,b).

The forecast for employment opportunities for women in the 1980s indicates that the automation of manufacturing processes has tended to diminish much of the routine work typically done by women (light assembly, conveyor-belt work, packing). The general pattern in such technical developments seems to be to reduce or downgrade the openings for routine work but to enlarge the opportunities for more highly qualified people (United Nations, 1969).

This trend obviously leaves domestic service as the major future outlet for female employment, along with low-status industrial jobs. This is especially well documented in Latin America and France for those migrants who are young and have recently arrived in the capital city areas. In 1970 in Buenos Aires 62 per cent of migrants coming from neighbouring countries found employment in domestic service (Jelin, 1977). In France, out of 210,000 active migrant women 76,000 were employed in industry and 73,000 in domestic services (*La Nouvelle Politique de l'Immigration*, 1975). Those Turkish women workers who have domestic jobs opt for such occupations as a source of supplementary income. They are predominantly widows or divorced women with heavy family responsibilities, who do domestic work at weekends. However, looking more closely at the salaried work performed by a great number of Turkish women in the service sector, we observe that the vast majority are cleaning jobs, in particular for communal authorities in large cities.

Spending, saving and investment tendencies

The tendency of migrant women to spend more and remit less is fairly clear. A Turkish survey on spending and saving habits of Turkish migrant workers revealed that 47 per cent of women are not sending any money back home. Lack of confidence in complex organizations, and inadequate information on banking facilities seem to induce women to keep large sums in their temporary homes. While men are more eager to invest in agricultural enterprises and land, women prefer houses or flats. Women seem to prefer safe and passive forms of investment. Advertising and the mass media, especially television, induce Turkish women migrants to purchase clothing and durable household goods in excessive quantities. The belief in the superiority of commodities produced abroad leads them to pronounced conspicuous consumption (Abadan-Unat, 1977).

However, freedom to consume does not necessarily mean the liberty to choose a different life-style. In many newly built, freshly painted houses on the edges of villages or towns in Anatolia which belong to migrant workers who have either returned or are still working abroad, there are often five or six large rooms, many of which remain unused. The question is whether economic affluence and the cult of foreign consumer goods may serve as a measure of emancipation, but it seems as if these new habits represent pseudo-emancipation rather than any deep and lasting change in mentality (Yenisey, 1976).

In urban lower-income groups in Turkey, as in other Mediterranean countries, husbands as a rule are the principal breadwinners. Even in rural areas where women participate equally in agricultural work, the husband is the sole middleman between the household and the market. This previously unchallenged position is weakened if women are the first to migrate. This sudden role reversal became particularly visible during the third phase of Turkish migration to the Federal Republic of Germany, when women workers were preferred to men, and large contingents of unprepared rural women were catapulted into exile in a world they did not understand (Abadan-Unat, 1977).

One of the most important sources of dispute among working spouses has been and continues to be the allocation and control of household income, the establishment of separate bank accounts, and the authority to make decisions on these subjects. Disputes frequently arise over the use of joint savings and the type of investment (Kudat, 1975).

Whether dwindling work opportunities will persuade migrant women to make use of the educational opportunities that would enable them to compete depends to a large extent upon the attitudes of their husbands. The likelihood that more free time will be made available to women through a partnership-type of marriage arrangement is not very great, given the overwhelmingly tradition-oriented social control of Turkish migrants abroad. This strong social control prevents the emergence of a belief in internal control or reinforcement, which develops the tendency to assume full responsibility for one's actions. Individuals, especially women, in large ethnic groups in foreign countries are generally 'other-oriented', and ill-prepared to develop autonomous, self-reliant and active behaviour-patterns (Akpınar, 1977).

The psychological consequences of migration

The entry of migrant women without industrial work experience into the labour market or their joining their husbands abroad, at first appears to take place without any particular friction or conflict. Most migrant women have been brought up in a traditional way, and it is assumed that they have been prepared since childhood to adjust themselves to totally different environments. Yet it soon becomes evident that confrontation with a very different environment, and increasing nostalgia, create psychological changes and stress situations which eventually lead to behavioural disturbances. Some of

the situations which produce these disturbances are described below.

Women who for the first time in their lives have to undertake a long journey alone or are obliged to commute alone to their work-place often fall prey to serious anxieties. Similarly, inexperienced women are bewildered when suddenly introduced into a complex industrial system where they work for wages with an intricate tax-deduction scale, which needs detailed explanation in order to be understood. These examples clearly indicate the unpreparedness of many migrant women, but the crucial point in this process is that all this happens simultaneously, creating acute anxiety and alienation in an important segment of the migrant population.

Another problem is that of discontinuity. For many migrant women the opportunity for work participation appears to be limited to their stay abroad. They consider their new occupational role as temporary; and they are not very highly motivated to learn new skills or a new language since they know they will have little or no chance of using their work experience at home.

A significant change also occurs in their self-image. Women suddenly start to measure their behaviour from the point of view of being a breadwinner, money-maker, or capital accumulator. Thus the entry of migrant women into the labour market does not generally mean becoming an 'industrial worker', but 'making money, accumulating savings' This monetary orientation has a marked effect upon mother/child relations and on those female members of the household who have been left behind in the home country (Gurel and Kudat, 1978).

The total change of environment invariably means that rural or small-town migrants are no longer subject to the permanent control of the family, especially relatives of the father or later the husband. Migration causes changes in the composition of the family, and the acceptance of new frames of reference. Instead of submission, passivity and lack of initiative, migrant women become psychologically ready to accept new patterns of behaviour.

However the extraordinary rapid transition from traditional to industrial life has evidently provoked mental disturbances. A recent survey of migrant women in the rural regions of the Federal Republic of Germany indicates that those particularly susceptible to psychosomatic diseases were female migrant women from rural areas who had been obliged to move directly from their home villages to large cities abroad where they knew nothing of the language and were separated from their husbands and/or children. Thus 53 out of 77 female patients were treated for diseases defined as 'uprootedness syndrome', 'atypical depression', 'neurosis', 'tropical neurosis', 'depressive reaction', and 'nostalgia reaction' These patients' most

common symptoms were intense anxiety accompanied by aches in the heart or chest, stomach ulcers, insomnia, lack of appetite, physical debility, sexual impotence, head and back aches. These symptoms usually appeared in a chronic form after an accident, discharge from work, or bad news. The average age of these Turkish women patients was 30, and the average duration of their stay abroad, 6.2 years. The second important group of diseases was of a more serious nature and included schizophrenia, paranoia and morbid melancholia. These recurring patterns have resulted in the acknowledgement in medical circles of a new type of disease 'Guestworkers' syndrome' (Benkert et al., 1974; Melon and Timsit, 1971; Ozek, 1971; Teber, 1980). Among migrants suffering from these diseases, women outnumbered men. It seems that women migrants, when faced with serious challenges, are less able than men to overcome unfavourable conditions.

Instability of family structures as a result of migration

Important changes take place in the composition of migrant households as a result of out-migration and settlement in urban areas. In contrast to the stability of rural or small-town households, the make-up of the migrant urban household tends to be temporary. Migrants often need not only kinship bonds, but also those of neighbourhood, friendship and affinity. The isolated nuclear family has been viewed as a response to the demands of an industrial economy, but much of the recent sociological research on urban social organization in Western societies has demonstrated the significance of extra-household kinship ties and the supportive functions of the kin group. Litwak, Sussman and Leske assert that among the industrial urban groups, modified extended family structure consists of a type of coalition of nuclear families partially dependent upon one another. Interaction is situational, and takes place according to the needs of the moment (Litwak, 1965).

This general observation is particularly true of migrants. But a major characteristic of migrant families, as Kiray (1976) states, is the change in its composition. Migrant families are split and recomposed in a variety of ways according to the conditions and possibilities of job, money and accommodation available abroad. The choices are many: migrants may live single in dormitories; they may continue to live there as married men after reunion with their wives, perhaps with some or all of their children, or with paternal or maternal relatives; or they may also take flats with their families, or share flats with

previously unrelated couples or several single people. Any given household, abroad or at home, may assume multiple configurations as each arrival and departure affects the network of relationships. Its temporary nature is attributable to the high turnover rate. Indeed, migration upsets every rule and pattern for the family, and makes its dispersal and composition a kaleidoscope. Even in cases of a prolonged stay abroad or definitive settlement, the unbroken ties with the home country help maintain this structural instability (Kiray, 1976, p. 220).

Fragmentation

A corollary of such instability is fragmentation. Families involved in migration are eager to accept employment abroad, and, if possible, try to secure employment for both marriage partners. But for financial, cultural or personal reasons dependents are often left behind in the home country, and family fragmentation has become almost the rule. It is now acceptable for a family to remain separated for years. In Turkey such a practice was traditionally accepted for men, and wife and children would be entrusted to the care of relatives. Yet with migration, not only are unmarried and married women permitted to leave without their families and secure jobs abroad, but such behaviour has become acceptable for the women who stay behind, who can choose between joining their own or their husbands' families or leading an independent existence in their own homes (Abadan-Unat, 1977, p. 40).

Kiray considers the separate-house-in-the-village syndrome, to be one of the most important functional changes in the role of women brought about by migration in Turkey, since no law of the Republican era could have brought about change on such a scale (Kiray, 1976, p. 244). We may conclude that a temporary, independent life-style due to migration might eventually reinforce emancipatory efforts at home or abroad.

Fragmentation of family life undoubtedly produces many serious inconveniences too. The most essential are the following: long separation of spouses may cause alienation which might be detrimental to women in view of the machismo-inspired double standard adopted by men from certain cultures. And for various reasons, such as the desire to educate children in the home country, unemployment, bad housing and maladjustment, women are more likely to return to the home country. In such cases fragmentation can increase distrust between partners, inspire fears of divorce, cause neglect of children and lead to deprivation of affection.

Family responsibilities and the division of labour

The degree of change in attitudes towards family responsibility largely depends upon whether the man or woman has migrated first, what kind of milieu the migrant family settles in, and to what extent the social network of the particular ethnic group acts as a buffer mechanism to overcome the hardship of adjustment. Generally, even in cases of family reunion in countries placing a strong emphasis on egalitarian values between marital partners, the married migrant woman worker remains attached to the values of her traditional upbringing. The pressure of the group tends to reinforce this attachment. Thus working wives are expected to carry a double burden of industrial work and household chores, which may become extraordinarily heavy under poor working and housing conditions. Even in cases where the woman has acted as the vanguard and was the first to obtain work, therefore acting as the household head and being the main breadwinner, reunion has seldom been characterized by equal sharing of tasks, and the economic independence achieved by migrant women inevitably engenders conflicts.

For those migrant women who by choice or legal restrictions are confined to the home, other problems arise. Where the daily life of the sexes is separated, as in many Mediterranean countries, the only way to overcome loneliness is to participate in established patterns of social life among groups of the same sex. Thus even the much criticized Turkish residential ghettos, for instance, like Kreuzberg and Wedding in West Berlin, Rijkeberg in Stockholm or Feijenoord in Rotterdam, actually provide a tightly structured communal life which eventually represents the only means of escaping total isolation. Although integration in such communities facilitates daily life by reinforcing traditional behaviour, it effectively blocks the chances for an emancipatory process occurring within the family (Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger, 1978).¹ Taking into consideration the fact that migrant women, whether employed or not, face serious handicaps—such as uprootedness, language difficulties, isolation, possible prohibition from going out alone—the interaction of the micro-community to which they belong and the macro-community in which they live basically affects only their behaviour as consumers.

1. The work by Baumgartner-Karabak and Landesberger (1978), *Die verkauften Braute: Türkische Frauen zwischen Kreuzberg und Anatolien*, presents a somewhat exaggerated picture of Turkish migrant women, but it does give some insight into the impact of social control exercised within a given ghetto-district. Consult also: Johansen, 'Die guten Sitten des Essens und Trinken'

While daily shopping is more or less acceptable, any further exploration of community life becomes taboo, especially for housewives. A comparative survey within a group of Greek, Italian, Yugoslav and Turkish housewives reveals that 80 per cent never went to a swimming pool, 63 per cent to a cinema, 55 per cent to a restaurant, and 51 per cent to a coffee house by themselves. This prohibitive code of behaviour also explains a relative failure to take advantage of the adult educational opportunities offered. Apart from radio and television programmes in their respective national languages, little seems to touch migrant women living at home. Changes in role within the family take longer than in the social role of individual women going abroad, or even remaining at home.

Changes in decision-making and authority patterns within the family

The increase in the number of fragmented families due to migration has affected authority patterns and decision-making within the family and almost forced many women to act independently. Generally speaking, women migrants who have acquired economic independence abroad or are leading an independent life at home increasingly handle their own income, savings and investments. Abroad they have their own bank accounts and feel free to invite their own relatives or friends for lengthy stays, sometimes without even consulting their husbands. In the home country, if they act as head of the family they are obliged to carry out a number of unfamiliar transactions such as cashing remittances from the post office or bank, requesting credit for crops or building, choosing the place and type of schools for their children, and organizing social functions such as engagements or weddings.

In all nuclear or transitional extended families abroad, unless the migrant women's authority is strongly challenged by the husband or other relatives, their newly assumed role makes women more aware of the importance of literacy, schooling, and family planning.

The least consulted persons in migrant families are daughters of marriageable age. Those who are born abroad or have joined their parents at an early age may even have enjoyed a professional training, but the family head, under the influence of the social controls exercised by the ethnic group to which they belong, may abruptly take the girl out of school and force a pre-arranged marriage upon her, often for a bride price. Torn between two cultures, not strong enough to resist, not old enough to achieve economic independence, these girls face grave problems; they may acquiesce in the decisions of their families, or they may desert them.

The balance sheet does not show that migration inevitably enlarges the horizons of women in terms of greater participation in decision-making and the sharing of authority with their husbands. The dominant pattern is rather for husbands and fathers to retain for as long as possible their traditional privileges, based upon inequality within the family, and to attempt to transmit these values through socialization. Nevertheless, migration does imbue participants with an increased awareness of change. The reaction to these drastic upheavals depends a great deal on environment, family background, and no doubt to an important degree on personality.

In this context the dominant values cherished by the Turkish community abroad play a decisive role. Liberalizing tendencies are deliberately counterbalanced by fundamentalist, traditional moral values diffused through such socializing institutions as Koran courses, cultural programmes, films and some newspapers and magazines. A review of a considerable number of Turkish films shown in the Federal Republic of Germany indicates that in 99.5 per cent traditional male-female roles continue to be projected. In all these films, women were subordinated to men, and working women were shown either in less than flattering occupations, such as prostitution and belly-dancing, or as traditional housewives; in every instance decision-making was in the hands of men. As the author of this content analysis points out, sexism is still entrenched in contemporary Turkey (Suzuki, undated).

Ambivalence in fertility patterns and sex relations

Contrary to expectation, migration does not affect the fertility pattern of migrants, especially when the family is left in a rural area. Even though they are now mistresses of their own homes, the wives who have been left behind are lonely through the long years of separation from their husbands, and look forward to reunion; meanwhile one solution is to have children with great frequency. To be pregnant or breastfeeding seems to keep these women emotionally satisfied (Kiray, 1976, p. 255).

An interview with a newly graduated, 21-year-old midwife in the village of Çalapverdi revealed that although as a rule there are one or two births each month, in March the figure is much higher, for many children are conceived when the migrant workers come home on vacation in July. In 1975, as many as thirty women were expecting babies the next March. According to the midwife, these women were not at all interested in birth control. The most common explanation given for expecting children is that they have enough money and

property to feed their children, so why not? Considering that the Bogazliyan survey shows that 65 per cent of the family members who stay at home are illiterate, 11 per cent know only the basics of reading and writing, 7 per cent have attended primary school, and only 3 per cent have completed secondary school, it is hardly surprising that these women living in an underdeveloped rural setting cannot properly assess the nature and duration of their husbands' employment abroad. Only age seems to make a difference here. Newly married couples from 1970 on have shown some interest in family planning, particularly the contraceptive pill. There are some 40–50 women in the village in this category, but they have trouble sticking to a daily schedule (Yenisey, 1976, p. 344).

Turkish migrant women employed abroad are less eager to raise large families. As long ago as 1963, 57.3 per cent of migrant workers wanted three children at most. The women's preference for no more than two children (38.7 per cent) was slightly higher than that of men (31.5 per cent). Readiness to make use of family planning methods was fairly high (65 per cent). There are, however, important extraneous factors which may cause an almost total rejection of these intentions. The decision of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany to extend maternity leave to eight months and support it through financial incentives (in order to overcome the steady decline in the growth of the Federal Republic of Germany's population) had its most significant effect on migrant workers. Turkish families especially did not hesitate to take advantage of this new right, and produced larger families despite the crowded and unfavourable housing conditions many of them have to endure.

Migration has also brought about significant changes in the relationship between men and women. Although the majority of Turkish migrants, aware of their minority position, are generally strongly committed to projecting an image of puritanical values, there are of course quite a few who lean towards the more permissive rules of conduct of Western countries. Migration may lead to a lengthy separation from the family and this inevitably produces exposure to a more liberal social environment. Estrangement within marriage is therefore highly probable. There are some reports in the Turkish press testifying to migrant heads of families bringing a 'German wife' home with them during their annual leave, and asking their legal wives to serve and entertain this guest. Rumours or letters from local informants reporting alleged misdemeanors or infidelity of female family members (wife, sister or daughter) have induced some Turkish migrants to return home and save the 'honour of the family' by committing homicide.

We can assume that even in the future, when the incidence of

separation is reduced and the sex composition of the population adjusted, the drift towards a more liberal social environment and the changing economic status of women will none-the-less perpetuate a high rate of adultery, and even bigamy. Parallel to this tendency, an increase in the number of children born out of wedlock may continue (Kudat, 1975, p. 89).

Education of children

The most crucial issue affecting fragmented families is the problem of children, whether they are left in their home country or raised abroad. As with the family's general situation, the decision of how many children should go abroad depends largely upon the migratory policy of the host country. Although Turkish migrants had the largest families (in 1971, 18 per cent had two children; 29 per cent, three children; 16 per cent, four children; 10 per cent, five children; and 6 per cent six or more children) they took the fewest children abroad with them (Mehrlaender, 1974, p. 206). In 1971, only 5 per cent of Turkish migrant workers had three, and 3 per cent had four children living with them. This situation changed dramatically when the Federal Republic of Germany implemented a revised tax law and only those families, both native and foreign, who had their children living with them were entitled to family allocation. This legislative amendment provoked a 'child-rush' into the country. The legislative amendment mentioned earlier concerning prolongation of maternity leave paired with financial assistance also resulted in an increase in family size. It would therefore seem realistic to suggest that decisions regarding family reunion are taken on the basis of regulatory policies rather than individual preference.

Where all or most of the children are brought into the country of immigration, a special role devolves upon the eldest daughter, who fulfils the 'ersatz mother' function, although she is not likely to be psychologically or emotionally ready for the task of raising small children. These girls—all teenagers—are deprived of schooling and formal education or professional training (Abadan-Unat, 1977; Berger and Mohr, 1975). In those families where the mother remains at home, the language barrier prevents her from helping with children's homework, and she is also unable to make contact with school authorities. The two simultaneously and conflicting socialization patterns make it impossible for her to hand down to her children the culture, customs, religious values and language of the home country. Consequently, unless bilingual education has become a part of the immigration policy of the host country, educators and social workers

are preoccupied by cases of cultural intergenerational schizophrenia.

The socialization process in migrant families, when contrasted with institutionally guided socialization efforts, reveals important differences. In Turkish families it is predominantly the father who disciplines the children, while in native families all problems and educational methods are considered the mother's responsibility. In almost all Turkish families, fathers also act as mediators between the outside world and the family. Like other southern Mediterranean families, patriarchal attitudes tend to dominate in the Turkish family. A model of equal partnership is dominant in about two-thirds of German families.

Another important source of difference relates to anticipated goals of education. A comparative survey among the major migrant groups living in the Federal Republic of Germany showed that while for native families the most important educational goal for their children was to help them become self-sufficient, independent, and responsible, for the Turks, learning, desire for achievement, obedience and adherence to order were more important (Holtbrügge, 1975).

Migrant families place great importance upon loyalty to the state and emphasize their religious and national identity. Parents attempt to transmit these values through the patriarchal value system, which is very often rejected by the adolescent second generation. These youngsters are exposed to two different patterns of socialization, and boys in particular prefer to comply with the dominant ideas of their indigenous peers and achieve complete integration (CIME, 1979; Neumann, 1977; Ronnenberg, 1976).

The temporary-migration syndrome Europe is undergoing is compelling people to belong to two worlds. Wherever a culturally pluralistic approach towards the migrant child is taken—at present West Berlin has started such a curriculum in districts with heavy concentrations of Turkish children—a balance can be achieved between the culture of the receiving society and the country of origin. There are, however, *länder* that do not adopt such compromises, and institutions performing surrogate functions are starting to appear, such as the numerous Koranic schools in the Federal Republic of Germany. These private schools escape all public control, and they tend to emphasize recitation and learning by rote; they also practice physical punishment (Abadan-Unat, 1975, 1979). Such schools may represent serious obstacles to the child's development and to his integration into the receiving society. Almost all of the pupils of such schools attend them under strong parental pressure.

The ambivalent position of parents towards their children in migrant families is extremely important. The clash between different civilizations, cultures and religions creates confusion in the minds of

these youngsters, and having grown up in family settings where little importance is placed on personal communication and where media takes up the majority of free time, they are virtually deprived of linguistic expression. The pattern of communication in the family is reduced to simple conversations focused on the errands of daily life. In addition, second generation children may be ostracized by their peer groups in the indigenous population.

Conclusion

The problems of Turkish women affected by international migration have to be analysed from two different perspectives: that of women living abroad; and that of female members of migrant workers' families who have either been left behind in Turkey or sent back.

In 1978 there were estimated to be around 305,400 Turkish women living in the Federal Republic of Germany. Of these, the women from rural backgrounds, who are often illiterate or have very limited school experience, face serious problems in bringing up their children. Their acute isolation not only severs them from the customary network of neighbours, kin and peers, but also undermines their emotional relationships with the family, which served as the basis for their personal and psychic stability. Unsatisfactory housing conditions, lack of knowledge of the language, insecurity in sex-role distribution all contribute to increasing alienation between mother and children. The children's ability to adjust being better than that of their parents, they tend to look down on their unemployed mothers and rate them as useless and ineffective. Employed migrant women are not only confronted with the problem of handling the double burden of work and housework, but, in order to secure an additional source of income, many are shouldering a third burden, the illegal 'black work'. The accumulation of stress due to overwork often results in physical exhaustion; in 1976, 44 per cent of Turkish women as compared with 38 per cent of Turkish men in Germany were ill for longer than ten days (Nolkensmeier, 1976).

The various types of assistance offered by the social services have only a limited influence, and initiatives taken to train woman migrants usually originate from voluntary, non-governmental associations, who instead of encouraging the growth of awareness and consciousness, reinforce the traditional roles by offering tailoring, sewing and cooking courses. For these women, migration does not necessarily mean emancipation—if this is understood as liberation from social pressures, individual independence and self-realization. But women migrants with a slightly higher educational level or a satisfactory professional

training, who are eager to learn the local language and aware of the benefits of social security can no doubt improve their status in terms of equality and responsibility.

The women who remain in Turkey while their men work abroad may be affected by migration in one of two ways. First there are those women who have been entrusted by their husband or father to the care of his family. Living with parents-in-law within the patriarchal and patrilocal extended household seems to delay the process of a bride's establishing herself as second-in-command to her husband; this becomes particularly relevant when the husband is out of the country. In the second case, those semi-complete nuclear households where the wife of the migrant acts as plenipotentiary head of the family, we might expect that the long separation and deprivation of marital companionship would create some problems. But, by and large, women belonging to the second category seem to handle the situation with greater energy. In meeting the challenge, they are obliged to deal independently with many questions previously left to the discretion of the male head of the household, and this situation permits them to develop over a relatively short period of time a strong, independent and self-reliant character. As Fallers and Fallers (1971) point out, 'by living with an institutional structure and sense of solidarity of their own', Turkish women have already achieved a substantial degree of psychological independence. Female heads of migrant families are proving—as shown in the Bogazliyan survey—that migration can play a decisive role in accelerating emancipation.

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