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GUESTWORKERS – LIFE IN TWO SOCIETIES

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1. On the Theory: Guestworkers — Life in Two Societies

Numerous investigations, written from the point of view of receiving countries, focus on the questions of immigrant segregation, integration or assimilation. In these works, guestworkers are regarded as immigrants. Guestworkers are, however, not immigrants, but temporary itinerants, because of the job market policies of the receiving countries. Foreign workers are issued temporally limited labour and residence permits. Although there are considerable differences between various European receiving countries with respect to visa and residence permits, this does not alter the fact that guestworkers embody a life-style which is marked by insecurity in connection with the most important life-decisions regarding family, housekeeping, location of accommodation and job possibilities.

This dual and insecure life-style does not mesh with Marginality Theory in sociological research, according to which guestworkers in Western European industrial countries have developed a social system marginal to the indigenous population. The usual criteria of marginality are measured, such as below-average education, residual position on the job market, and discrimination in the accommodation market. In this light, guestworkers are judged by the status criteria of education and job training as attributes imported from their countries of origin, thus justifying their residual position compared to the indigenous population.

Guestworkers live in and between two societies. The partial view of the theory of the formation of a substratum must therefore be replaced by a bilateral stratification theory, with being a member of a substratum in the receiving country is, somehow, compensated by belonging to a new top class in their home provinces. Guestworkers are therefore assigned two roles whereby especially the second social role, that in their place of origin, is often more important than the in many cases marginalised ‘underdog’ position in the receiving society. The knowledge, abilities, experience and savings acquired through working abroad enable the guestworker to raise himself in prosperity and status above the population of his place of origin who did not go abroad. It is understandable that this possibility of a social advancement in their home country offers an important, often underestimated, compensation for the various deprivations and voluntary constraints in Northern, Western


2 H. Fassmann was responsible for data processing.

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and Central Europe. One can assume that this second social role constitutes a considerable part of the personal identity of the guestworker. It can further be assumed that, only after the discarding of this possibility of identification through breaking away from their country of origin, a cultural and identity crisis is induced, and it is especially pronounced in guestworkers' children.

A change from such origin-bound social roles presupposes the existence of two households, or at least two habitats, between which functional interweaving exists and toward which different forms of investment are made. Even if the aforementioned condition does not apply, there is at least a splitting of life into two territories, into two spheres of perception, information and action, which are interconnected through the rhythmic phenomena of the return journeys. In a wider social perspective, in which the separation of residential locations of urban societies depends upon the new possibilities of individual transport, certain analogies between migrant workers and second-home owners in large cities become apparent. In both cases, complementary forms of accommodation exist: rented and owner-occupied.

The concept of a bilateral stratification theory corresponds with the classification of bilateral household types. At the same time, it proved necessary to relate two spatial systems, namely, the urban system of Vienna and the settlement system of the places of origin of the migrant workers in Yugoslavia, in order to understand the consequences of life in two societies in the spatial context.


The concept, execution and documentation of the two bilateral research projects on Yugoslav guestworkers in Vienna in 1974 and 1981 has a number of outstanding attributes, such as repeated surveys, a bilateral concept and co-operation, the unusually wide thematic spread, and the fortunate choice of time: 1974 at the end of the main immigration phase and 1981 after 7 years' recession, concurrent with the national census, at a time before Austria was affected by serious economic slumps and, therefore, began to take measures to reduce the guestworker quota.

The isolation of clearly defined elements is, for natural scientists, an obvious prerequisite for an analysis. This is difficult to achieve with social scientific research. It succeeded with the study of Yugoslav guestworkers in Vienna insofar, as in both 1974 and 1981, they constituted the absolute majority of all guestworkers. The organisation of both inquiries was in the form of a short-term (14 days) major inquiry within the teaching organisation at the Geographical Institute of Vienna University in co-operation with the Institute of Migration Research in Zagreb (under the then Director Prof. Dr. Ivo Baučić) with 100 co-workers in total. The information was gathered in the homes of the guestworkers. Communication was in the form of a language triangle whereby the Austrian and Croat students spoke English to each other and in their respective mother tongues with the guestworkers. The travel expenses of the Yugoslav colleagues and co-workers were met in 1974 by UNESCO and in 1981 by the VW-Foundation and the Foundation for the Ad-
vancement of Scientific Research in Austria. The rapid processing of the inquiry results in 1981 was only possible due to the institutionalising of the project within the Commission for Regional Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

3. The Derivation of Bilateral Household Types

Bilateral household types form the central classification instrument of the bilateral strata theory. They are an indicator of the process of change and at the same time a regulator for all socially relevant dimensions such as work and living conditions in Vienna, functional relationships to the origin, imitation of the consumer habits of Vienna society, willingness for cultural assimilation, etc. The derivation of bilateral household types had to meet two methodological requirements:
1. It was necessary to overcome the problem of multilevel analysis (see Fig. 1).
2. The simplest possible classification system was established whose results allow precise comparison and possess the greatest selectivity.

![Diagram of bilateral household types and multilevel analysis](image)

Fig. 1: Bilateral types of household and multi-level analysis (results of a cluster analysis)

According to the research topic in the 1981 inquiry, 'Life in Two Societies', a symmetrical multilevel-structured questionnaire was chosen as the organisational instrument. The central information level focussed on the bilateral household structures and the respective residential locations in Yugoslavia and Vienna. Data
on the dwelling premises in Vienna and the native places in Yugoslavia (every 7th household) was collected on a higher level of aggregation. On the lower level of persons in the Vienna households, about one-third of the female guestworkers questioned were asked further questions on cultural assimilation and concerning schoolchildren. For further details on the methodological problems of multi-level analysis, see H. Faßmann, 1984.

As a statistical instrument a non-hierarchical cluster analysis was used, into which four theoretical constructs with five operational definitions were entered: bilateral household structure (number of persons in the household in Vienna and in Yugoslavia), life cycle concept (age of the head of household), phases of the migration process (year of immigration of the head of household), degree of social urbanisation of the place of origin (number of inhabitants).

After several test-runs, six types of guestworker households were identified and labelled according to specific attributes of the heads of households: 1. city dweller, 2. older late migrant, 3. older guestworkers from villages, 4. older guestworkers from mixed settlements, 5. young guestworkers with small households in Vienna, and 6. young guestworkers with families in Vienna (see Fig. 2).

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**Fig. 2: Types of households—the results of a cluster analysis**
By means of a cluster analysis and a factor analysis accompanying it, some key results were isolated: The main element of household classification is the age at immigration and thus in which phase of life the decision to move was made. In the factor analysis, the age factor accounted for 45 percent of the explained variation and, thus, for even more than the household size variables which were split into two factors, together accounting for 43 percent. (All statements refer to the male heads of households.) In the systematic layout of the dendrogram (Fig. 2), the variables immigration and household sizes in Vienna and Yugoslavia overlap regarding the dichotomisation of the contrasting pairs older-younger and the sizes of the constituent parts of the household in Vienna or in Yugoslavia.

Quite surprising, however, is the minimal effect of the degree of social urbanisation and, likewise, that of the stage in the migration process. The dichotomy of town versus country is of little use in a description of the native places of the Yugoslav guestworkers in Vienna. Here, it is changed to a dichotomy between guestworkers from cities and those from other communities and, therefore, the determinant is a step higher up the scale as far as settlement size is concerned. The reasons for this can be sought in the settlement structure in Yugoslavia, where the intermediate level of central places, i.e., for example, the many small towns in Austria and West Germany, is only weakly developed.

The grouping of the immigration process into pre-, high- and late-phases is reduced to two phases in the typology: the growth phase and the recession phase, whereby a considerable structural change in the guestworker society from a predominantly male society to a normal population only takes place during the late-phase.

4. Household Types and Age Structure of the Population and the Employed in Yugoslavia and Austria

The concept of the bilateral household types is based upon the assumption that the migration process is controlled decisively by familial conditions. As reasons for fetching or not fetching individual members of the family to Vienna, one continually heard stereotyped formulae such as ‘because my father died’, ‘because my mother fell ill’, ‘because my husband (my brother) moved to Vienna’. It was determined from many informal conversations that the analysis of the bipartite system of households and families of guestworkers offer a key explanation to the behaviour of guestworkers in all the socially relevant dimensions, in Vienna and in Yugoslavia. Basically, bilateral household types form a complex demographic typology, which is also capable of specifically illustrating the generational bonds, the characteristics of Vienna guestworker households and the members of the family remaining behind in Yugoslavia. Thus, the individual household types possess very disparate bilateral age structures.

At a more specific level two household types, the older guestworkers from villages and the young guestworkers with families in Vienna, are graphically documented. For the villagers, from the point of view of ideal types, this group con-
stitutes the link between the traditional seasonal migrants and the modern guest-workers. Their family life is certainly burdened by the long absence of the men, though it is a problem which is traditional in the affected areas, and, through adaptation, it is not felt to be too great a hardship. The possibility of frequent journeys home, usually by means of public transport, also shortens the period of separation, which formerly had lasted not just months but years. In spite of the long period of stay of ten years on average, the members of this group left their families in Yugoslavia. Only a few have fetched their wives to Vienna. Thus the villagers create a markedly male society in Vienna. The high quota of employed in Vienna of 65.2 percent supports the population in Yugoslavia, which has an employed quota of only 22.9 percent. The villagers usually come from small rural communities, predominantly from agriculture, and their children also remain mostly in agriculture. Therefore, one can consider work abroad in this group as a kind of secondary or additional income to the agricultural industry at home. The next generation, the ‘children’ mentioned in the household questionnaires as living in Yugoslavia, are mostly grown up and married, while the grandchildren are already growing up in the farmhouses which have been renovated and extended with the savings of the grandfathers in Vienna (see Fig. 3).

At the other end of the scale are the young guestworkers with families in Vienna (see Fig. 4). They come from larger rural communities, often from the suburbs surrounding the larger towns. Even before migration to Vienna, a breakup of the three-generations household had begun. As can be seen from the diagram, less than half of the households had left grandparents or other relatives behind in the place of origin. The age structure of this group largely approximates that of an average population. Although there is a moderate male surplus in Vienna and a slight female excess in Yugoslavia, the employed quota in Vienna almost matches the average of the population of Vienna. 40 percent of the guestworkers in this group living in Vienna are already second-generation guestworkers.

5. Living in Vienna and Yugoslavia

Earlier in this paper, the division of residences was isolated as an important process in guestworker migration, the comparison with second-home owners drawn up and a social advancement-hypothesis formulated. With the slogan ‘they live to build’, the new building activity in the Yugoslav guestworkers’ places of origin can be identified as the most important result of the guestworker migration. This is a ‘peripheral phenomenon’ of rural areas, and a very definite negative correlation with the size of settlement can be seen. If one takes the number of completed one-family dwellings as a yardstick, the percentage sinks from 62.5 percent in communities of less than 1,000 inhabitants to 45.5 percent in communities of between 1,000 and 5,000 inhabitants and in larger communities reaches barely 20 percent. This peripheral effect is partly correlated to the bilateral household structure (see the discussion above). No less then 33.3 percent of the households with no members left in Yugoslavia are building houses. We can, however, ascertain that even
Fig. 3: The bilateral age structure of the older guestworkers from villages in 1981
Fig. 4: The bilateral age structure of the young guestworkers with families in Vienna in 1981.
Fig. 5: Building activity and types of households
with large households in Yugoslavia, one third of the guestworkers did not decide to begin construction of a new dwelling or had not finished construction yet.

The building activity is an extremely long-term procedure, which extends over many years. Figure 5 attempts to portray the living in makeshift accommodation, the frequent travelling to and from, the stage-by-stage building development, from which it can be seen how extensive the quota of carcase structures with or without roof, half-finished and fully completed dwellings was in the past decades. In the 1981 inquiry for the older guestworkers, one-half of the dwellings were still in the early building stage, of which two-thirds were empty structures without roof. A similar situation, only on a broader basis, existed with young guestworkers with families in Vienna. The slowing-down of building development during the recession because of the fall-back of investment and reduction of transfer payments is visible in the diagram, as is the effect of the reunification of family members with young guestworkers.

Let us now relate these developments in the Yugoslav origin with the Vienna residential situation. Guestworkers who have not built houses in Yugoslavia are not different in their living standards in Vienna from the house builders. While guestworkers in Vienna are quite generally living in small dwellings, the number of rooms in the newly-built homes in Yugoslavia covers an unusually wide range, reaching from three to ten and more rooms. A great range of variation in residences is evident in Yugoslavia because the building stock is composed of older houses, older self-built structures, half-finished and finished new buildings. Similarly there is variation in the quality of the modern conveniences, which, in almost half the cases, are of a temporary nature, as are the type and range of the fixtures, fittings and furnishings. Figure 6 demonstrates that the quality of the furniture in Vienna bears no relation to that in Yugoslavia. Around half of the guestworkers who had bought new bed-

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**Fig. 6: Discrepancies in furniture purchases with double households in Vienna and Yugoslavia**
room suites for their dwellings in Yugoslavia lived with old but well-preserved furniture in Vienna; a further one-third, despite a long stay, had invested nothing in the Vienna fixtures and fittings and were satisfied with heavily-worn furniture. Barely one-sixth had new furnishings in both Yugoslavia and Vienna. In part, the reduced economic expenditure on the Vienna home furnishings is a result of the investment at home. In those households which are not yet planning the furnishing of a house in Yugoslavia, the furnishings of the Vienna home are better than the average, and the category of heavily-worn furniture is missing. The accent on new furnishings at home in Yugoslavia is further evidenced through the fact that in addition to the bedroom suites, in 90 percent of the cases a new fitted kitchen and fitted living room were bought whereas in the Vienna milieu this furnishing combination is missing except for a few individual cases.

The better furnishings and fixings in Vienna are connected with an 'advancement syndrome' which can be measured by means of the usual indicators such as better education, higher aggregate household income, and a higher percentage of television sets, washing machines and new furniture. This 'advancement syndrome' is generally independent of building activity in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the readiness for investment and transfer home of money represents phenomena dependent on the 'peripheral effect' and the level of involvement in agriculture. To those with their own home both in Vienna and in Yugoslavia, which comprise a half of all guestworker households, some 20 percent are to be added who have not yet completed their houses. A further 30 percent have a dwelling with their parents or in their own older houses in their homeland.

The social advancement hypothesis can be verified with regard to the location of the dwelling in the homeland. We can regard the overgenerous dimensions of the houses as an architectural symbol of the higher social status, as they are, attained through work in Vienna, in many cases, in excess of the actual living space requirements. As it is, this realisation of the objective of a social upgrading as to building structure produces problems for the future. High tax burdens for the house-owner have now come into effect, and the question of 'domicile loyalty' of the oncoming second generation cannot as yet be answered. It is likely that a considerable number of the houses, which are already standing completely or partly empty during the stay abroad, will also stand empty in the future.

6. Working in Two Societies: Work at Home and Work Abroad and the Plans for the Return Home

The succession of the 'Work in Two Societies', i.e., the change of work in the homeland to work in Vienna and the plans for the return home, is dependent upon the persistence of home-orientated work patterns and the creation of new work patterns in Vienna.

The idea behind the analysis of successive jobs types is that — in spite of the widely prevailing classification of the guestworker as labourer — no perfect substitution of the job role is possible. Even at the lowest level of the division of labour,
certain manual knacks and acquired skills are necessary so that the opportunities to change jobs and to move up the occupational ladder are limited to some extent. The statistical analysis identified the following order of the persistence of job types: skilled workers in industry 60 percent, skilled workers in the building trade 50 percent, agricultural workers 42 percent, industrial workers (labourers and skilled workers) 36 percent and building labourers 19 percent. New job types resulted

![Type of work done in Vienna](image)

*Fig. 7: Type of work done in Vienna by former agriculturalists and their job plans after returning to Yugoslavia*
from the influence of the Vienna job environment. Among these the employment in the field of transport is especially prominent, thus exerting a dominant influence on the objectives of the guestworkers. The percentages of guestworkers in the transport industry in Vienna who wish to continue in similar employment in Yugoslavia are: former agricultural workers 65 percent, previously unemployed 46.3 percent, former building labourers 45.5 percent and former industrial workers 33.3 percent. The extremely complex situation is demonstrated by means of the matrix diagram for former agricultural workers (see Fig. 7).

The flight from agriculture, which appears as an explanatory element of Yugoslav guestworker migration, is an irreversible feature of the normal urbanisation process. Things are different with guestworker migration. Even so the question remains open as to how many guestworkers who come from agriculture are actually prepared to return to agriculture. On this point, the 1981 Vienna inquiry brought out the interesting result that 17.6 percent of the male heads of households would take up agriculture again as their main occupation in the event of a return to Yugoslavia. This percentage of potential agricultural workers is roughly the same as that of guestworkers possessing 5 hectares or more of agricultural land. The preparedness to return to agriculture is however dependent to a large extent on the employment in Vienna. Thus, two-thirds of the agricultural workers who work in the building industry in Vienna want to be engaged again in agricultural in Yugoslavia. This percentage is almost double that of all other fields of work of guestworkers in Vienna. One explanation for this is that guestworkers in the Vienna building industry often live in accommodation provided by the firm and have little contact with other fields of employment. In contrast, more than a third of those former agricultural workers employed in the metal and transport industries indicate that they are influenced in their job expectations by their Vienna employment.

The comparative readiness of guestworkers to return to agriculture is also due to the economic conditions in Yugoslavia, where unemployment in the secondary and tertiary sectors during the 1980s’ recession has increased rather than decreased. With the growing level of education of job-hunters, people with poor education qualifications, which agricultural workers are as a rule, have now less chance of being considered for a job back in the homeland than before they left. Due to the generally low rates of pay in Yugoslavia, agricultural jobs can, moreover, easily ‘compete’ with those in industry. In other respects, because of the deterioration in food supplies in Yugoslavia, the increasing demand for agricultural products would offer good chances of a revitalisation of the agricultural industry. The actual development of agriculture will depend in the first instance on Yugoslavia’s future agrarian-political climate for the private agricultural sector.

All the above statements relate to male guestworkers. The strictly job-specific role apportionment between male and female guestworkers cannot be examined in detail here, but it should be borne in mind that at a time when cleaners and catering workers are still in demand in Vienna, the wives can ensure the continuation of the household, even when the husbands are unemployed for a considerable time because of rationalisation measures in industry. The acceptance of working wives cannot only be seen as an important result of the guestworker migration, but also has
a value not to be underrated from the point of view of workplace requirements in Yugoslavia. The possibility for wives to work in Yugoslavia will no doubt influence the readiness to return home.

7. The Functional Relationship between Place of Origin and Workplace

The peculiarities of the life-style of the guestworker, the double living location and the building activity at the place of origin lead to the phenomenon of rhythmic movements of persons and goods between the two locations and capital transfer from place of work (Vienna) to place of origin (Yugoslavia). Within the scope of the 1981 inquiry, an effort was made to measure the intensity of the relationship between place of origin and place of work by means of the following indicators: existence of transfers and amount of same, savings in a Yugoslav bank, and the number of return journeys to the place of origin. In this sequence of indicators, a weighting is already expressed. It can be stated that these behavioural dimensions are guided by differing influences. While the transfer was determined to a large extent by the household types (see Table 1), the manner of savings (see Table 2) showed itself to be dependent on the sociocultural milieu of the republic of origin. The frequency of travel is however best interpreted by means of a distance model (Fig. 8).

The money transfer of Yugoslav guestworkers to the homeland is considerable. It should be noted that in 1981, the yearly turnover of ‘Shopping City South’, a large shopping centre south of Vienna, was as high as the cash transferred by Yugoslav guestworkers to the homeland. 43 percent of the guestworkers questioned stated that they were able to make transfer payments to members of the family living at home and gave the amounts. Former villagers lead the money transfer home, transferring almost half of their earnings to Yugoslavia, and they thus display a remarkable renunciation of consumer goods in Vienna. Secondly, the ethnocultural pluralism of Yugoslavia offers an explanatory background for the disparity in cash transfer in that guestworkers from Croatia send very much less money than those from Serbia, Bosnia or Macedonia. While the household types play a decisive role in money transfers, they are only of secondary importance with regard to savings habits. Whether a guestworker opens his savings account with an Austrian or a Yugoslav bank, depends primarily on the sociocultural milieu in the home republic and not on bilateral household types. This result demands special notice, as it demonstrates that, when examining guestworkers’ problems, the influence of Yugoslav federalism and the resultant diversity must not be ignored.

The frequency of the return journeys is determined fundamentally by distance to home; Macedonians and Bosnians provide an almost perfect contrasting pair with regard to travel habits. Macedonians (from Southern Yugoslavia) travel home usually once per year, whereas Bosnian guestworkers travel six times or more per year. Although the travel habits depend only secondarily on the household structure, this does however determine the mode of transport. 80 percent of city-dwellers travel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>money transfer (per cent)</th>
<th>households men</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guest-workers from large cities</td>
<td>fairly recently immigrated guest-workers</td>
<td>older guestworkers from villages</td>
<td>mixed settlements</td>
<td>young guestworkers with small/large households in Vienna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular transfer</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irregular transfer</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amount transferred per month (AS):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up to 500</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-1000</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-2500</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500 and more</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mean (AS)</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>2090</td>
<td>3994</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2862</td>
<td>2113</td>
<td>2693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AS = Austrian schillings

n=275
n=44

Table 1: Monthly money transfer of the various household-types of Yugoslav guestworkers in Vienna in 1981
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Way of Saving</th>
<th>Per cent Depositors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Bank in Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Bank in Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With Bank in Yugoslavia and Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Bank in Yugoslavia</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Bank in Austria</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Bank in Yugoslavia and Austria</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Old guestworkers from large cities | 55.5 |
| Recently immigrants guestworkers | 45.5 |
| Young guestworkers in small/large households in Vienna | 45.5 |
| Men | 58.7 |
| Women | 55.5 |
| Total | 55.5 |

Table 2: Saving Methods of Yugoslav guestworkers in Vienna according to household types in 1981
8. Quo Vadis?

The important question is still open: Where will guestworkers’ settlement in Vienna lead and how long are guestworkers going to maintain their double existence? As an adaptation strategy for this divided life, they have developed ambivalent habits which partially replace the workplace- or home-orientation and aim at securing and perpetuating this double existence. Of these habits the following deserve special notice: the building activity of around one-third of the guestworkers without family members in Yugoslavia; a further third of the guestworkers who, although they have no direct relatives in Yugoslavia, transfer money and travel back frequently to the homeland; guestworkers who have brought their children to Vienna and have developed a strategy to cover themselves in the homeland through the opening of foreign currency accounts in Yugoslav banks; as contrast to that, Austria-oriented savers who have left their children in the homeland. Finally, the
established guestworkers with farm and family in Yugoslavia have tried to develop
secure living conditions in Vienna, with the very strong tendency to get a foothold
in apartment-building caretaker positions. The analysis showed that guestworkers
with ambivalent attitudes and behaviour already constitute an absolute majority
(about 55 percent of the total), while the proportion of ‘potential Viennese’ is
just 6 percent, that of the ‘returners’ amounts to 39 percent.

During the recession, politicians of all ideological shades in the receiving coun-
tries learnt that guestworkers cannot be substituted by the native unemployed.
There are several reasons for this. Guestworkers and the unemployed belong partly
to separate regional systems, namely, densely populated urbanized areas (guest-
workers) and rural peripheries (native unemployed). The subsidized building
of private homes in league with job guarantees and traditional property ideals have
led to an immobilisation of the population in structurally weak regions. The close-
knot social security system combined with ossified professional roles and the tradi-
tional importance attached to prestige have reduced the readiness of native Austrian
job-seekers to take up low-qualified work. The coordination between educational
politics and job market politics in Austria is insufficient in that ‘buffer’ manpower
prepared to take over dangerous, dirty, badly-paid work with irregular hours is not
provided.

A notable stabilisation of the guestworker households has taken place in the dual
labour market due to the coming-together of the family and the wife taking over
traditional sex-specific occupations in personal service and in the catering and
cleaning industries. This finds its parallel among the Black in the United States,
where similarly the wife is better able to avoid unemployment when, during ra-
ionalisation measures in large industrial plants, the men are made redundant.

The process of the inner tertiatisation of businesses appears to be especially im-
portant. Guestworkers are already represented in surprisingly high numbers in all
manipulative activities in warehousing, in transport, in distribution and sales. Their
way is open in the service society, if only in subordinate positions.

With the continuous return of guestworkers to their countries of origin in the
1980s, in spite of a continuing demand for foreign labour in Northern, Western and
Central Europe, there naturally exists a very fundamental problem in the host soci-
ety: An increase in ethnocultural distance coincident with a further segmenta-
tion of the job market is continuing so that an accentuation, rather than a weakening,
of the ethnocultural segregation effect is to be expected in the urban areas of
Northern, Western and Central Europe in the future.