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ESTRATTO

Summary

As a result of postwar labour migration from the southern European periphery, ethno-stratification has occurred in the labour market of West Berlin. The analysis of the data presented offers an overview of the empirical indicators comprising various dimensions of ethnic and gender stratification within the employment system of West Germany and Berlin: for example, occupational and industrial distribution of employees, skills, wage and stress levels, job security and unemployment, apprenticeships, and training and promotion prospects.

The outcome confirms the emergence of a new stabilized ethnic- and gender-biased stratification after the Second World War in Germany and suggests the necessity of policy initiatives on the Common Market level.

Résumé

L'essai analyse la stratification ethnique qui s'est vérifiée sur le marché du travail en Allemagne et à Berlin Ouest, à la suite de l'immigration des travailleurs des pays de l'Europe méridionale au cours de ce deuxième après guerre. L'analyse des faits, richement présentés, offre une revue des indicateurs empiriques comprenant des dimensions variées de la stratification ethnique à l'intérieur du système de l'occupation en Allemagne et à Berlin Ouest: parmi ceux-ci sont pris en considération la distribution de l'occupation en général des employés dans l'industrie, les qualifications, les niveaux de gain et le stress, la sécurité du travail et la désoccupation, l'apprentissage et la perspective d'une promotion.

Le résultat final confirme l'urgence d'une nouvelle stratification sur les bases ethniques et sexuelles, avec une procédure pénale particulière de la femme émigrée, et suggère la nécessité d'une initiative politique au niveau du Marché Commun.

Ethnic and gender inequality in the labour market: the case of West Berlin and Germany *

Background

Since the end of the Second World War there has been an ever-increasing permeability of labour markets in Western societies through the expansion of worldwide labour migration. Correspondingly interest in the ethnic and racial stratification in labour markets and industrial relations has grown. Research in various OEDC countries has documented that economic sectors, industries, and occupations are segmented along ethno-racial and gender lines with the effect that subordinate groups are overrepresented in marginal industries and in the less desirable poorly paid and low-status occupations (Semjonov and Lewin-Epstein 1987, 1983).¹

Nevertheless, sociological studies and explanations regarding the mechanisms that govern the emergence of segmented labor markets with respect to ethno-racial minorities vary considerably. Compared with North American studies, research on ethnic and race relations emphasizing labour migration in North and Western Europe has a relatively short tradition. Large, capital-staged labour migration in Europe had been happening already since the beginning of the industrial age.² However, only the post-WW II migration and its consequences for the ethnic composition of the host societies came to be recognized as large enough to draw the attention of a broader public and scientific community, especially in countries with a long colonial history like Great Britain, France, and The Netherlands.

Since the 1950s, 1960s, and the beginning of the 1970s about 12 to 15 million labour migrants have been settled in the European Economic Community (EEC) and other North and West European countries. While migration, in most cases, started with the deliberate, government-supported, recruitment of *temporary*

* A similar version of this paper is published under the title *Ethnic stratification and labour market inequality in West Berlin*, in "Lectures and Papers in Ethnicity", n. 3, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, edited by Ser Isajiw, Spring 1991.

¹ The following overview of theoretical formulations of ethnic stratification has profited from the studies by Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein (1987) and Semyonov and Kraus (1983).

² Bade (1983) gives a good overview of the migration to Germany over the last centuries.

labour ("guest-workers"), it has led to an – originally unintended – lasting settlement of labour migrants and the formation of new ethnic communities. Although the residence and work status of these *de facto* immigrants has been essentially improved in the past three decades, for the most part they and their children remain in subordinate employment positions, deprived of citizenship or landed immigrant status. The changes which took place in Germany 1989/90 will raise many questions about the future of migrant minorities there. The high unemployment in what was formerly East Germany and the influx of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union will have an impact on the overall employment situation and the integration policy towards the 4,5 million labour migrants who have neither landed immigrant status nor German citizenship, although they have lived for decades in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Will they be the losers of German unification and become a persisting "subproletariat" or a new ethnic "underclass", as some have suggested?

Theoretical Considerations

Various theories of inequality or segmentation have been used for explaining ethnically and gender accentuated stratification in sociological terms. However, some approaches have been questioned by empirical research. Theoretical models have been criticized for being either too general or too specific and not open enough for aberrations, "errors", or "special" cases. Other concerns regard the gap between theoretical macro models and the empirical proof.³ In the following, I want to identify some of the explanations and objections raised.

The main idea of the segmentation theory (Piore 1979) is the assumption that the labour markets of highly industrialized Western nations are divided into relatively impermeable segments which therefore determine employment patterns. It has been recommended to improve the "fit" of this theoretical model by looking more closely at empirical processes of occupational mobility on the or company level. Thus, Sengenberger (1987) emphasizes in the case of Germany the division of internal versus external or primary versus secondary labour markets. He differentiates between company-specific, occupational, and external labour markets, and – at the company level – between core workforce, medium, and fringe workforce.

Sengenberger and Koehler (1987) explain the differences of segmentation in various national labour markets with qualification differences of the labour force, working conditions and other factors. However, Biller (1990) argues that this is not sufficient. He points out that, for example, the German experience with a tendency towards increasing de-standardization of employment patterns within lower qualification groups, segmentation of labour markets along criteria

³ See recently published overviews by M. Granovetter and Ch. Tilly (1989) and K. O'Sullivan See and W.J. Wilson (1989).

like job security, working conditions, and qualifications may reflect existing segmentation and stratification patterns only to a limited extent and derives from his own study another important factor: the degree of self-determination in the workplace. Furthermore, he argues that the epistemological underpinnings of segmentation criteria are often not clearly revealed. They do not explain, for example, the relevance in the labour market of race, ethnicity, gender, or religious affiliation, nor do they facilitate a better understanding of the specific consequences of segmentation (criteria) for social mobility and the socioeconomic status of labour market participants within specific segments. For the latter Biller submits that a more thorough analysis of the impact of segmentation on the individual life (history) and personality is necessary. However, if one follows Biller's approach, the consequences of segmentation on stratification get lost.

Other, more holistic, approaches in the tradition of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Parsons, Elias and others try to explain inequality and stratification by class, status, culture, power and interest conflicts or as remaining pockets of antimodern particularisms within societies striving for universalistic modernization.⁴ Parkin's (1974) concept of exclusion, for example, has gained widespread recognition within the scientific community. His theory is based on the assumption of monopolizing social resources by social groups and classes. He distinguishes two general strategies used to secure resources and which lead to stratification:

1) Strategies of the dominant group to monopolize social resources and to assert privileges in relation to lower groups and classes. This strategy can be used with the help of individual rules for monopolizing social resources on the basis of achievement or with collective exclusion, on the basis of ascription.

2) Strategies of solidarity to exert pressure on higher groups and classes. The application of strategies of solidarity occurs when groups cannot maximize their advantages by using monopolizing strategies. Instead of "exploiting", they aim at usurping, i.e., redistributing or expropriating resources.

Parkin's model can be used as a heuristic concept for analysing processes of actively monopolizing mainly economic resources between different class factions and groups, but it is not sufficient to explain the structural causes for inequality along ethnic, gender, religious, or other lines.

Another explanation was outlined by Noel (1968). For Noel ethnic stratification is a special type of social inequality and individual status differentiation, as indicated by differences in power, prestige, and social-economic opportunities. Race, religion, and nationality are in this theory symbols, signs, or means of the distribution of social positions, status, and prestige. Noel maintains that ethnic stratification results from a high degree of ethnocentric competition for scarce resources and from power differentials and different opportunities for action. "Competition provides the motivation for stratification; ethnocentrism channels the competition along ethnic lines; and the power differential determines

whether either group will be able to subordinate the other" (Noel 1968: 157). The weakness of Noel's analysis derives from its circularity in explaining the origins of power, prestige differentials, and social-economic opportunities through ethnocentric competition and vice versa.

Others, in the tradition of the structural-functionalist approach, stressed the functional gains of ethnic differentiation. This raises an unanswered question about the 'awareness' of the driving agents of such functional social processes. Esser (1985) has even twisted the modernization theory by speculating that the process of modernization creates ethnicity as a rational instrument for gaining mobility advantages, which will be abolished as soon the goal has been reached. A few have made the suggestion, remembering the tradition of the German social philosopher Ferdinand Toennies (1912), to interpret ethnic stratification within processes of ethnic mobilization ("Vergemeinschaftung" or "Community") versus the tendency of modern association ("Vergesellschaftung").

Amersfoort (1982) presents a model which tries to close the gap between the macro foundations of processes and the impact of level actions on establishing macro structures. He focuses his analysis on four fields of ethnic stratification: law, education, housing, and the labour market. Each of them is subdivided into an individual, institutional, and social level. He derives unequal distribution of opportunities and discrimination – with reference to Max Weber and C.W. Mills – from power differentials and the division of labour in society. Ascription through ethnic signs serves to segregate or integrate groups or persons according to special interests.

Amersfoort claims that the process of ethnic stratification depends on specific configurations, for example, the ethnic, social, and demographic composition of the migrants and their ability and willingness to integrate. But, it is also dependent on the response of the society into which they must integrate, that is, the attitude of the recipient country towards discrimination or integration.

Amersfoort's analysis, as is Parkin's explanation, is helpful because of its heuristic insights into a process with different levels of analysis and its moderation of often contingent historical and local factors. However, his assumption of a functional and deliberate interest-driven logic of ascription on various levels of the society is questionable. Processes of inequality do not, in many cases, derive from deliberate and planned actions of the actors involved. They might be better understood as the unintentional outcome of (intentional) social action or "invisible market mechanisms" (Adam Smith) not controlled by particular individual's action.

In view of the above-mentioned approaches and arguments, a theoretical approach has to consider the (un)intentional social, economic, and institutional background of individual actions leading to inequality or stratification when explaining ethnic and racially accentuated segmentation of labour markets.⁵ The emergence and persistence of social inequality in societies based on market

⁴ Exponents for the German theoretical discussion of these issues are, for example, Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973), Heckmann (1981), Gaitanides (1983), Korte (1984), Esser (1985).

⁵ Bader and Benschop (1989/91) have recently published an interesting approach to synthesize the various theoretical explanations and empirical findings of social inequality covering in much more detail many of the questions I am dealing with in this article.

competition, accumulation of capital, and exploitation of labour can be explained (within complex historical and local frameworks) as a struggle for the distribution of and control over, mainly economic, power, means, and resources by either deliberately or "unconsciously" using already existing, or shaping or creating new legal, political, and cultural-symbolic patterns through which this struggle for distribution and control can be channeled. Ethnicity as well as racial and national origin, network, and family bonds, occupational or religious affiliations, gender and other ascriptive or achieved criteria can, within this context, become means of association, discrimination, isolation, and exclusion of groups and individuals. It is not the degree of modernization of a society but its degree of diversity that determines the extent of stratification and the variety of means and criteria used for ex/inclusion.

Ethnic stratification in ethnically relatively homogeneous countries becomes manifest through processes of labour migration or colonization, which may create a new sub- or suprastratification. One may argue that ethnic-biased stratification in that sense can be "imported" as well as "exported".

Ethnic stratification in countries like post-war Germany can be interpreted as an "imported" result of the non-intended settlement of labour migrants. Originally the recruitment of foreign labourers was based on the principle of rotation. But over time it became the source of a new labour immigration and led to a substratification ("Unterschichtung") of the existing social stratification based on a capitalist economy.

Ethnic stratification can become persistent through processes of vertical intra- and intergenerational social mobility in which differences in socioeconomic status and position are permanently linked to ethnic signs and symbols. This "labelling" or defining of ethnic boundaries and differences can be based or maintained by legal and political status definitions. However, ethnicity or ethnic identity is not only based on the definition of "the other" according to ascriptive natural, physical, historical, or cultural differences, but it is also confirmed by processes of defining the self within a specific collective sociocultural (sometimes institutionalized) context. Gender stratification can be explained in a similar way.

Within immigrant societies, the existence of ethnic and racial stratification and its overlapping with other status criteria like class, race, and gender is well known. It may lead to various forms of a "double, triple etc. subordination" (being an unskilled immigrant women) resulting in a double or triple handicap or, under certain conditions, in a relative advantage or balance. Ethnicity may become an additional or even a main resource regarding the distribution of economic, legal, political, and cultural resources, e.g., of power, status, and prestige as well as social risks and chances, in addition to the achieved individual and social resources.⁶ The effectiveness of ethnic ascription and ethnic-origin-

⁶ The Labour process control approach also emphasizes discrimination for the purposes of stabilizing ethnocultural dominance and power structures – in analogy to Max Weber's concept of "Herrschaftsrationalität"; see also Castles and Kosack (1973).

ated achievements⁷ depends on consensus regarding the validity of the signs and symbols for social action and perception.

How is the process of ethnic stratification developing over time? As already mentioned, the entry of migrant workers from different ethnocultural and national backgrounds into an economic system is often the result of specific historical and economic labour shortages, in particular occupational and industrial sectors combined with specific "push and pull" factors in the host as well as in the sending country,⁸ under conditions of an open regional or world labour market system. Therefore, labour migrants are at the beginning of the labour migration normally highly concentrated in specific sectors and occupations. This changes as time passes. Migrants then become an integral and often indispensable part of the domestic labour market. This occurs especially if the local labour force becomes less responsive to changes in the demand for workers, unwilling to fill stressful and low paid jobs in the secondary labour market (Piore 1979), and/or has shifts into more rewarding and prestigious jobs (Pollard 1979).

In the case where the majority of immigrants enter at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy and take the most stressful, least attractive, and lowest paying jobs, a change among strata will occur. Ethnic groups already in the system and endogenous employees are pushed one notch up in the social or job hierarchy.⁹ Under conditions of a continuing labour market growth and immigration a subsequent new substratification will happen and migrant labour becomes an integral part of the labour market and its various segments. The gender stratification may then be overlapped by a ethno-racial stratification creating different labour markets with more diverse opportunity structures. Also discrimination patterns may take different forms for different groups and segments.¹⁰ Furthermore, under the conditions of an unrestricted labour market and in chiefly meritocratically based societies, we may find a trend towards a greater

⁷ Breton (1979) points out that within the sociological literature there is an ambiguity between ascriptive ethnic origin and achieved, modifiable ethnicity. Often the achieved character of ethnicity is neglected.

⁸ One can distinguish various "push and pull" factors based on the economic leverage between the sending and the host society, political development like wars, perpetration of ethnic or religious groups, demographic over- or under-population, cultural affinity, the existence of networks, and other causes.

⁹ See the "ethnic succession model" by Park (1952), Shibutani and Kwan (1968) and the "overflow" thesis by Frisbie and Neidert (1977). If the influx of newcomers is not equal the rate at which vacancies are occurring in low-ranking occupations, conflict may arise and the rule of succession may become undermined; see Light (1981).

¹⁰ Semyonov and Kraus (1983) illustrate these differences by analyzing income inequality by ethnicity, gender, education and other criteria and come to the conclusion that the wage gap between the gender groups were much larger than gaps between ethnic groups. Indicators like socioeconomic background, education and occupation had for them a different explanatory power. "The causes and patterns of gender-based discrimination differ considerably from those of ethnic-based inequalities. In both societies [Israel and the U.S., H.K.], gender interacts with ethnicity in the determination of income-roles of the superordinate ethnic group are the most advantaged when compared to all other groups, while females of the superordinate ethnic groups are not advantaged compared to minority females" (Semyonov and Kraus 1983: 270).

spread of labour migrants within the occupational system of the host society. More employers realize the potential benefits of employing migrant labour and indigenous workers shift into expanding and more lucrative sections of the economy. "The entry of migrant labour, then, sets off a dynamic process whereby migrant workers penetrate large parts of the industrial structure. Hence, it is expected that the industrial distribution of migrant labour and the local labour force will grow more similar and occupational differences will remain fairly stable" (Semyonow and Lewin-Epstein 1987: 102). In other words, labour migrants will become less industrially and locally concentrated as in the beginning of the immigration process and within the migrant groups and generations differentiation by ethnic and national origin, occupation, gender, age etc. takes place, although the position of migrants in the occupational structure as a whole is unlikely to improve very fast.¹¹

However, if the labour market conditions become stagnant or shrink, the processes mentioned may come to an end or may even be reversed, dependent on how many labour migrants are forced to leave the host society or occupational niches and how strong the pressure is on various factions of the indigenous labour force to accept a social or occupational downgrading.

The following factors should be taken into account if one studies the expansion, stabilization or dissolution of a given ethnically accentuated substratification created by labour migration:

1) "Internal" factors on the side of the migrants like the ability to integrate, to use networks and other financial and educational resources, and their ability to mobilize – partly as a result of exclusion and discrimination – their own ethnic resources, for example by developing independent labour markets and creating occupational niches for ethnic businesses and new ethnic professional classes.

2) "External" factors like the legal status, degree of social mobility,¹² labour market segmentation and competition,¹³ ethnocultural distance, and segregation, ethnocentrism, ethnic discrimination, and exclusion.¹⁴

The differences in legal status tend to have discriminatory effects on the social position and opportunities of labour migrants, affecting their chances of interest representation and political lobbying, their opportunities with regard to property and business acquisition, and their residential as well as job security and job promotion (Dohse 1981).

Differences due to ethnic or national origin and their non-recognition in the host society have a negative impact on the social positioning and mobility of

¹¹ "Although the skills of migrant labour are upgraded with the passage of time, and some individuals shift to more rewarding occupations, their advances on the occupational ladder are unlikely to outdistance those of local workers, and the occupational gap between the groups remains" (Semyonow and Lewin-Epstein 1987: 103).

¹² See also the "jump queue" thesis by Lieberman (1980) and various "exchange" and "structural mobility" theories, e.g., by Simkus (1984) and Robinson (1984).

¹³ See Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein (1987: 65,80) and Smelser (1989: 199f.).

¹⁴ See the concept of "exclusion" by Parkin (1974) and Bonacich (1972), the theory of "queuing" by Lieberman (1980), and other approaches on "institutional or systemic discrimination". An overview about theories of discrimination is given by Cherry (1989).

foreign labourers. For example, the different valuation of educational and occupational certificates, licenses, skills, and language knowledge in the host society has either a hidden ("systemic") or an open impact on hiring, positioning, promotion, and income of labour migrants.

The different valuation of the ethnocultural and religious habits, values, and backgrounds of migrants is a source of prejudice, rejection, and ethnocentric tendency for discrimination by employers and endogenous workers.

Existing exclusion mechanisms in industries and occupations (traditional job hierarchies, statistical screening, closed union shops, formal job prerequisites, seniority rules, personal networks) have a negative impact on newcomers or applicants not familiar with these rules or without the necessary resources for access.

Findings

The following analysis of the ethnic and gender biased composition of the labour market is based partly on secondary statistical data analysis, and partly on data from a survey of 79 companies¹⁵ within Berlin's manufacturing industry. West Berlin was chosen because, as the largest West German city, with the largest total number of so-called foreigners¹⁶ or sojourners, it represents fairly well the situation of foreigners in West Germany within an urban and highly industrialized setting. Regarding the density of foreigners, Berlin ranks ten, compared with other German cities with a population of more than 100,000. Although dramatic political changes have taken place in Germany since the end of 1989, the basic problems I am referring to in this article remain the same.

The analysis confirms findings of other surveys in Germany¹⁷ within the past twenty years that so-called foreigners or post-war labour migrants in West

¹⁵ The sample covered 8% of 961 firms with more than 20 employees in Berlin's manufacturing industry in 1986. A considerably higher proportion (35%) of all employees was included. Because of the bias towards larger companies with more than 1,000 employees (75% of all existing companies of this size were covered in the sample), the survey was in the strict sense not representative. Nevertheless, the sample covers the diversity of conditions in Berlin's industry with a broad spectrum of occupational profiles, wage levels, and other important information relevant to the employment of non-Germans.

¹⁶ The term "foreigners" usually is used in Germany for labour migrants driven by labour market demands from the Mediterranean countries since the end of the 1950s first from Italy, in the 1960s mainly from Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Yugoslavia, and at the end of the 1960s eventually from Turkey. See the economic, political, and social origins of the phenomenon of migrant labour in Western Europe and other industrial societies after the Second World War in Boehning (1984), Power (1979), Castles and Kosack (1973). The legal meaning of the term "foreigner" denotes persons living in Germany without having German citizenship. In day-to-day usage it has a broader meaning and refers to persons not being of German ethnocultural background. A third, more general meaning can be best translated with the English term "alien", denoting a person not being at home or familiar with the place in question.

¹⁷ For example, Kremer and Spangenberg (1980), Schmid (1980), Fellberg, *et al.* (1980), Dohse (1981), Mehrlaender (1981, 1986), Gaugler, *et al.* (1985), Just (1989).

Germany and West Berlin are "subject to forces similar to those exerted on subordinate ethnic minorities and foreign workers in other industrial countries".¹⁸ There are significant signs pointing to the existence of relatively stable, ethnic- and gender-accentuated, strata within the working population: labour migrants and their descendants belong, for the most part, to a relatively homogeneous, low paid, less qualified, less powerful sector of the workforce.¹⁹ However, at the "margins" of these strata, one can observe tendencies of strata dissolution and processes of differentiation through social mobility, promotion, upgrading, and qualification. But only a minority of migrants have realized, with strenuous efforts, upward mobility in the occupational hierarchy – although there are significant differences among various ethnic groups.²⁰

What are the causes and historical conditions of the post-war labour (im) migration to West Germany? Many studies have dealt with that complex issue. The following main causes have to be taken into consideration: the increased demand for industrial labour in specific occupations in West German industry was, in part, a result of accelerated change in the economic and technical production processes since the Second World War. One must also account the effects of the establishment of the "Welfare State", the expansion of the services sector ("Dienstleistungssektor"), of demands for higher education, unfavourable demographic developments (aging, WW II losses), and changes in social mobility resulting from the increasing aversion of German workers towards unattractive, low paid, unskilled, and stressful industrial jobs. Eventually, there was a change in the labour supply. Particularly the end of the influx of refugees from East Germany and Eastern Europe effected by closing the East German border in 1961 played an important role in the decision to hire labourers from the less developed Southern European countries and the European periphery of North Africa and Turkey.²¹

The original purpose of recruitment was to set up a temporary rotation of migrant labourers: no provisions were made for settlement or the establishment of families. But this intended rotation failed. To stop the growth of the migrant labour force in a situation of prospective unemployment and economic crisis,

¹⁸ Semjonov and Lewin-Epstein (1987: 99).

¹⁹ Gaugler, *et al.* (1985), in their survey of 1696 manufacturing companies also found that foreigners are very likely to be employed in stressful jobs with low job requirements, high turnover, little chances of promotion, above average rates of accidents and illnesses, and little likelihood for union representation of their interests.

²⁰ See Dohse (1981), Mehrlaender (1981, 1986), Koehler and Gruener (1990).

²¹ In West Germany and West Berlin, several studies and surveys have addressed the historical causes and empirical outcomes of labour migration. For example, the special inquiries of the Statistical Bureaus and the Federal Board of Labour (Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit), the studies of the Mehrlaender (1981, 1986), and especially the dissertations of Gaitanides (1983) and Schaefer (1985). Other extensive data collections which deal in some way with the situation of labour migrants and their families are found in inquiries concerning specific fields and subjects, for example, studies analysing school education, job training, housing (see overview by Fijalkowski 1985). An analysis of ethnic exclusion in the labour market is given by Kurthen, *et al.* (1988, 1989).

the West German government enacted in 1973 a ban on the further recruitment of foreign workers.

The undesired settlement and establishment of families continued, however, making the immigration of foreign workers (called euphemistically "Gastarbeiter" or "guest-workers") a reality. They were no longer a seasonal and cyclical part of the population, but became a permanent segment of West German society.

Many of the (former) foreign workers and their children and families now have been living in West Germany for more than twenty years. The majority of migrants (30% of whom are of Turkish origin) are currently working and living in, sometimes closed, ethnic colonies or communities within the larger German cities and industrial regions, including West Berlin.

Foreigners in Germany have a particular legal position: they are subject to the Foreigners Law and need work and residence permits.²² They have no voting rights on the federal or regional levels and therefore no direct means of articulating their interests to the political system.²³ The ambivalence and absence of a clear self-image on the part of many foreign workers increase their minority position in the political system. Hence the system has been slow in responding to the problems of housing, education, and general social and economic discrimination that the migrants experience. Until recently, most social work has been done by the charitable organizations affiliated and financed, albeit with some governmental subsidies, by the Catholic and Protestant churches. Foreigners are equal to Germans with respect to human rights guaranteed in the constitution, civil liberties, criminal and civil law and with regard to economic and social rights and responsibilities like taxes, wages, education, unionization, and social and welfare rights including employment and health security, pensions, and seniority. In the area of social integration labour migrants are more tolerated by many Germans than accepted, although prejudices have been reduced remarkably within the past decade.

Foreign workers and their families represented in 1987 about 12% or 257,000 of the 2.15 million inhabitants, as well as 12% or 90,000 of the 750,000 labourers in West Berlin.

Of foreign labour in West Berlin 73% still represent former so-called guest-workers from Mediterranean countries, recruited in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. About two-thirds of all foreigners from traditional immigration countries are of Turkish or Kurdish ethnic origin, about 21% are Yugoslavs, and 9% are of Italian, Greek, Spanish or Portuguese origin (see Table 2).

²² Now the majority of the foreigners have unrestricted work and residence permits. They have gained this legal status as a result of their work and residence for decades in West Germany and West Berlin.

²³ At the moment equal political participation on the local and regional levels is being discussed and has in some communities already been implemented, for example, suffrage rights in local elections, and "foreign parliaments" as advisory bodies to local governments. Further differences exist between migrants from non-EC and EC countries. The latter can at any place within the EC borders vote for the European parliament.

Table 1: *Population and Employment of Foreigners and Unemployment in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and West Berlin*²⁴

Year	Foreigner Population				Foreigner Employment				Foreigner Unemployment Ratio	
	FRG		Berlin		FRG		Berlin		FRG	Berlin
	%	of	%	of	%	of	%	of	%	%
	1000s	pop	1000s	pop	1000s	empl	1000s	empl		
1961	686	1.2	na	na	507	2.5	na	na	na	na
1967	1,807	3.0	na	na	1,014	4.7	na	na	3.4	na
1974	4,127	6.7	178	8.3	2,287	10.9	91	11.9	11.9	17.5
1984	4,364	7.1	245	11.4	1,609	8.0	86	12.2	11.9	15.8
1987	4,483	7.3	257	12.0	1,592	7.7	91	12.2	11.1	18.5

na = not available

Table 2: *Categories of Non-German Employees in West Berlin (in %)*

Foreigners from:	1974	1984	1987	Index 1987 (1974=100)
Traditional immigrant countries	80.4	75.7	73.1	90.9
- Turkey	49.3	51.4	50.2	101.8
- Yugoslavia	20.8	16.9	16.2	77.9
- Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece	10.4	7.4	6.7	64.4
Western Europe	10.4	10.4	10.0	96.2
Eastern Europe/World	9.2	13.9	16.9	183.7
All Foreigners	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.0

Another category of foreigners – distinguished by their residence – are so-called frontier or commuter workers from mostly German(ic)-speaking neighbour countries of the FRG such as Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands. In the case of Berlin these workers from Western Europe play a minor role compared with other industrial centres and cities in the border regions of the western and southern parts of the FRG. However, foreigners from Eastern Europe are overrepresented in Berlin due to the geographically close location of Berlin to Eastern Europe and its attractiveness as the largest city between Moscow and Paris. Other foreigners belong to occupational groups with special work permits, such as artists, scientists, managers, and technicians from foreign com-

²⁴ Data from various sources of the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin and the Bundesminister fuer Arbeit und Sozialordnung 1987/88.

Table 3: *Employed Foreigners by Sector in the FRG and West Berlin*

	1974	1980	1987	1974	1980	1987	1980	1983	1987
	Berlin West			Berlin West			Federal Republic		
	Absolute Figures			% of Foreigners					
Agricultural	1,039	100	886	28.1	24.7	23.2	7.2	8.1	5.4
Manufacturing	52,296	44,700	38,347	20.0	20.8	19.8	13.1	13.4	10.5
Construction	7,171	7,596	7,134	12.7	15.0	13.8	12.0	12.3	9.6
Services	18,115	24,395	25,665	10.5	12.4	11.9	8.0	8.8	7.0
Public Administration/Welfare	4,634	6,162	7,682	6.9	8.9	10.2	3.4	3.7	3.3
Community & Organizations	997	1,388	2,185	6.4	7.0	7.5	3.7	4.1	3.7
Trade, Commerce & Retail Trade	4,961	6,766	5,700	4.5	6.6	6.2	4.2	4.3	3.8
Transportation & Communications	1,878	2,184	2,316	4.4	5.5	5.4	7.2	7.3	6.0
Finance & Insurance	284	459	419	1.4	2.2	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.5
Energy, Mining	107	133	156	1.0	1.2	1.3	7.1	7.9	7.0
All Industries	91,466	94,809	90,490	12.0	13.0	9.2	12.2	9.3	7.5
Index of Concentration	0.256	0.172	0.136						

panies with German subsidiaries, diplomats and their family members, as well as members of the NATO forces on German and Berlin soil.

A third – statistically not represented category – are temporary contract or seasonal labour migrants, many of them working illegally within the timelimits of their three-month tourist visas or with student visas. They also come mostly from Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and from Third World countries.

What changes took place in the distribution of foreigners within various sectors of the economy? First, there is diffusion from the manufacturing industry into various non-manufacturing sectors, especially the local services sector (Table 3). However, this does not imply for the majority an occupational upgrading or change of concentration in occupations, particularly for the so-called first generation of migrants. Although the concentration index of foreigners²⁵ shows a significant decline in the sectorial distribution of foreigners between

²⁵ The measure of concentration or division of labour used in this context is 1 minus observed diversity/maximum diversity. The observed diversity is 1 minus (sum X squared)/(sum X squared) where X is the number of persons in each category of the labour market classification. The measure was proposed by Gibbs and Martin (1962) and more recently used by Simpson, *et al.* (1982). Maximum diversity, or the upper limit of measure, is dependent on the number of categories in the classification and is generally calculated as 1 minus 1/k, where k is the number of categories. Within the range of 0 (no diversity) and 1 (absolute diversity) the higher values represent a greater concentration.

1974 and 1987, their ranking was still 2.5 times higher than that of the Germans (Table 5). This indicates that foreigners, particularly women, in the majority, are still concentrated in two sectors: manufacturing and services.

The dissimilarity index²⁶ in Tables 4 and 5 with data about vectoral distribution confirm the findings from the concentration index and give us an idea about the percentage of foreigners, i.e., foreign men, who would have to change occupations to achieve an occupational distribution identical to that of the compared German male group. The higher the value the more likely we can confirm the thesis that, for whatever reasons, occupational and sectorial exclusion and discrimination prevail. Our data confirm the gap between Germans and foreigners and the, even much deeper, gender gap. Comparing selected states with a huge labour migration or important ethnic minorities and discriminatory policies (like Israel) we can see an overall slow trend towards a decrease of the dissimilarity over time. In Germany there seems to have occurred a strong decline in the 1970s and a slowing of that process in the 1980s, although this thesis has to be proven more thoroughly.

Table 4: *Dissimilarity Index by Sector* (* = 10 categories, Others = 6 categories)²⁷

Host/Migrant	1968	1969	1972	1975	1981	1982	1983
FRG		32.4			20.4		19.2*
Switzerland			27.8		25.5		
France	27.6			27.0			
Israel		59.9		53.8		50.7	

Second, the immigration stop during the so-called first oil crisis in 1973/74 had a clear impact on the number of labour migrants (Table 1). Obviously it represents a break-even point in the immigration and employment in the FRG as well as in West Berlin. Since then the residence of foreigners has been relatively stable, whereas the employment and the ratio of employed foreigners/all employees is decreasing.

The end of the huge labour rotation is considered the beginning of a long-term settlement or quasi-unintended immigration of foreigners with their families into the FRG and Berlin. One reason for the stable employment is the continuing labour market demand for "typical" foreigner workplaces and the

²⁶ The dissimilarity index is defined as $D = 1/2 \sum |P_{ai} - P_{bi}|$, where P is the percentage of workers in occupational category i from ethnic groups a and b respectively. The values of this index represent, for example, the percentage of Germans and foreigners who would have to change occupations to achieve an occupational distribution identical to that of the compared other group. For comparisons over time the index has to be interpreted cautiously because the index does not control for changes in the occupational structure (see Semyonov, *et al.* 1984).

²⁷ Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein (1987: 110, Table 6.3).

shortage of Germans willing to accept this work. Another reason is the integration and promotion of some of the labour migrants into the workforce. Many of them who became semiskilled or skilled cannot be easily replaced.²⁸

Table 5: *Employed Foreigners and Germans by Sector in the FRG at June 30, 1983* (Total Numbers in 1000s)²⁹

	Germans		Foreigners		Foreigners			
	Total	%	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%
Manufacturing	6,976.9	37.9	934.9	54.6	675.2	56.8	259.7	49.4
Services	3,385.4	18.4	298.9	17.4	120.1	10.9	169.8	32.3
Trade Commerce & Retail Trade	2,656.8	14.4	114.9	6.7	69.9	5.8	45.0	8.6
Construction	1,397.0	7.6	172.3	10.1	169.7	14.3	2.6	0.5
Public Administration/Welfare	1,308.6	7.1	47.8	2.8	29.3	2.5	18.5	3.5
Transportation & Communications	906.1	4.9	65.7	3.8	56.0	4.7	9.7	1.8
Finance & Insurance	774.3	4.2	12.9	0.8	5.4	0.5	7.5	1.4
Energy, Mining	444.4	2.4	35.3	2.1	34.5	2.9	0.9	0.2
Community & Organizations	369.8	2.0	14.5	0.8	5.6	0.5	8.8	1.7
Agricultural	208.8	1.1	16.5	1.0	13.8	1.2	2.7	0.5
All Industries	18,428.1	100	1,713.7	100	1,179.5	100	525.2	100
Concentration Index	0.127		0.28		0.30		0.29	
Dissimilarity Index	19.2				27.4			

Third, foreigners still function as a "cyclic labour market buffer" (Table 6). They are affected to a greater extent than are Germans by increasing as well as decreasing demand for labour. The buffer function can be demonstrated if one compares economic cycles and the development of the employment of Germans and of foreigners. Whereas in the 1960s the migrant labourers were sent home in times of rising unemployment, in the 1970s and the 1980s they filled up the rows of the unemployed. Their unemployment ratio, since the rotation stop has constantly been above the average, an indicator for their higher labour market or job risk.³⁰

²⁸ Koehler and Gruener (1990: 52).

²⁹ Dietz (1987: 105).

³⁰ A disproportionate reduction in the number of foreigners often takes place due rationalization, upgrading of qualification and language requirements, "hoarding" of skilled labourers, lack of seniority of foreigners, and ethnocentric selection criteria. However, the Berlin survey found quite a number of companies preferring foreigners citing as reasons their above-average work motivation and performance on stressful jobs as well as their better recruitment networks (by word of mouth).

Table 6: *Yearly Change in GNP, Employed and Unemployed, Total and Foreigners in West Berlin (in %) ³¹*

Year	GNP	Employed		Unemployed	
		Total	Foreigners	Total	Foreigners
1974	-1.3	-0.8	10.7	77.0	na
1975	-0.4	-1.7	-5.9	76.3	126.9
1976	2.0	-1.2	-3.2	0.3	-24.7
1977	1.4	-0.3	-0.6	12.1	10.8
1978	2.5	0.4	0.8	4.6	0.9
1979	3.0	0.3	4.9	-12.3	-15.2
1980	2.2	0.8	8.5	5.6	12.5
1981	-0.5	0.4	-3.7	36.8	59.6
1982	-1.3	0.6	-5.2	49.5	51.7
1983	2.9	0.4	-1.4	20.3	16.2
1984	4.9	0.7	1.1	-2.4	-9.6
1985	3.5	1.7	1.1	-0.7	-11.3
1986	2.5	1.3	2.4	4.7	9.0
1987	1.5	1.1	1.3	6.8	16.8
Mean positive change		-1.0	-3.3	-5.1	-14.5
Mean negative change		0.8	3.9	26.7	33.8

Foreign women carry a much greater risk in the labour market because of being both female and foreign (Table 7). These features are associated with a high likelihood of low paid manual occupations. This is due partly to their, by German standards, poor vocational training and language difficulties, and also to intentional as well as unintentional "systemic"³² discrimination on the part of German employers.

Table 7: *Unemployment by Ethnicity and Gender (in %) ³³*

Group	1980	1987	1980	1987
	All Sectors		Manufacturing	
Total	4.2	11.8	2.9	7.7
Women	4.3	11.2	3.6	9.6
Foreigners	6.5	17.9	4.4	10.6
Foreign women	4.8	18.0	3.8	12.5

³¹ June data from Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit and Statistisches Landesamt Berlin 1985.

³² "Systemic discrimination" is defined as unintentional actions taken by members of dominant groups with a differential and negative impact on members of the subordinate group, such as credentialism, lengthy "German" experience, qualification or certificate requirements, unnecessary physical requirements, lack of access, non-valid tests etc. Such policies are often traditionally entrenched in company policies and practices, usually unintentionally screening out entire groups of people for non job-related reasons.

³³ September data from Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit-Berlin Statistik.

Statistical data about unemployment patterns validate the notion that jobs with a low required skill level and, in general, a high percentage of foreigners, are more likely to have a higher percentage of unemployed. In addition, higher unemployment ratios occur in industries which implement new technologies or are dependent on seasonal orders or are in decline: for example, construction, textiles and garments, wood and furniture, whereas prosperous industries like chemicals, electronics, metals and automobile manufacturing in general have an unemployment ratio that is below average.

The survey with 79 companies in West Berlin already mentioned above, which was recently conducted by the author together with Helmut Gillmeister and Juergen Fijalkowski,³⁴ reveals some further characteristic "ethnic" employment patterns of foreigners. Foreigners are overrepresented on jobs at the lower end of the job hierarchy (Table 8).

Table 8: *Foreign Wage Labourers by Various Aspects of Employment (in %) ³⁵*

Employment Aspect	Indicator	Average or above	Below average
Wages	Wage level	27	50
Qualification	% of skilled workers	29	46
Stress I	% of shift workers	33	42
Stress II	% of piece-workers	30	46
All aspects mentioned combined		28	53

The high concentration of foreigners in particular "secondary" sectors and industries continues to be high. This is because these sectors cover less attractive workplaces with low skill requirements and high turnover, stressful working conditions, shift- and piece-work on mass-production, assembly lines, lower paid jobs, and jobs with poor promotional prospects, as well as unstable employment and a lack of seniority and/or union representation. However, the willingness of second- and third-generation migrants to do those jobs most disliked by Germans is evidently on the decline if they are working in a team where everyone is similarly qualified.

Table 9 gives a clear picture of the ranking of various groups regarding their risk of being dismissed. Toksoez (1990) has confirmed in her recent study the notion that in respect to stress, wage levels, qualification, job security, and promotion within the segment of female manual labourers, foreign women, and especially Turkish women belong to the bottom of the employment hierarchy. The "traditional" gender stratification is superimposed by an ethnic stratification.

³⁴ Kurthen, *et al.* (1988, 1989).

³⁵ Kurthen, *et al.* (1989).

Table 9: *Development of Employment by Gender and National Origin in the Manufacturing Industry of West Berlin from June 1980 to June 1987*³⁶

	% Change	Absolute Change	Index 1987 (1980 = 100)
Clerical-Turks	92.4	134	192
Clerical-Foreigners	5.9	111	106
Clerical-All	-5.0	-3.368	95
Clerical-Women	-9.4	-2.684	91
Wage Labourers-Turks	-10.8	-2.825	89
Wage Labourers-All	-12.2	-17.986	88
Wage Labourers Foreigner	-15.1	-6.463	85
Women-All	-17.0	-13.418	83
Wage Labourers-Turkish Women	-20.8	-2.111	79
Wage Labourers-All Women	-21.2	-10.734	79
Wage Labourers-Foreign Women	-22.2	-3.727	78
Total Employees (N = 193,309)	-10.0	-21.354	90

Within the manufacturing industry of West Berlin, which still remains a main factor of the city's labour market despite a notable decline of employment in the past decade, foreigners still make up 20% of the workforce. Above average proportions of foreigners and Turks were employed in the following industries: textiles, rubber, asbestos and plastic, electronics, transport equipment, non-metal manufacturing, and in parts of the food production industry (Table 10). If one includes foreign labourers in the construction business, and the services sector, about two-thirds of all foreigners, and labourers of Turkish or Kurdish origin were employed in the above-mentioned sectors or industries in 1974 as well as in 1987. Nevertheless, compared with the sectorial distribution the concentration of foreigners is lower within the manufacturing industry and it declined during the 1970s, whereas until the mid-1980s the value stayed constant. This confirms our thesis of a stagnation regarding the integration of foreigners and the development of a permanent ethnically accentuated stratification.

Noteworthy in this respect is a contrary displacement of employment in the industrial branches. While, for example, the electrical industry gained in importance comparatively in the employment of male foreign workers between 1980 and 1987, it lost ground slightly in the employment of women, and in particular foreign women. Similar trends were true in other branches so that the assumption of a tendency towards the substitution of foreign/Turkish women by German women as well as foreign/Turkish men, and German men is discernable.

These substitution processes in and between "secondary" and "primary" labour markets, signal the differing employment strategies of companies or even

³⁶ Data from the Berlin survey by Kurthen, *et al.*, 1989.

Table 10: *Employed Foreigners by Manufacturing Industries in West Berlin and % of foreigners of all employees*³⁷

	1974	1980	1987	1974	1980	1987	Index 1987 (1980=100)
	Absolute Figures			% of Foreigners			
Optical & precision instruments		481	623		11.4	12.9	113
Plastics		1,134	1,645		33.7	36.9	109
Computers/Office machines		395	528		11.4	12.3	108
Machinery	3,488	2,534	2,552	15.8	15.8	16.9	107
Chemicals		988	1,152		8.3	8.8	106
Rubber & Asbestos		580	281		37.1	38.9	105
Textiles	2,771	2,622	2,688	50.3	59.5	62.0	104
Non-Metal Manufacturing		1,521	1,314		21.4	21.3	100
Clothing		1,157	643		13.2	13.2	100
Electronic Production	21,833	16,430	13,832	25.1	25.0	24.4	98
Food & Beverages	4,499	4,554	3,805	14.4	16.6	16.2	98
Printing & Publishing		735	617		7.7	7.2	94
Transport Equipment		3,710	3,245		27.7	24.0	87
Metal Fabrication	2,616	2,194	1,397	16.4	16.2	12.7	78
Paper		1,201	1,029		25.8	19.1	74
Earthenware & Glass		1,005	583		21.7	15.6	72
Primary Metal		1,324	687		24.3	16.7	69
Wood, Furniture, Fixtures		894	510		18.3	12.7	69
Others		1,241	1,216		28.7	25.4	88
All Industries	52,269	44,700	38,347	20.0	20.8	19.8	95
Index of Concentration	0.27	0.12	0.12				

whole industries resulting: 1) from changed performance and qualification requirements (dependent on supply in the labour market and the implementation of new technologies because of world market competition), but also 2) from changing human resource policy preferences.

Our study also analysed the employment chances of the descendants of the migrants. Their situation has improved, the number of foreign trainees doubled between 1980 and 1987, but their proportion of 3.8% is still below the statistical average of 6%.³⁸ Entry level barriers have shifted from lower to higher skilled jobs in clerical positions.

It is worth noting that where foreigners tend to have equal prospects to occupy skilled work positions or where there is a lack of German applicants,

³⁷ September data from Bundesanstalt fuer Arbeit-Berlin Statistik.

³⁸ In West Germany the participation ratio is even lower (2% foreigners versus 9% Germans, see Table 11a).

foreign applicants for apprenticeships also have good prospects of being given vocational training, and employment. This means that the second generation of foreigners still functions as a "stopgap or deficit substitute".³⁹ The experience of latent discrimination often creates resignation on the part of the foreigners. Besides, many of them lack information, career advice, and contacts, or they receive inadequate encouragement from their parents, peers, and others. Poor attendance, the tendency of German teachers to give foreign children "social promotions", and pressure from their parents to join the work force and contribute to the family's finances as soon as possible have all combined to make it difficult for foreign children to succeed in the West German educational system and in the workplace.

Table 11a: *Occupational Position of Germans and Foreigners by Gender in West Germany at June 30, 1984* (absolute figures in 1000, in italics %)⁴⁰

Occupational Position	Germans			Foreigners		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Apprentices	898.4 5%	721.8 7%	176.6 2%	33.6 1%	26.6 2%	7.0 1%
Un- and Semi-skilled	4,163.8 23%	2,332.3 21%	1,830.5 25%	993.5 61%	646.4 57%	347.1 69%
Skilled	4,122.4 22%	3,762.6 34%	359.7 5%	352.6 22%	324.0 29%	28.6 6%
Foremen etc.	381.7 2%	370.7 3%	11.1 1%	6.7 0%	6.3 1%	0.3 0%
Clerical Apprentices	770.2 4%	187.0 2%	583.1 8%	10.8 1%	3.1 0%	7.7 2%
Blue Collar - low qualific	766.9 4%	186.8 1%	580.2 8%	33.1 2%	12.1 1%	21.1 4%
Blue Collar - high qualific	7,142.8 39%	3,394.7 31%	3,748.1 50%	181.4 11%	100.8 9%	80.7 16%
Other Clerical	279.9 1%	118.2 1%	162.8 1%	20.9 2%	11.7 1%	9.1 2%
Total	18,526.1	11,074.1	7,452.1	1,632.6	1,131.0	501.6
Concentration Index	0.154	0.154	0.029	0.349	0.337	0.440

³⁹ The Berlin survey clearly confirmed the notion that the considerations in providing apprenticeships for foreigners mostly have to do with their functional advantage for "our company" or "our economy" or the demographics, and that managers rarely take into account any moral obligations, aspects of social justice, or broader sociopolitical considerations which would demonstrate understanding and competence in arriving at solutions to common problems.

⁴⁰ Dietz (1987: 102).

Table 11b: *Occupational Position of Germans and Foreigners by Gender in West Germany* (in %) ⁴¹

Occupational Position	Men			Women			Total		
	Foreigners		Germans	Foreigners		Germans	Foreigners		Germans
	1980	1985	1984	1980	1985	1984	1980	1985	1984
Unskilled	26	24	2	36	36	2	29	29	2
Semi-skilled	40	36	21	41	37	25	40	36	22
Skilled	28	28	37	11	10	5	24	21	24
Blue Collar	94	88	58	88	83	32	92	86	48
White Collar	5	8	32	10	14	58	6	10	43
Apprentices	1	4	8	2	3	10	2	4	9

Table 11c: *Occupational Position of Germans, Foreigners, and Turks by Gender in West Berlin, All Sectors* (in %) (* June 1984) ⁴²

Year	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87
Occupational Group	Total		Foreigners		Turks		Women		Foreign Women		Turkish Women	
Un-Semi-skilled	*33	*30	*77	*75			*36	*36				
Skilled	*16	*15	*18	*17			*4	*4				
Blue Collar	49	46	94	92	88	77	40	40	96	96	91	81
White Collar	46	49	4	4	11	18	60	60	4	4	9	19
Apprentices	5	6	2	4	1	5						

Table 11d: *Occupational Position of Germans, Foreigners, and Turks by Gender in West Berlin, Manufacturing Industry* (in %) (* June 1984) ⁴³

Year	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87	80	87
Occupational Group	Total		Foreigners		Turks		Women		Foreign Women		Turkish Women	
Un-Semi-Skilled	*43	*40	*79	*77			*52	*53				
Skilled	*25	*24	*18	*18			*6	*6				
Blue Collar	67	64	96	96	91	85	58	59	98	98	93	88
White Collar	29	31	3	3	8	14	43	41	2	2	7	12
Apprentices	4	5	1	2	1	1						

⁴¹ Mehrlaender (1981, 1986) and Schultze (1990: 126, Table 1).

⁴² Data from Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, June 1980 and 1987.

⁴³ Data from Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, June 1980 and 1987.

The occupational distribution (Table 11a-d) has not much changed. Foreigners are still over represented in the unskilled, and semi-skilled occupations (see also the concentration index in Table 11a). Particularly for clerical positions or white collar jobs promotion barriers persist, mainly for foreign, and Turkish women, mostly due to the raising of selection criteria, e.g., formal educational qualifications, aptitude tests.

In Table 12 dissimilarity values obtained from Tables 11a-d were compared. The values for Berlin are larger than the values for the FRG. Within the manufacturing industry the dissimilarity is somewhat lower than overall. Surprisingly, a greater dissimilarity among Germans and foreigners is found for women, and a greater *D* value among male/female Germans than among foreigners. One reason is the fact that foreign women have a very little chance, due to their lack of education certificates and, often, language barriers, to be employed within the blue collar occupations, which is a domain of German women. Foreign women, as are their men colleagues, are concentrated in the blue collar jobs. Therefore, their dissimilarity value is lower than that of the German women/men.

As discussed before, the division of labour has during the 1980s not significantly changed, and relatively constant *D* values do not give the impression that this division is dissolving.

Table 12: *Dissimilarity Index of Occupational Position* ⁴⁴

Relationship Group A/B	West Germany			Berlin West			
	All			All		Manufacturing	
	Sectors			Sectors		Industry	
	1980	1984	1985	1980	1987	1980	1987
Foreigners/German-Total	-	39	41	45	46	36	37
Foreigners/German-Men	-	36	37	-	-	-	-
Foreigners/German-Women	-	46	51	-	-	-	-
Men/Women-German	-	36/32	-	-	-	-	-
Men/Women-Foreigners	17	25	19	-	-	-	-

Unfortunately there are for this purpose no reliable and available census data for the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, occupational mobility is not easy to estimate. Data from two larger surveys (Table 13) support the thesis of a stagnation, even a slight decline, of the mobility of the foreigners and especially of foreign women, at least for the time between 1980 and 1985. This can also be derived from the constant *D* values of Table 12. If mobility occurred it was concentrated at the lowest qualification levels. Again, this results raises concern over the tendency

⁴⁴ Data from Table 11a-d.

that a combined ethnic- and gender-accentuated stratification becomes engraved in the social structure. However, these data have to be validated in future research in comparison with the mobility of German men and women.

Table 13: *Occupational Mobility of Foreign Labourers by Gender in the FRG from 1980 to 1985* (in %) ⁴⁵

Occupational Mobility	Men		Women		Total	
	1980	1985	1980	1985	1980	1985
Unskilled - Semiskilled	27.5	26.2	32.6	30.5	28.9	27.9
Unskilled - Skilled	10.0	8.0	5.8	4.3	8.8	6.6
Semiskilled - Skilled	6.2	8.3	3.0	1.8	5.3	5.7
Total Occupational Mobility	43.6	42.5	41.5	36.6	43.1	40.2

Another indicator for the overlapping of ethnic and gender inequalities can be found with regard to wage differentials.

Table 14 gives a clear impression of the ranking,⁴⁶ although these data have to be interpreted cautiously in the light of differences of qualification, education and experience within each occupational group.⁴⁷

Table 14: *Mean Hourly Wage for Ethnic Groups by Gender 1985* (in DM) (N = 1824, not controlled or weighted for other variables) ⁴⁸

Group	Total	Men	Women	Difference Men/Women	Female Wage in % of Men
Turks	12.93	14.02	10.96	3.06	21.8
Portuguese	13.66	14.78	11.88	2.90	19.6
Spaniards	13.85	15.07	11.83	3.24	21.5
All Foreigners	13.99	15.04	12.06	2.98	19.8
Italians	14.72	15.59	12.72	2.87	18.4
Yugoslavs	15.13	16.28	13.06	3.22	19.8
Greeks	15.28	16.02	14.21	1.81	11.3
All Workers	16.36	17.23	12.51	4.72	27.4

⁴⁵ Mehrlaender (1981, 1986) and Schultze (1990: 126, Table 2).

⁴⁶ Biller (1990) in his recent study confirms other significant ethnic rankings with regard to occupational position, mobility, and chances for promotion. Germans are at the top, Yugoslavs and Italians in the middle, and Greeks and especially Turks at the bottom (see Biller (1990: 22ff.)).

⁴⁷ Because for the Berlin study no other relevant data were available, a sophisticated measurement to control income by other important variables such as age, education, occupational status, and socioeconomic status was not possible. However, other Germany studies and indicators confirm the uniformly observed notion of the international literature that gender inequalities interact with ethnicity although discrimination takes different forms and finds different loci (see Semyonov and Kraus 1983: 260).

⁴⁸ Mehrlaender (1986: 148f).

Table 15: *Selected Mean Percentages for 5 Clusters of 18 Industries in the Manufacturing Sector of Berlin West at June 30, 1987* (above average ratios = bold)⁴⁹

Cluster Definitions	Column 1: Ratio of Skilled Labourers/Blue Collar Workers								
	Column 2: Average Hourly Wage for Blue Collar Workers in DM								
	Column 3: Blue Collar Employment Development between 1980 and 1987 (1980 = Index 100)								
	(+= above average / -= below average)								
No. of Industries	Cluster			Percentage of Employees Represented by Clusters					
	1	2	3	Total	Foreigners	Turks	Women	For-Wom	Turk-Wom
5	+	+	-	27.1	22.2	19.7	17.1	10.0	9.0
2	+	-	+	4.7	3.0	2.4	5.8	4.5	2.9
3	+	-	-	7.8	6.4	6.0	9.9	7.1	6.7
3	-	-	+	11.8	10.0	15.3	14.3	8.3	8.0
5	-	-	-	46.0	55.3	52.8	51.1	68.7	71.8
18	Total Employees			193,309	38,347	23,672	65,659	13,663	8,122

If generalized conclusions are to be drawn from what was presented, the actual situation of foreign workers could be described as an "intermediary position". There are indications of a gradual integration into the employment system, particularly with regard to special groups like foreign men, foreign apprentices, and foreigners with seniority in the "primary" labour market segment (Gruener and Koehler 1990). However, there are also indications of the consolidation of the marginal status of foreigners doing unattractive jobs with high stress levels, monotonous piece- and shift-work, poor prospects for qualification or promotion, and a high risk of dismissals. Particularly by sex and ethnicity double subordinated Turkish and other foreign women in the "secondary" labour market segment, many of them further handicapped by low qualifications and a poor knowledge of the German language may be the ones most affected by dismissals through technical rationalization and subsequently substitution and upgrading processes squeezing their labour market segments.

Will this intermediary situation, change in the near future? The majority of the very heterogeneous population group of the 4.4 million so-called foreigners, recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s as guest-workers, has in the meantime settled permanently in West Germany and Berlin. It is unlikely that they will return to their home countries or those of their parents, even if there is still a great amount of ambivalence on the part of many foreigners on the question of citizenship and intended length of stay in the FRG. Most of these people and their families have taken root in the recipient country.⁵⁰ Therefore, they should be allowed to have a double citizenship or at least be able to obtain a "landed immigrant status" and to enjoy the coming right of freedom of movement within the European Community. A policy of excluding or even repatriating foreigners and their descendants, who have been living for decades in Germany, while at the same time enforcing the integration of East Germans, and the immigration of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe is difficult to support. It is questionable for reasons of European policy, economics from the point of the companies, and their experienced foreign workforce, and the recipient country's responsibilities with respect to human rights.

The unknown quantity is the degree and pace of the economic growth, and restructuring of East Germany, united Germany, and Western Europe after 1992, and the potential mass migration from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with the concomitant impact on the labour market, and in particular on the competition in the lower skilled job segment. In the past, substitution of foreigners by newly arrived Germans and newly arrived foreigners did not occur significantly. However, domestic competition, and conflict may rise when the pressure of

⁵⁰ From the point of view of the foreigners there is little reason to repatriate, even if they do get financial incentives, because they anticipate even worse living conditions and work prospects in the home country than exist for them in West Germany. This was proved by the failure of a repatriation campaign undertaken by the West German (Conservative) government in the early 1980s.

unemployment in East Germany increases the willingness of East Germans to occupy unattractive jobs in the "secondary" labour market, and when younger, better educated, and highly motivated, upwardly mobile children of labour migrants try to compete with their West and East German contemporaries on equal terms in the "primary" blue collar segment and in higher white collar jobs.

A much more threatening scenario may develop if an expected potential of 20 million or more desperate migrants from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union cross the German and EC border in search for survival. In that case Europe again could become a centre for ethnic tensions, potential civil wars and national unrest. Only an economically, politically, militarily and socially united and stabilized EC would be able to deal with such events. The European unification, however, is not only from that viewpoint necessary and urgent. 12 to 15 million labour migrants within the EEC borders have a natural and human title for equal rights and opportunities. This requires after 1992 a general settlement concerning their status, which also will benefit the 4.5 million foreigners on the territory of Germany. It is widely expected and hoped that the legal, and labour market status of these people will be soon improved by the new EEC legislation.

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