Some Remarks on Ethnic Stratification in West Germany and West Berlin

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SOME REMARKS ON ETHNIC STRATIFICATION IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN

Hermann Kurthen

I. INTRODUCTION

In West German sociology there has been little discussion of ethnic stratification, because it is--in contrast to immigrant nations like the US and Canada--a very new phenomenon, and because in the first years of migrant sociology in West Germany debate was focused on:

- the assimilation of migrants in the areas of language, roles, values and cultural habits;
- personal conflicts and psychological demands of integration and identity formation;
- the access of migrants and members of minorities to primary and peer groups.

This concentration on certain cultural and psychological topics results from the neglect of macro-contexts, especially of stratification processes which occurred after a period of often ideologically-oriented debates in West German sociology in the sixties and seventies.

It also can be explained as an uncritical application by West German sociologists of theories and discussions from Anglo-American migrant sociology. The West German reception of models such as the race-relations cycles of R.E. Park and others did not reflect the situation of labor migrants in West Germany, although it has been claimed that these models are inevitable, irreversible, generally relevant (see the discussions by Hoffmann-Nowotny 1973, Esser 1980, Heckmann 1981, Gaitanides 1983, Korte 1984 etc.).

Ethnic stratification in West Germany is a result of the non-intended immigration of labor migrants. The recruitment of a foreign labor force to Western Europe and West Germany was originally based on the principle of rotation of the labor migrants. But over time it became a new labor immigration, and it led to the so-called "Unterschichtung" (sub-stratification) of the traditional class-structure.[1]

Ethnic stratification is usually defined as a special case of vertical social inequality, in which differences in social status are linked to ethnic signs and symbols. Ethnic stratification is mainly based on processes of labeling and role-taking within a society, focused on ethnic signs and

symbols. It is a social (sometimes institutionalized) process of (self)defining a group or members of certain groups and classes according to natural, physical or cultural differences. The effectiveness of ethnic ascription[2] and ethnic achievement depends on consensus regarding the validity of the signs and symbols for social action and perception. Within immigration societies the existence of ethnic stratification and its overlapping with other status criteria like class, race and gender is well known. Ethnic and racial stratification becomes a social sore when it affects human beings not only as individuals but also as members of a group and when it is permanent and structurally rooted in a society which claims to offer free choices and equal opportunity without regard to origin, class, race, gender, religion, etc.

Ethnic stratification analysis should distinguish between two levels of analysis: status differences between migrants and native citizens according to ethnic criteria, and the distribution of status positions within ethnic groups. This distinction enables us to find considerable differences between Germans and migrants, as well as differences among migrants regarding political and legal status, class position, housing and education, hobbies, cultural and religious rituals and norms, habits, interaction structures, etc.

The existence and definition of ethnic boundaries and differences is maintained by the marginal legal and political status of migrants, although there are, as mentioned above, great differences among the migrant groups in, for example, the area of work and residence permits. But there also are quite a lot of other more or less subtle forms of distancing, discrimination and ethnic separation leading to segregation, isolation and stratification in some cases, which can be described in terms of migrant sociology as the process of colony formation. This can be the starting point of a vicious circle: discrimination based on natural, cultural and socioeconomic differences produces ethnic segregation. Segregation produces new discrimination, ethnocentrism, prejudices and--more dangerous in extreme historical, economic, social, and political situations--expulsion, deportation, or, in the most extreme case, the holocaust of marginalized ethnic groups and nationalities.

It is important for a democratic society, not only from a liberal point of view, to look at these processes and to take proper measures to prevent such developments before they become rooted in the social structure. The contribution of the social sciences in analyzing the ongoing processes of integration, assimilation and segregation should lead to the development of political proposals to promote a peaceful and tolerant life between different ethnic groups, cultures and nationalities.

2. ETHNIC STRATIFICATION AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT

Up to now in North America and other immigration countries an increasing number of sociological concepts and empirical studies on ethnic stratification have been published. In the following some of the newer theories are examined:[3]

Noel (1968) 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; power differential determines whether either group will be able to subordinate the other." In Noel's model ethnic stratification is a special type of social inequality and 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's theory of ethnic stratification raises several questions: Is competition and power the major cause and motivation for ethnic stratification? What are the origins of ethnocentrism? Why should--under conditions of universalistic market competition, political and legal equality and secularization of values--ethnicity become a central factor generating inequality? Within modern societies can the complex and mutual relationship between social structure and social action be reduced to a functional approach? Which individual action generates under what historical conditions Noel's framework of power, competition and ethnocentrism?

A theory to overcome Noel's functionalist generalizing and overemphasizing of social structures is Bantons's "Theory of Rational Choice" (1983). It is based on two central propositions:
(1)   individuals act so as to obtain maximum net advantage
(2)   actions at one moment of time influence and restrict the alternatives between which individuals will have to choose on subsequent occasions.

The theory posits categorization according to race and ethnicity as a function in the behavior of individuals. That means that discrimination is treated as an economic strategy. Differences between racial and ethnic groups grow and shrink according to the net advantage individuals and groups can obtain by categorizing other individuals and groups. Banton's

assumption of purely rational and instrumental choice is highly questionable. He underestimates irrational and prejudiced reasons of social action, although it cannot be denied that within modern societies rational choices play a major role. What has to be discussed is the different rationality of rational choices. We have to consider the different meaning of ascriptive ethnic screening from different point of views. For example, what is rational by an employer may be discrimination in legal terms.

Groenendael (1986) discusses Banton's theory by analyzing migrant workers affected by collective dismissals and mass-redundancies in the Netherlands. He finds that employers' ethnic sorting and ranking results-- besides their taste for discrimination--from information costs, market imperfections, special government regulations, lower expected or factual lower productivity of migrants and their insufficient bargaining power and access to social networks. Although Groenendael's research is limited to dismissals he gives at least an impression of the relative significance of different views, reasons and actors that can lead to ethnic inequality.

Esser (1985) presents a similar micro-sociological approach as Banton, in opposition to macro-sociological models like Elias' "Configurations-approach. He derives his findings from examining Anglo-American race relations cycles (for example R.E. Park), in which contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation determine the behavior of migrants. Esser emphasizes the role of individualistic action in the genesis and persistence of social structures. For him, ethnic stratification is a non-intended effect of rational decisions of interacting persons--migrants, natives and potential migrants--under special conditions. The process of ethnic stratification is activated by rational decisions and interdependent factors, that is, the identification of migrants with their country of origin and altered social opportunities of immigrants and others in both societies. Like Banton, he believes that individual benefits and the non-intended consequences of individual actions explain ethnic inequality. But Esser's theoretical framework is incomplete, insofar as he does not sufficiently explain the transformation of individual through collective action, nor does he analyze the unequal impact of once established social structures and institutions on individual and collective action. Esser underestimates, as does Banton, the determination of social action and psychological perception by social, economic, political and legal structures and by norms, values and ideologies as well as cultural signs and symbols.

Other concepts use Max Weber's concept of monopolizing social resources, for example Parkin (1974). He distinguishes two general strategies to secure resources which lead to stratification:

1)   strategies of the dominant group to monopolize social resources and to assert privileges against 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 claims that in modern societies an industrial variant can be distinguished from a political usurpation strategy.

With Parkin's model it is possible to analyze different, in some cases contradictory, group and class strategies for social action which may intensify inequality. Parkin concludes that his concept explains both strategies of monopolizing social resources and solidarity within the working class and that he therefore can overcome the inadequacies of "pure" class model interpretations. Parkin's model can indeed be used as a heuristic concept for analyzing processes of monopolizing mainly economic resources between different class fractions and groups, but it is not sufficient to explain the formation of ethnic groups, strategies and inequality along ethnic, racial, religious or linguistic lines outside of class struggles.

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

The process of ethnic stratification depends on the following conditions: the social and demographic structure of the migrants, and the ability and willingness of the migrants to integrate. But it is also dependent on the response of the society into which they must integrate, that is, the attitude of natives toward discrimination or integration.

Amersfoort's analysis is helpful insofar as he tries to separate different levels of analysis and insofar as he considers interdependent, often contingent historical and local factors. For example, technological and economic changes and developments at the national, as well as at the international, level; the concentration, quantity, growth and activity of ethnic groups and organizations; the quality of ethnic contacts and interactions; the role of the mass media, peer groups and other institutions; etc.

From this we can derive that the analysis of ethnic stratification has to consider different variables: socioeconomic, social, political, legal, and cultural variables within a spatial (local or national) and temporal (historical) context. Each of these variables has to be regarded as a part of micro, meso, and macro contexts of migration and the process of stratification. The positioning of migrants on the labor market depends, for example--besides the legal status--on screening and ranking processes of the employers within special organizational "needs"[4], formal and informal rules (seniority, tenure, promotion) and occupational structures of the companies involved; inter-ethnic attitudes and ethnic differences; the requirements of jobs and occupations; the personal resources[5]; qualifications, skills and experiences of the migrants themselves; wages and other personal costs; the bargaining power of migrants within the industrial relations (group formation and social mobilization); the demand and supply of labor within specific economic, regional and demographic developments of a society.

Although Amersfoort does not sufficiently discuss the interconnection, validity, and measurement[6] of the mentioned variables, he offers--as does Parkin--a heuristic model. If we consider and combine all these variables and conditions one can imagine what a complex theoretical framework we need and what empirical methods and instruments have to be employed to analyze ethnic stratification.

Reviewing the theories discussed above, we can conclude: Noel represents a structural-functionalist approach. Amersfoort and Parkin also focus on the structural social conditions of ethnic inequality, but they are both more related to Max Weber's concept of monopolizing social resources and opportunities. Banton and Esser, by contrast, favor individualistic and instrumentalist theories of action. Amersfoort and, in some respect, also Parkin's model avoid a one-sided approach and try to integrate a macro-micro perspective into their model. In this respect they can answer more questions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to prove further the analytical and empirical capacity of different models[7]. A critical

survey of current explanations, models, and empirical methods might point out the research further needed.

3. REVIEW OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN

To identify the causes of ethnic stratification, it is necessary to look at the motives, conditions, advantages, and consequences of the recruitment of foreign labor since the mid-1950s, using a complex model of push and pull factors. Although economic differences between the countries of emigration and immigration have played an important part in this process, it is indispensable to also consider other, less obvious, aspects.

3.1.1. CAUSES AND ADVANTAGES OF LABOUR RECRUITMENT

What are the causes and historical conditions of the post war labor (im)migration to West Germany?[8]

The increased demand for labor in specific occupations in West German industry is in part a result of accelerated change in the economic and technical production processes since the Second World War. It is also an effect of the establishing of the Welfare State, the expansion of the services sector (Dienstleistungssektor) in West Germany, and of unfavorable demographic developments. Last, but not least, there has been a change in social mobility resulting from the increasing aversion of German workers to unattractive, low paid, unskilled, and stressful industrial jobs. Political developments, especially the end of the influx of refugees from East Germany and Eastern Europe effected by closing the East German border in 1961 also played an important role.

The original purpose of recruitment was to set up a temporary integration and a rotation of migrant laborers: no provisions were made for settlement or the establishment of families. But this intended rotation failed. To stop the growth of the migrant labor force in a situation of prospective unemployment and economic crisis, the West German government enacted in 1973 a ban on the further recruitment of foreign workers.

The undesired settlement and family establishment continued, making the immigration of foreign workers (called "Gastarbeiter") a reality. They have become since that time not only a seasonal and cyclical, but a permanent part 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 which are of Turkish--are currently working

and living in closed ethnic colonies or communities within the larger German cities and industrial regions, including West Berlin.

What have been the advantages of this (im)migration of the last thirty years? The recruitment of foreign workers initially benefited West Germany, because, for example, the costs of education and training of this labor force, of city-planning and public health were minimized or shifted to the migrants' countries of origin. This short-term effect disappeared, however, when the rotation of migrants changed to an immigration.

In the sixties and seventies, because labor migration brought more benefits than disadvantages, management, politicians, institutions, federations, and local authorities became interested in a continued growth of the migrant population.

The additional supply of labor led to a relative decrease in wages and lower costs of production and products, and this strengthened the position of West German industry on the World Trade market. In West Germany itself it strengthened the position of the capitalist classes in relation to the trade unions and the working class. The migrant population also contributed to the demand for goods and services in the home market. The above-average savings of the migrants also stabilized the West German financial market and currency. And the gifts and goods brought back by migrants to their home countries promoted German products in these countries.

Political economists saw migration as a way of postponing the rationalization and humanizing of stressful jobs. Other functions were the relative stagnation of wages in the unskilled sectors, because with the recruiting of labor migrants, competition among less qualified workers increased.

More significant benefits to the host society include, for example, financial relief for the social security system through payments by migrants and the stabilizing of the West German social structure as a consequence of sub-stratification. Migration also resulted in upward mobility for many Germans in industry, the civil service and other service sectors, and the diminished pressure for political reforms and technological innovation. Finally, public opinion moved towards increased tolerance on the one hand and the strengthening of ethnocentrism and prejudices.

Since the onset of immigration, though, some advantages have decreased. For example, the postponing of investment in housing, education and health has produced new problems in the 80s. On the

whole, however, there are still macro-and micro-economic benefits, even if they now take a different form.

3.1.2. THE CONDITIONS OF LABOUR MIGRATION: THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF THE MIGRANTS

The particular position of migrants according to their nationality, duration of stay (residence) and family and employment status also has produced and strengthened ethnic stratification. Legal and political marginalization has institutionalized inequality, largely because migrants did not have the power and opportunities to represent their interests.

The specific position of migrants in West Germany is fixed in the Foreigners Law, the residence and work permit, the Employment Act and several passages within the Social Security Law (Welfare Act). Besides these, we find in several areas discriminating regulations, norms, or informal consensus regarding labor migrants. These regulations, which serve to secure the priority of natives' access to employment opportunities, are applied widely in labor exchange and within the civil service.

One important result of these legal and political restrictions is that migrants have moved toward group solidarity--using interest representation and self-organization based on personal relations--to achieve their goals. New ethnic solidarity and group identity resulted from discrimination and reduced opportunities and marginal positions in all aspects of life. Migrants became sensitive to discrimination and hostility. We can now find among the migrants a growing self-confidence and knowledge of their rights in West Germany. And when migrants have the opportunity for equal participation, for example, within the trade unions, they use all means available to fight for their rights. But ethnic identity is also based on the transfer of traditional rural and communal attitudes and family bonds.

The legal and political marginalization and discrimination which have led to a growing sense of frustration among migrants may promote aggression and segregation in the long run, as well as isolation, resignation and apathy. On the other hand there are signs of integration. Important parts of the West German society (political parties, churches, trade unions, civic action groups) are establishing an alliance to improve the legal and political status of migrants. The ongoing process of (West) European unification will also have an important impact on equalizing the status of labor migrants and their descendants.

3.1.3. CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND ETHNOCENTRISM

To analyze ethnic stratification we have to examine (besides the causes and conditions mentioned above) the behavior and "nature" of the migrants as well as the ethnocentric behavior of the Germans in light of the latter role as the cultural majority, and their awareness of their majority status. In this respect we have to look at the cultural difference between natives and migrants, for example, at the often different ways of living, working, organizing, the different origin, language, and socialization, also the specific cultural and religious backgrounds, a different ability and willingness to integrate, adapt, or accept each other.

The segregating effect of cultural distance and ethnocentrism and--besides these differences--of indirect or open discrimination relating to race, religion, sex, ethnic origin, habit, etc. does not have to be questioned. As already mentioned, the behavior of many natives and (im)migrants may, even within relatively tolerant societies, lead to a continuing cycle of isolation, segregation, hostility, prejudices and xenophobia among the natives and the "foreigners." In this way the cultural differences and ethnocentric hostilities have an impact on legitimizing socioeconomic, legal and political inequality.

In the West German case we find this reciprocal process of distance, isolation and mutual hostility mainly between the first generation of Turkish migrants and older Germans with little education. However, we also find elements of these tendencies in many aspects of everyday life: at work, in the education system, in clubs and other places of entertainment, in the housing market, in interactions between migrants and natives. (Hoffmann and Even 1983). These tendencies are particularly pronounced in areas where there is a high percentage of Turkish inhabitants and a high rate of unemployment. The reaction of migrants can be characterized as extreme isolation and an attempt to gain identity by turning to cultural traditions, for example, of Islam. Therefore the attitudes towards Turkish migrants in particular is a test for ethnic integration in West Germany. The mass media, politicians, and political parties, the federations (trade unions) and religious communities therefore have an important obligation in discouraging ethnocentrism and racism by transforming cultural differences into a pluralistic understanding of multiculturalism.

3.1.4. STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

Yet, even apart from the above-mentioned obstacles, increasing opportunities for migrants remain difficult, because of their disadvantageous entrance position within the status and strata system of the host country. The migrants' social mobility is limited and unequal because of their lack of education and job training, their low income, restricted knowledge of the German language, and cultural rules, roles, and habits, their lack of free time and their restricted interactions and networks compared with those of natives.[9]

As a result of these accumulated disadvantages and the structural lack of power, opportunities, and promotion prospects within the host society, the majority of labor migrants finds it impossible in the short term to overcome inequality or to gain opportunities without special promotion or "positive discrimination."

We can illustrate this thesis of structural deficits at the example of employment. The analysis of job mobility and positioning in industrial jobs within the last twenty years illustrates the tendency of labor migrants to be relegated to stressful, low-paid, and insecure jobs. Migrants are significant more affected by unemployment, de-skilling and other consequences of technical and economic change. Only a minority of migrants have, with strenuous efforts, realized upward mobility in the occupational hierarchy (Dohse 1983, Rüßler and Sochert 1984, Mehrländer 1981,1986).

4. TENDENCIES OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

At present, there is no comprehensive survey of the process of ethnic stratification in Germany. The following outline summarizes the author's view of the ongoing process of ethnic stratification in West Germany and West Berlin. As mentioned above, the present position of labor migrants in West Germany can be characterized as a stabilized marginalization within the strata-system. This refers not only to the original labor migrants (the so-called first generation), but also to their children, whom they brought from their countries of origin (the second generation) and who have been brought up or born in West Germany (the third generation).

The perpetuation of a low status can be expected because in the given class system the migrant's family tends to pass its socioeconomic, motivational, and cultural deficits or peculiarities to the next generation. And the social barriers and status hierarchies in a capitalist society based on the unequal distribution of wealth (capital, labor, and land ownership) show no sign of weakening.

Despite the continuing differences in distribution, and despite the stabilizing of structural deficits and the marginalized position of migrants, there is nevertheless an ongoing--but slow--process of adaptation of the

migrants and especially of their children. This adaptation is a sign of an existent immigration process. However many migrants still harbor the hope, or at least the illusion, of returning home some time. Simultaneous many Germans still do not accept having unwillingly become an immigrant society. They are hostile against the idea of multiculturalism and fear the loss of dominance. Some extremists even harbor the hope of sending (im) migrants back to their hosts countries or to continue the unequal foreigner status.

Therefore the ongoing adaptation process is still fragile. The changing of aspirations, demands, and needs ("status passage") can lead to serious conflicts. What happens, for example, if the gap between unequal and low opportunities for immigrants and their demands for equality (propagated by the Western ideology) increases or becomes too stressful? How will the majority of Germans react against non-German ethnic groups if--under fast changing historical conditions--a new influx of ethnic German refugees from the East takes place?

At the moment there is little evidence, as far as the majority of migrants are concerned, that we have to consider extreme kinds of segregation and isolation (Ghettoisierung) or a renewal of violent hostility against ethnic or racial minorities. But this hypothesis has to be proved historically and with respect to the various ethnic groups and generations.

Regarding the changed behavior, mentality, and habits of labor migrants, this author suggests the following hypotheses:

1) As a result of their adaptation to West German life styles, the majority of labor migrants have changed their goal of saving as much money and working as much as possible in a short time and then returning to their home country. They have become immigrants at least for their work life, even though there are indications that parts of the first generation will return home upon retirement. This reorientation could promote integration, if the legal status of migrants and the natives' attitude towards the migrants improves.

2) The actual migrant's development of a new, often ambivalent, identity and self confidence can have different effects. It may lead to intensified demands for integration equality, but it may also--as a reaction to intolerance, envy, and repression by the host society--promote isolation, segregation, and a new ethnic identity, religious fundamentalism.

3) The opportunities, especially in the labor market are crucial for the further positioning of immigrants in the West German society. In a situation of high unemployment and competition it is not unlikely that the

marginal position of migrants within the strata system will continue or even deepen and ethnocentrism on both sides increase.

4) What will be the situation of the more-or-less adapted descendants of the first generation of migrants? Assuming that conditions remain constant, the strata differences and barriers against (im)migrants will continue. Even the majority of the adapted descendants will remain caught in their parent's ghetto. Only a few will achieve upward mobility (Mehrländer 1986). It is not primarily the lack of individual ability and willingness to integrate and to adapt that limits the opportunities of young migrants, but rather their structural weakness regarding, that is, family socialization and education, ethnic origin, marginal legal, political, and socioeconomic position.

It is not unlikely that the descendants of labor migrants will have easier access only to areas of employment where it is difficult to recruit Germans, for example, lower level occupations with negative images and stressful demands in crafts and industry. These jobs are often very insecure because they are situated in industries which are shaken by crisis, dismissals, technical rationalization and de-skilling processes. Even now immigrant youth suffers above-average unemployment and is not qualified for jobs with a good future (Gaitanides 1983).

The second and third generations have to overcome a difficult cross-pressure situation. They stand between two cultures and have to cope with: contradictory influences and demands at a difficult age or stage of personality growth, that is, hedonistic youth cultures, the projected career orientation of their parents, an early experience of unemployment, the standards of a performance-oriented society, ethnic and cultural discrimination and marginalization, unequal rights and opportunities. For this reason it is necessary to grant them citizenship to improve their education and employment opportunities. Otherwise the West German society probably will have to face new ethnic conflicts and urban unrest.

5. OVERCOMING ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

Proposals to improve the situation of migrants and to overcome the consequences of ethnic stratification are not new. The scholarly literature and many political programs have appealed to politicians, parties, governments, institutions, churches and trade unions to develop programs to prevent ethnic and racial conflict, to enable migrants to assert their rights, to reduce social barriers, and to accelerate the processes of integration and mutual tolerance. Instead of politically instrumentalizing the problems of migrants, all members of society in all parties, religious

and ideological positions should facilitate the integration of migrants. For this purpose it would be helpful to look at and to compare the migrant policies in Europe, North America, Australia and other countries to summarize:

First, we need political action in the field of migrant policy. We have to develop programs and implement legal norms and practical measures to overcome inequality or to assist migrants in the areas of (un)employment, education, housing, cultural integration, and political participation. Therefore, we need, not only changes in labor market policy, social policy or fiscal policy, but also in public opinion and in the mass media. We have to think about special support programs for migrants, for example, quota systems. These measures have to be based on the principles of a welfare state: responsibility for all members of society, equality, collective insurance, with reasonable demands being made of all.

Second, treaties--bilateral and others--within the European Community dealing with (labor) migrants have to be brought into line with one another. Issues of dual citizenship, as well as work and residence permits, standards of social security, military service, investment incentives for poor regions, regional development programs, and assistance for those returning home should be clarified. Within this complex of issues the question of the membership of yet non-EC countries in the European Community and the consequences of a possible new migration from Eastern Europe, Turkey and the Third World must be sufficiently settled.

Third, in coordination with nations, groups of nations (like the European Community) and international organizations (like the United Nations), social and economic measures as well as aid have to be implemented, especially for countries that suffer. This is necessary to prevent future waves of global migration and to close the widening gap between poor and wealthy nations.

[1] Although one has to recognize differences in the position of labor migrants, according to ethnic group, sex, age, occupation, qualification, and other criteria (Heckmann 1983), the marginal position of migrants in many fields legitimate their definition as an "ethnic subclass." Empirical indicators of ethnic stratification in West Germany can be found in the employment system as well as in the fields of education, housing, political participation, prestige.

[2] 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.

[3] Breton (1979), for example, distinguishes three perspectives in North American stratificaton literature: the individual competition approach, the class approach, and the conflict or social closure approach.

[4] Organizational needs can be, for example, social control, "hoarding" of qualifications, preservation of prestige, corporate culture, loyalty, and ethnic cohesion.

[5] These resources include for example the ability for impression management, bargaining and communication, information and help through personal networks, and control of achieved ethnicity.

[6] The empirical methods and instruments of analyzing and comparing ethnic stratification are controversial. For example, the validity, relevance and interconnection of indicators such as the degree of education and job training, occupation, income and property, job conditions, housing, prestige and legal status, control over individual, cultural and social resources and participation opportunities, and ethnic mobility is often controversially debated.

[7] For a critical attempt to consider the relationship between attitudes, action, and social structures see, for example, the outline of Bader and Benschop (1989).

[8] In West Germany and West Berlin, several studies and public opinion polls have addressed the causes and consequences of labor migration, see for example the special inquiries of the Statistical Bureaus and the Board of Labor (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit), the studies of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation (1980, 1985), and especially the dissertations of Gaitanides (1983) and Schäfer (1986). Other extensive data collections which deal in some way with the situation of labor migrants and their families are found in inquiries concerning specific fields and subjects, for example, studies

analyzing school education, job training, housing (see overview by Fijalkowski 1985).

[9] Some sociologists define discrimination by structural inequality, i.e. "institutional" or "systemic" discrimination which can result in "statistical" discrimination. Breton (1979) defines "institutional" discrimination as a result of an ethnic bias in the functioning of social institutions within a given society. Members of the ethnic majority or hegemonic ethnic group are automatically privileged because their values are better represented in established structures, procedures, and rules. "Social" discrimination occurs when the competition for control of occupational domains takes place under norms considered illegitimate.

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